OF

GOVERNMENT AND OBEDIENCE,

As they stand Directed and Determined

BY

SCRIPTURE AND REASON.

Four Books.

BY

JOHN HALL

Of *RICHMOND.*

LONDON,

Printed By *T. Newcomb*, for *F. Kirton, A. Roper, G. Bedell*, and *G. Sambridge*, and are to be sold at their Shops in St. *Pauls* Church-yard, *Ludgate*-hill, and Fleet-street, 1654.

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2 of 2

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Printed By T. Sowle, for J. Kirton, A. Roper, J. Baker, and [illegible], and are to be Sold at their Shops in St. Paul's Church-yard, Ludgate-hill, and Fleet-street, 1695.

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The Preface.

TO have undertaken a work of this nature, was once as little in my thoughts as (the occaſion of it), the ſad diſtraction of my Nation. But as they ſay of him that was born dumb, that he burſt into ſpeech againſt thoſe he ſaw ready to murther his Father; even ſo, the paſt and feared deſolations of my native Country, come with ſuch preſſing horror upon my ſoul, that neither my general dumbneſs and inſufficiency in all things elſe, nor the particular difficulty of this, can keep my natural affection in longer ſilence: that is, from endeavouring to warn poſterity to avoid the like inconvenience for the future; by diſcovery of both riſe and cure of that which is introductive thereof; namely, diſreſpect and contempt of the preſent Soveraign power.

For they ſhall finde it plain, that from the time that Subjects ſhall be taught and permitted rudely to preſs within thoſe ſecret vails of Authority, which their wiſer Progenitors had ſet up for its ſupport and defence, that, their ignorance not letting them ſee throughly the cauſe of theſe different reſpects given to Superiors more then others, they ſhall (like *Cham*) no ſooner ſee, then deſpiſe their fathers nakedneſs.

And as with them it fareth, that, through remoteneſs and want of reading, know of their King no otherwiſe then by report, (as of ſomething of Power, Riches, *&c.* above that

which is incident to ordinary men) to apprehend him to be ſome other thing then man alſo, even ſo, when ambitious men, finding Authority oppoſe them, have for the peoples engagement, laid open to publike view, "That he is but as other "men are, and it may be worſe too, that this power and great-"neſs he hath above the people, he had it but from them and "for them; They then begin to be ſo much aſhamed of their old ignorance, and ſo much taken with this new inſinuating leſſon, that their induſtry and practiſe thereupon is not to be wondred at.

And as themſelves are now pleaſed with theſe Schollies, as matters of high diſcovery, ſo each one is ready to ſtretch his fancy therein, and in a kinde of pride we all take to ſeem more wiſe then ordinary, theſe diſcourſes are told and enlarged to his yet loyal neighbour, with no little glory of his new illumination. He looks on himſelf in his paſt ignorance, and on others not yet apprehenſive of ſo much light, but as little Children, admiring thoſe Babies which themſelves had dreſt up. For he comes now to think all thoſe Prerogatives, ornaments, and Ceremonies given to Majeſty, nay Majeſty it ſelf, to be but a ſort of Pageantry and ſhew to pleaſe the ignorant ſort with. And as *Bell* and the *Dragon* were ſometimes made terrible, that, as in their names and right, others might be the more ſuperſtitiouſly cozened by thoſe that attended them, ſo, to no other end, (as they ſuppoſe) was all this obedience and expence by ſome Polititians and Courtiers called for, as of duty to this one, but that themſelves, under colour of his name and Authority, might make their private uſes thereof.

Whenas, by theſe and the like practiſes, the ſinews and foundation of Government and Authority ſhall be let looſe and diſſolved: and men once precipitated in a courſe of ſtubbornneſs and inſubjection, all thoſe uſual Arguments and Diſcourſes made of that reſpect which is to Monarchy it ſelf due, and how it was not an office and power of yeſterdays deviſing, but had the confirmation of Antiquity and Law, or the like, will all of them, prove ineffectual to give a ſtop to theſe proceedings. Even becauſe moſt of the writers of this kinde, to win readier belief, did ſtill argue under the ſame ſuppoſition of derivation of power from the people, and ſo to Princes by Paction; by force vvhereof they thought they might defend

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him and his Authority, as in Juſtice, againſt any violent or injurious attempt: whence it proved, that want of building on the true and ſure ground made their labour unſucceſsful: and, inſtead of conviction, did (for the moſt part) but prompt with farther Arguments (upon the ſame foundation) to encreaſe & perfect that ſtructure they had already begun. And although they again did ſtrengthen their Arguments from the particular Laws and uſages of the kingdom it ſelf, yet not diving deeper into the ground thereof, and ſhewing that what is there done is but upon the general reaſon of Government and good of Obedience, common to it with all places elſe, the ſucceſs was little.

For the people being once confident, that power came all from "them, it muſt be ſuppoſed by them intruſted for their good, "and that when they ſaw it otherwiſe they might reaſſume it: "for elſe, ſay they, it was a dry Right without a remedy. What "if their Progenitors, for their folly or cowardiſe herein, had "been puniſhed with deſerved ſlavery? they would make uſe "of the bleſſed opportunity to recover their native freedom, "with the ſame reſolution & courage that others had oppreſ-"ſed it before. And as for Law, the interpretation thereof was "not in the King, but them: as was the Legiſlative power al-"ſo. That the ſin of Rebellion was falſly imputed to them, "they were the ſupreme power, and above Kings: the whole "people cannot rebel againſt the Prince, more then the great-"er againſt the leſs.

In this caſe, ſince Antiquity cannot be taken upon her base word, but that the reaſon why it was ſo formerly done, muſt be alſo given unto men now, there is no remedy but to let them ſee how that which hath been herein formerly appointed, was for, and will prove (if obſerved) the onely general good: by which means people ſeeing their obedience to be their benefit, as well as their duty, cannot I conceive but more readily follow it.

So that now, being forced to dig even to the very root of Government, which could have no ſubſiſtance but by Religion, nor that again without a Deity; this drew us on, in the firſt place, to make ſome proof and diſcourſe thereof: and of that work of Creation, to which Providence neceſſarily ſucceeding, as Gods way of Government in all things beſides, was

needful

needful in ſome things to be here alſo treated of: not onely as having man himſelf ſo conſiderable a part of it, but as partly imitable in the Government of Kingdoms alſo. For as the Laws and Rules of Nature are but for the eſtabliſhment and ſecurity of Creatures in general, ſo thoſe for Peace and Unity in Kingdoms, are for men in particular; thoſe are to make and keep all Creatures in their ſpecies ſerviceable one to another, theſe to do the like between man and man.

Then being to conſider men as linked in ſociety, it was expedient I ſhould firſt ſearch out what mans natural end and aim apart was, before I diſcourſed of the other; Theſe I have treated of under two ſorts of Pleaſure, one of Sence, in degree common to him with other ſenſitives, the other of Honor, his intellectual pleaſure; and in a manner proper to him above them all. Then, although I concluded politick happineſs or aim under two kindes, that of Peace, and that of Plenty; yet of the firſt of theſe, and how it may be beſt attained, my preſent undertaking is onely intended. For as life exceeds, nay is (indeed) the ſubject of all other temporal enjoyments, ſo peace in holy Scripture is uſually taken as incluſive of all other bleſſings. To this end, I firſt ſhew how moſt of Gods Precepts, and particularly thoſe of the Decalogue, aim at Peace, by their expreſs directions, and by ſtrict and often Admonitions to obedience. Afterwards I ſhew the politick way of effecting it; namely Unity, and by mens ſubmitting their differing deſires amongſt themſelves, unto the definitive ſentence of one. This is firſt ſhewed in the leſs Government of a Family to one Maſter, and next in a Kingdom to one Soveraign; all which are the Arguments of the firſt book.

After theſe juſt forms of Government, I ſhall ſpeak of its contrary, Anarchy, or breach of Unity; and that as well in its birth and ſtrugling condition, called Faction and Rebellion, as in its ſetled condition (of counterfeit Unity) in Ariſtocraties and Democraties. And becauſe encouragements to Sedition and Rebellion have been taken from the deceivable notions of *Liberty, Tyranny, Slavery, Property, Law and Juſtice, Publike good, Truſt and Faction, Councellors and Magiſtrates, &c.* my next attempt is to declare and examine them, and thoſe Arguments drawn from them, according to their ſeveral Chapters and Titles; being not otherwiſe definitve, then to

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that purpose. Then I speak of the right of Dominion, as it stands founded on natural example and practise; to satisfie some scruples, and to prevent such objections as might arise thereabout: and these I make the subject of the second book.

The third Book is wholly spent in stating the case of Government and Obedience according to Precepts and directions drawn from Religion. Under which Title, as I have endeavoured to make Obedience appear Duty by Conscience as well as Reason, so I would not have it expected I should undertake any methodical delivery of the body of Divinity, or make any farther inroad thereinto, then what may serve to uphold & direct the building it self. Even to shew how that which is originally, and was by God mostly intended and given as a tye to humane preservation and peace, through interest and ignorance, may be, and is, in these latter days, too often made destructive thereof; by such as, under one pretence or another, are *despising of Dominion, and speaking evil of Dignity* and Government, the most necessary means for procuring it: and are every where so ready *to kill men*, in a mistaken zeal of doing God good service.

And although that Treatise be distinguished into Chapters, as intending to have had my Arguments and discourses (for the Readers and mine own better help and ease) enclosed and directed by some method, yet being therein to make use of many Texts of Scripture which, besides the purpose they were expresly brought in for, did contain also farther evidence in the proof of many assertions delivered in several discourses foregoing, It cannot therefore be expected that I should be always true and proper to those titles. Yet, if I shall be found in needless Tautologies and Repetitions, I shall acknowledge them to be things as probably to be expected from my weakness, as I hope they are pardonable through my strength of zeal to settle publike good by agreement: on whose behalf, I have ever conceived it better to erre in saying too much, then too little.

In the mean time, I am not ignorant of the prevalence of repetition it self, especially in a popular Address; where prejudice and contrary belief hath grown more from iteration and pressure of Doctrine, then weight of Reason. And therefore, as I have purposely interwoven my Discourses with vari-

ety,

ety, to encourage men to read, notwithstanding such general prepossession, so have I caused the same assertions many times to enter the Stage anew, in a dress suitable to the present scene. For many truths may be insinuated by degrees, which prejudice or ignorance would not suffer to enter all at once. By which means I may also (happily) light on the instruction of some, who, like impatient spirits, not able to sit out the whole Play, may yet be won to the relishing of the main Plot, by those Reasons which the Preface, or that part they light on should afford. For although it may well be expected at the hands of that Architect, that is to erect a building with Timber already framed, that he not onely observe exact method in the raising and setling the same: but also that those pins which he shall make use of for joyning and fastening his work, may be both for number so certain, and also for place so setled, that they are not to be removed: Yet can it not be presumed that he that fells those Trees whereof these Tymbers and pins were made, or he that cleaves a knotted log, should be so regular and determinate in his strokes: but must be forced to make often use of the same wedges again; according as he shall finde those knots and stonds of his work (occasionally) to lye in his way. He also that undertakes to compleat and adorn any building whose foundation is found and good, hath most of his skill depending upon the sightlinesse of his work. Whereas he that is to rip up the whole Fabrick, for amendment of the groundwork & taking away of some decayed principles, must expect his commendation from ingenuous, strict, and more judicious inquiry; and not from the eye of the present beholder.

Lastly, that I may have something of Ethical foundations, as well as Oeconomical and Political, I have, in my fourth and last book, considered each man in his inclinations apart; to see if any Government may be found to keep him in order without fear or constraint. In which many things not very pertinent hereto are put in, to give light unto some discourses foregoing, and to entertain the Reader with some variety, after so long a discourse in a confined Argument. Which being many of them but as snacht pieces from other studies (where the gradations of Nature had been more Mathematically examined towards some such discoveries as were requisite to mans happy life, as he stood naturally and unsubordi-

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nately conſidered ſo) I have here put them down to ſerve as helps to the compoſing of thoſe differences which have all this while been a hinderance unto them. Being in good hope, (from that fair progreſs towards a right ſettlement in Government and equal way way of Juſtice which already appears) to be in a ſhort time reſtored to an ability for proficience in thoſe more Mechannick eſſays, which the avarice and injuſtice of ſome particular perſons hath hitherto deprived me of. In the mean time as in many other of my afflictions I have found the good hand of Providence turning all things for the beſt, and bringing good out of evil, ſo do I now with greater comfort ſubmit to this diverſion: as foreſeeing that if I had not upon theſe unhappy occaſions, been brought to diſcourſe of the ſins and remedies of uncharitableneſs and diſobedience (the uſual conſequents of plenty and pleaſure) I ſhould then, it is like, have been ſo taken up with mens more general and more preſent and ſenſible contents ariſing by the other, as to have reſted inconſiderate and ſilent of theſe miſchiefs which the enjoyments in this kinde might produce.

In theſe and other ſpeculations and diſcourſes, as I may generally ſay, that I am neither Thief nor priſoner to the Text or Tenet of any man, ſo do I deſire to be underſtood, that I was not hereunto induced through arrogance or affected ſingularity: but the ſmall proficience in Arts towards mans uſe, and the daily failing of publick peace and agreement, notwithſtanding thoſe Rules and Maxims hitherto delivered, togethet with the diverſity of opinions concerning them, cauſeed me, for a while, to lay aſide all Authority but that of Scripture or Reaſon; to ſee what a new diſquition from theſe would afford, In any of which, if too great zeal to the Cauſe and end in hand have led me into error, and to deviate and tranſcend theſe my propounded warrants, I do here profeſs to be ingenuouſly ready to acknowledge my ſelf a debtor to any ſober and reaſonable conviction. In the mean time I am expecting that ſome mens intereſt ſhould lead them to clamour and outcry, on my more ſevere diſſections made towards the cure of publick *Peace*, which have been by others but *ſlightly healed* and skinned over. Jer. 6. 14.

But, as many Land diſcoveries had not been, had not ſome more daring travellers adventured beyond the road of common

belief and opinion, so, to the increase of knowledge, a latitude of enquiry and judgement must be allowed: although it may, in some things, thwart the ordinary current of tradition. For I finde that Truth and Knowledge have not a greater and more common enemy then fear of reproach: that is, whilst writers, through fear of contradiction, strive to confine themselves to the sense of such as they hold of greatest reputation for ability in that whereof they treat, they leave but where they begun; and proceed with such wariness to themselves, that it makes them forget the errand they go about; which is the further information and benefit of others.

In my following Discourse, as I undertake to cleer things from the sinister constructions which ambitious heads have heretofore given, so, I doubt not, but I shall be by many therein construed, and my Arguments prejudiced, as if coming from a Court or a Kings parasite: and an abetter to Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government. But because they that are so, do it in hope of reward from those they flatter, and my self not having any encouragement therein from the present fortune or affection of any now, I know not why any should think me less indulgent to my self and posterity, as considered in this common relation, then others to theirs: so as to imploy so much labour to court and countenance our common misery. For could it ever have entred into a steady thought to have enthralled whole mankinde (as they stand separated amongst us in Kingdoms), to no other end then to advance (here and there) a single person to dignity, in comparison of whom, thousands of themselves were, and might ordinarily be presumed superior in merit.

And I must confess, I was my self a great while pleased with the seeming reasonableness of such like common maxims; how unfit it was that all should be subject to the arbitrary Government of any one, and much attentive I was to all those fine inventions and contrivances for his constraint herein: but, when I saw that Soveraingnty must at last be somewhere, and that to divide it, if it might be, was not to lessen, but to encrease its evils; when I saw that Government, a Government, must be Arbitrary, I then concluded that the burthen of one Tyrant (if it must be so), was easier then that of many.

I am not ignorant of the natural sweetness of Liberty, not

in man onely, but in all things that have life and sense. For to what end these, if when, by them, I am made perceptible of a benefit to my self, I shall at the will of another be deprived: and but rendred the more miserable, by being desirous.

It were (no doubt) a happy estate, (could a man tell how to fancy it without utter extirpation of Nature), if there were sufficient of things created, not onely to satisfie the use, but to satiate the most greedy appetite of each thing living; in such sort, that each one might not covet any thing enjoyed by his equal, or of others above him. It were then again necessary, for compleating universal content, that each one had, over each, and every one, such full and absolute Dominion, that he could not by any aversion of Power or Will in them be restrained.

Seem these things as large, and as impossible for performance as they will, yet appetite, as appetite, cannot otherwise stint it self; but the desire for enjoyment & possession of power over all things and persons, is as natural as over any one. Creatures below us have their appetites but few, so that, in injoying what they seek, they are but seldom, and then not lasting disturbers of one another. But, as for man, there is not, from the greatest to the lowest, any that desireth not the increase of his power: and he that, like *Alexander*, should command all, would not yet rest, both from wishing more worlds to command, and (it is like) had he been entred among the Gods, would have strove for command there also.

Look we to things again, how shall we think what is within the verge of humane reach should now pease all men, when all of it formerly could not please one? For so, our first Parents themselves must encroach on the propriety of Deity, in desiring *to know good and evil*. And think we yet that the poorest creature living would not be immortal, if the flaming sword of impossibility kept him not off. But now, as nature hath bordered us by her Law of irresistability, so that age, sickness, infirmities, with all their attendants, are not by any attempt or insurrection of ours against her avoidable, even so I could wish that some way might be had to prevent mens risings against one another. Yet then, since some must be subject to others, what course can we fancy to make them subject and not subject; that is, that their obedience shall be their li-

bewy? shall we wish that every man had his desires in all things so moderated, that having, or not having, or his having, or anothers having, were alike contentible? then indeed, would no subjection be needful, to keep of mutual injury through interfering desires. But yet some kinde of guardians there must be, to provide food and things necessary to cram down these appetite-less innocents: lest their reward of preserving others should turn to their own destruction. But if we cannot fancy desiring and not desiring equal, but must acknowledge appetites the wheels of the soul, then is there no way left, but to admit of degrees of command amongst men themselves; for our orderly enjoying those stocks of blessings by God afforded us; and to keep us at unity, and from the common destruction of one another.

To this end, God placeth man at first in a state of subjection to one head: so that (no doubt) had *Adam* lived, he had been (as natural Father, so) King of all mankinde. But his death being sentenced, left brethren (as in equality) should contend, this power of one mans command over another was the established due of birthright: for else, we cannot think it personally indulged to *Cain*, over one so much better then himself. By this course, if observed, men should have continued in due quiet and subjection, until the numerousnes of the several subject families might make the common head of them assume another Title. And therefore we find that where God promiseth to any person a great encrease of race and posterity, he promiseth withal, as a compleating of that blessing, that Kings should be born of them. But after such time as Ambition, Covetousness, Revenge, and the like, began so to prevail amongst men, that neither Gods Precepts, nor fellow-feeling of the miseries of rebellion, could keep them in obedience; how just is it with God, to make our own stubbornes our punishments? So that, if we impartially look amongst all those desolations of Nations, they are but the issues of their own Civil wars, and contentions: which had their first rise from popular discontent and insurrection.

An Argument more popular and pleasing I know it had been, to have extolled such Kings as measured their power by Justice and their Laws: but I, being not now to write to Kings, but to subjects; and in what concerned them in order to

peace, shall respit that till the Kings part in order to Peace and Plenty shall be treated of. Therefore writing to such onely, I chose to prefer their certain benefit by obedience, before Discourses that should flatter them to their ruine, by insinuating unto them a power they can never make use of, without the mischief of disagreement and Civil war. For there is certainly, a vulgar and popular flattery, as well as there is a flattery which is personal: and this is (doubtless) the most dangerous of the two, as having more to seduce. The which kinde of insinuation is but too apparent in many writers of this kinde: wherein, men considering that those that are to be their Readers, (and from whom they expect encouragement and applause) are such as stand interessed in the relation of subjects, they do thereupon deal with them in their discourses of freedom, power, or the like, as those do that tell black women they are fair; that is, to be wholly respective to those their own private interests and designs to be by this courtship gained, and not at all to the truth of things themselves; or to the benefit of those they pretend to instruct; whom they do really abuse by this their unfriendly information.

As for example; whensoever this unhappy controversie between Prerogative on the one hand, and Liberty on the other, shall, for decision, be by both King and people referred to Law (for no Kings nor no people do professedly decline them) who then shall be the Judge? shall the King? No, he is a party and to be ruled by them. Well then, we will suppose the Subjects no parties, nor to be ruled by them, but to interpret and (perchance) make and alter them as they shall finde cause. what shall follow, but that they thereupon divide into Factions again? some putting the power into I know not what and how many Magistrates; and some into such and such Representatives; all of them as far from truth, as differing from one another. But as, in either case, they set the Law above the King, so they set the Subject above the Law; dealing in the one as preposterously as the other.

But, in this, as in all other cases, the natural tie of self interest and respect doth so blinde and byas us in our judgement and practise, that we will bring in as reasonable and practicale in the Kingdom and Commonwealth, what we think highly unfit to be exercised towards our selves in our own Families;

milies; that is, not onely to think it lawful and convenient that more then one should be there governing at once, because our selves may happily be one of that number; but also we are always ready to entertain and practise all rules of restraint, whereby, under colour of Divine or Humane Law, all that live under him as Subjects, may make themselves otherwise when they please; upon allegation that the Laws and rules of Justice and Reason, are to be in the first place obeyed. Whereas, if the children or servants of our own Family, should in our Government and Commands demean themselves with like stubbornness, either by disputing the soleness or arbitrariness of our power in general, or by scrupling their obedience to each command in particular, until they finde it by God or their Prince Authorized, how would we then cry out against this sin of disobedience in them? when as yet we think it but duty in us, that the Obedience we owe to our King, the Father of our Country, should be answered with such demurrers: pride and prejudice always equally prepossessing us to bring down and level all power that is above; as well as to subject and keep under that which is already below. But say men what they will, Obedience as obedience must be implicite: and he that, in any command of lawful Authority, obeys no farther then he findes reason so to do, obeys but himself, and not another.

And yet are Princes and Governors the less to wonder at this stubborn inquisitiveness in subjects, since it is no other then what hath been, and is daily offered to God himself: in prying into the reasonableness and morality of his Laws and Justice; even from our first Parents to this very hour. A thing of well known advantage to that proto-Rebel, whereby *to rule in the Children of disobedience.* For if once we come so far to arrogate, as to believe the reasons of Gods Actions and Counsels are apparent to ours, his will (as of course) must be submitted to ours also. Therefore, as then it was, *hath God said you shal not eat*; so, every day still it is, such and such Commands and Laws, are but for such and such ends; and, whether those ends were expressed by God or no, every man is ready, according to his own interpretation, to obey, or not obey; or so far, and no farther; even to a perpetual distraction in Religion, and disturbance of one another, where a supreme definitive sentence is not kept up.

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And as we usually thus search into his Councels, for the Reason of his Laws, so set we up models of equity of our own, for measuring his Justice. Insomuch as, upon every extraordinary and remarkable event, how peremptory are we to assign this, or this for a cause? each one judging his own apprehensions of right and wrong, as the onely necessary patterns for Gods proceedings and intentions herein. Which, whilest they shall differ so much one from another, and can be but one true, (if any be) *must they not charge God foolishly*? For example, amongst us, that have now felt in so high measure his deserved hand, those that are of the Romish opinion, say, "This late revolt is in Justice for our Kings deserting his "Obedience to that See; and our particular Schisms, the pu-"nishment of our grand Schism from them: and the more "particular pressure thereof, lighting on the Nobility and "Gentry, are the punishments of their ingrossing the Church-"es Patrimony; which, like the coal from the Altar, hath al-"most consumed their nests.

These, looking upon this kingdom as the head and pillar of Protestantism, say, "That as Reformation of Religion was "first set up by our Princes, out of State designs of alteration "of Government, and of being independent on the power "of *Rome*; so are they now but justly punished, with the "same pretensions by their own Subjects; who, in their ri-"sings, (they presume) have as great Authority to interpret "Scripture against their Civil Governors now, as formerly "against their spiritual head. And they farther say, That as "to gain strength and general assistance from the Laity, it was "the onely reason we first made the Scriptures vulgar and "common, that under the obliegingness of so high a favor, "(whereby their abilities seemed to be flattered to an equal "pitch with the Clergy), they might be gained to that side, "that therefore our present requital, from popular wresting "these Scriptures again to publik disturbance amongst our "selves, is but just also.

Others, that are from them in opinion most contrary, so are their reasons also. "They tell you that Popery and Superstiti-"on were here too much, and too long countenanced and ad-"hered: they tell you that the Clergy were yet too high and "powerful, and their maintenance too great and unbecom-

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"ing, that things have thus happened; because the true sense "of Scriptures and thorough Reformation from *Rome*, were "too little regarded.

Others, that (it may be) regard neither of those extreams, (but look on things as polititians) will tell you, "That the "assistance of the *Scots* formerly against their Queen, the assi-"stance of the Dutch and Rocheller against their Kings, were "the just causes of insurrection now: and they will tell you "also, that the beheading of the Queen of *Scots* was omi-"nous to the like fatal blow: Believing it a Vice against com-mon prudence, for Princes, out of consideration of any mis-chief to one another, to do that which should be destructive to all; as well as it is a sin against Religion, neglecting the rule of *Do as thou wouldst be done unto*.

By all which, and many more instances which might be gi-ven of like nature, being first bewitched with our Understan-dings, and then idolizing our own justice to be the same with Gods, we do cause Rebellion to creep on us *as the sin of witch-craft, and stubbornes as Idolatry*; That is, we will then onely begin to serve God and obey his Laws, when we have first in-terpreted them to serve our own turns; which is (in effect) never to obey them more. Whereas, that more remarkable token of Obedience, that was to *Abraham imputed for righte-ousness*; was in fact seeming as contradictory to justice and goodness, (so far as humane ability could reach) as it was to the stream of his own particular affection.

For my own part, I am not more in love with those four let-ters that spell *King*, then with the rest of the Alphabet. And could I see probable hope, how that thirst of governing might be satisfied to general liking and agreement, by that sove-raignty which each subject should, by this means, have over the common vassal, the King, I should have rest contented with my share therein; and have rather given encouragement to this so common a benefit (where first all of us should have had our contents by being real governor of this one, and then that one contented (again) with the titles, formalities, and shews of his Government also) then have made my self subject to so much labour and censure. But as, in all works that are to be done, there must be the worker, the work, and the instruments whereby he brings it to pass, (the which, in order to the work,

must

must be at the workmans appointment and choice); so, in this work of Polity and Government, the commanding are workers, the commanded the work; and the Law, Magistracy, Councellors, &c. are the instruments for effecting it. Whether Prince or people shall be workmen I will not here say; onely thus much is evident, that Laws, Magistrates, &c. must be at the choice and dispose of such as rule, and also above the ruled: as holding necessarily a middle term, to unite and agree them in the work it self.

If (as considering how things are now practised, and the many opinions to the contrary) I shall be by any hastily condemned of ungrounded novelty, for that not contenting my self in the modest and equal way of commending Monarchy above other Governments, I have quite cast Aristocraty and Democraty out of the right number, and reckoned of them but as Anarchies: I shall entreat them to consider, that I onely undertake to look into Government and its forms, as they stand authorized in Scripture or Reason; and not as they stood in humane device or practise: and therefore, I hold my self no further blamable then failing hereof. For unto my strictest enquiry, there could not be found one Text, amongst those we call Canonical, countenancing and mentioning any other form: not so much as one word of the power of People, or Nobility, Parliaments, Senate, &c. which the restless wits of men have since devised, as in derogation to the other.

Nay, when God means to express himself by titles of power common to men, it is either of King, or Father, which, as the greater and lesser Monarchs, have alone divine Authority to command over mens persons. And I believe all knowing men will confess, that as onely God expresly appointed this form, so nature also, at least at first in her golden age, and whilst she was at the best: insomuch as, for some thousands of yeers, it is by all concluded there, was no one sort of people otherwise governed then by Kings. And therefore, by that same rule of strangeness and wonder wherewith others may behold my Positions in condemning, I may behold theirs, in approving them: even that a sort of men there should be, that pretending their utmost and onely subjection to Gods word, should yet contemn the power of Kings so often and so expresly warranted thereby, (as given from God the Fountain of

power) and on the contrary, settle it on such devised Orders and Degrees, as neither for number, or office, had direct Authority or Example from thence.

But it is usual with the opposers of Monarchy to take their advantage against the evidence of Texts of this kinde, as in Civil matters, such are wont to do against those they contend with about any property or title. For if they know the letter and plain sense of the Law run on the side of him they oppose, they then finde no such ready way for his defeat, as to entitle the King, or some eminent superior thereunto. Even so shall we finde Kings now adays used in the interpretation of many of those places of Scripture which make so plainly on their side; that is, when the power and perpetuity of this Office is any where set forth, they then would have the whole sense and scope thereof to imply Christ himself, and not this his immediate Deputy.

By which kinde of proceeding, they do (by fact) evidently prove themselves guilty of that pride and arrogance they would reprehend in another: and that it is not Christs honor that is hereby sought, otherwise then in order to their own. For since they do allow him to have his deputed Officers amongst us, for declaration and execution of his Will, will it not therefore follow, that the greater the honor and power of this person thus substituted is, by so much will the honor of Christ whom he doth herein represent be encreased? It is not therefore to be believed, that subjects of any sort would have thus justled with their Prince for precedence and going next to Christ, had they not more considered their own honors to be thereby gained, then his to be thereby lost.

But as the light of Scripture shines undeniably cleer everywhere on the face of Monarchy, so doth it in record and practise also: And therefore we shall finde, that when God appears for the setling the first moral Laws for men to live by, there was not, nor had not been in the world, any but Monarchical government setled. When again, the *King of Kings* and *Prince of Peace*, Christ himself appears, (as the old impostors at Oracles became silent, so) all Republikes and States had hid their heads under one Monarchy or another. And that which may be observable in other stories is, that the Greeks themselves, who, in restless wits, were the ring-leaders

in Doctrines and Examples for all these Civil alterations, as well as (in a manner) for all heresies in Religion, and upon no other ground then with an affected pride to express their power and freedom in both, above the rest of the world, (who in regard of themselves they stiled barbarous), are at this day, and so have long continued, the examples of highest slavery and oppression in both kindes.

Besides these high Authorities and Examples, that so evidently declare for Monarchy alone, I could never tell how to settle my Reason on any other foundation: being unable to fancy how Soveraignty could have been divided without dividing Obedience; how unity could proceed from plurality; and how Peace could be amongst Subjects, when the Peacemakers themselves must be still in danger of variance with one another. And farther, I could by no means conceive but that (proportionably) as one man could not serve two Masters with equal duty and respect; so, on the other side, that many Masters could not command or govern one or many servants, with equal power and affection. And therefore, laying down for my ground, that as death was the worst of evils to a man as a man, and so also, that Civil war was the worst of evils to men as sociable, it was reason I should seclude these inventions as failing of that main end of Government, and reckon them (at best) but plausible pretenders thereunto.

And the same reason I must also give, for declining that fancyed way of founding Government and Authority on Paction. For, while Prince and People are hereby put to a continual question what these Pactions were, as in a thing of no more evidence, it must needs happen, there will be produced, instead of Peace and Agreement, a perpetual ground to intestine dissention and rebellion.

In the survey of all which, or any thing else delivered, if any shall make objections of inconveniencies in that degree of arbitrarines I have assigned unto Princes, I desire to be understood as not thinking any Government can be by men in this life exercised, where no mischiefs shall sometimes happen: but, leaving that hope till we come to the government of God himself, if the inconveniences hence probably arising proceed not from the form but the persons, if they be such as are not onely to that, but much more to others incident, and if after, and be-

side all, it will appear that this form is onely of divine institution and example, and, so also, more naturally and necessarily procuring peace, the end of Government, then any other. I shall then conceive I have arrived at the end of my whole labour: which was to settle publike peace and good by obedience to Authority; without reflection on the private benefit of any person therein likely to bear sway.

But being to write in an age, wherein all men stand, not onely divided under that different sense of loyalty which *Alexander* once wittily observed in his two followers, *Ephestion* and *Craterus* (namely that one loved *Alexander*, the other the *King*) but also, being to write in a Nation, wherein Monarchy it self stands wholly approved or rejected, as the persons therein likely to rule, are differently considered as friends or enemies, I cannot therefore but expect, that, from these so different and contrary interests of others, these my writings themselves should also be obnoxious to as contrary censures: that is, of having reflected too much or too little, towards the praise or dispraise of that person, whom they, according to their several engagements, would have had more openly commended or disproved. Whereas I, who, from sense of the calamities of our civil broils, had been drawn to be of *Craterus* opinion, as the best remedie I could devise, thought it neither proper nor reasonable to deliver my self in any *Ephestion*-like expression; or to appear as Foe or Advocate to any man: but to set down and handle the whole Argument as a Christian Philosopher, in a general Treatise and Discourse of government, according to Doctrines or Examples drawn from Scripture or Reason, without reflection or censure of any one Nation in particular: as will easily, I hope, appear by that which follows.

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BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Of Deity.



From the observation of the dependance of one thing upon another (as of its Original and Cause) we must come at last to fix on such a cause as is to all things Supreme and Independent: For to proceed infinitely we cannot, but shall lose our selves as in a circle, whose ends will be as hardly brought to meet in our conceit, as it is to imagine the most remote cause, and most remote effect, to joyn by immediate touch.

Observe we again, That no Operation or Effect, could ever have been produced in regular and orderly manner, unless the direction thereof had (first or last) proceeded from a voluntary Agent: So that, when we find the Superiour Bodies, Elements, and other Creatures void of sense and will (by their constant endeavours) either pointing to any end at all, or such other ends as have respect and benefit beyond themselves, they must be concluded but as Passive Agents in both cases: and the latter respect (especially weighed) will at last bring us to pitch upon one Agent or Authour of such universal power, and concern in all things, as to be the true Creator and Director of them all: One, I say, for should each Element by it self, or should the will of more then one be the Guider of Productions and Effects, would it not follow that this Procession of chance, or different aim and will must necessarily set Nature sometimes at a stand, for want of sufficient power and direction what course to follow, or (as it were by a kinde of Civil War) make her endeavours so distracted and weak, that nothing but dissolution and confusion could follow?

From all which we may conclude both a Deity, and the unity thereof;

and that (as a free Agent) no operation could have proceeded from him without an end, whereby, (as by an immutable Law) the effects and endeavours of his proper Creatures, stand directed and limited to certain ends and events, which otherwise would not proceed at all, or else be ungainable, or destructive to themselves.

Laws and Rules of Providence; so, this pre-existent matter could not be equally eternal with Deity, but must be at first created by the same hand it is now guided: for should they not, or should there have been no creation at all, but a perpetual pre-existence of Elements (before they had by the Rules of Providence their vertues and abilities harmoniously directed) they must, by their irregular courses, have been the destruction of one another.

As therefore, in the first case, to skip and balk the more immediate and instrumental causes of things, and fasten them as immediate upon God the Supreme (after the usual way of the ignorant) were so to confound and jumble Causes and Effects, that there should not in nature be any certain Production at all, because if the Supreme Cause should be an immediate cause to the most remote effect, then, in order backward, that remotest effect must be a cause to that which was his immediate cause before, and so on; or else what was the immediate effect to the Supreme before, will now (by its removal therefrom (and coming to be as immediate cause to the most remote effect) want a cause for its own Production) so, in this latter case, the like would befal, if (through want of good and true observation of the dependance and reason of effects and causes, till we come to the Supreme Cause or Reason) we should fasten the Productions of Elements or first matter on Chance: for, if they be constant and uniform, how shall Chance own or lay claim to them?

Again, to make them Co-eternal with Deity, is to deny his Eternity, or their dependance on him; who must precede the Chaos in time, as that again must precede the Endowment and Regulation of the qualities of the Elements themselves, in time also. For so, fire was before heat, as the cause is before the effect, which, had it been Eternal, and the qualites of burning thereto annexed without limit (which must have been had it been from it self only) what would have become of the race all things else in this general conflagration? which now, keeping its degrees, and being confined within such and such subjects and bounds by a Superiour Power, is a great and necessary help to their Production. That, and all things else, readily obeying the Law of their Maker; from whom, as from a most wise, Omnipotent, and Bountiful Creator, nothing but works and operations suitable are to be expected.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of Providence and its Rules in general.

AS therefore the perfection of this Worlds Maker doth sufficiently argue the perfection of the work, so doth the perfection of the work as justly plead for continuance. Continue it could not by any other Power then that whereby it was founded; yet, as before, no want in God, or merit elsewhere (but a natural propension to exhibit and express his own goodness and beneficence) caused a Creation: So in the course of Preservation and Government (that stood thereunto necessary in to an end) God was yet at liberty and free in the way and manner of applying it: that is, whether to proceed by more express and personal execution of his will, or else to operate by natural Rules and Laws. And so far it is from abating the just esteem of the Act of Providence, in comparison of that of Creation, because God doth not in this (as there) so immediately work, as (on the contrary) the very imposition of Natures Law, and the Endowment of creatures of all sorts with such Instincts and Properties, as in the prosecution and exercise thereof, they shall be continually able to keep up both the common and their private preservations, argues, by how much the means is the weaker, the greater to be the strength of him that enabled and appointed it.

But then, as every thing became hereby positively good, so, proportionable to the impression of Divine favour, and similitude of the workman imparted to the work, a comparative degree of Perfection and Goodness did arise; and consequently, the greater care for their preservation may be seen to have been taken. For to have made all creatures, Men or Angels, had not only overthrown that beauty and goodness arising by the universal variety; but, inasmuch as the Perfection of those creatures stands chiefly in comparison of things below them, (for in regard of God they are all base and poor,) these lower Perfections being taken off, see we not how the Perfection aimed at, in respect of that higher, must have necessarily ceased also? Whereas now, they of themselves keep it by comparison, and those inferior creatures, by their several uses to the preservation of the whole world, of one another, and of man in particular, have therein also their distinct degrees of Perfection and Goodness. So that each creature having nothing but what he had thus received, it follows, that what is now in them, was in him as in its original before; their limited receipts, in all kinds, only differing them from him in Almightiness.

The first impression or communication of Divine Resemblance, was that of Entity or Positive existence; and this, necessarily entring with Creation it self to be more or less imparted, all creatures stood yet differenced, and beneath their Maker in point of eternity and degree of continuance. But that which was Personally denyed, by the mortality and decay of Individuals, is by another way, to wit, by Propagation (in a sort) made good. Amongst others, Man, as bearing the most universal and nearest resemblance in the attributes of his Maker; so hath he (above other creatures)

creatures) a nearer stamp of Eternity conferred on him: insomuch as, by the benefit of Resurrection, he stands exempted from that rule of total decay, wherein (with the whole world it self) other things are inevitably involved.

Come we more neerly to observe all creatures in their natural operations, and how they are all directed to mutual preservation by the wise and well set Rules of Providence; Inanimates necessarily, and creatures of life voluntarily, pursuing those actions that lead most directly thereunto. See we not the elements (and other things wanting life) by their constant observation of Natures Law, to preserve themselves and creatures of life, to whose use, as being more noble, they seem in a manner wholly intent and directed? In these heavenly bodies we may easily discern this Rule of Providence, in their constant Preservation and ours, although the means by which it is done, be as far removed from our knowledge, as they are from our sight: but their correspondence and endeavours in this work of universal Preservation, we have reason to acknowledge and admire, for by means of their several vertues and influences it is, that the ambient ayr is continually enabled to hatch and nourish all sorts of creatures, which the earth and water (as the common Wombs and Parents of things) do afford in such variety.

And in these lower Elements also, see we not how regular and constant they are in the course of common Preservation, and maintenance of the degrees of Creation and Providence? For, rather then a Vacuum shall again be to destroy Creation, the ayr will not only admit degrees of extension and compression in its self; but the water and earth will yield to transmutation of part of their own bodies thereinto: whereby, taking up more room, they afford sufficient supply, to avoid non-entity and confusion. Mark we not how, by their endowments of dense and rare, heavier and lighter, they are constantly able to keep their ranks and places in regard of the Centre: And thereby orderly to obey the Laws of Nature in Production and Maintenance of other Creatures? So that when water soaks into the earth, or remains below it (as in the Sea, Ponds, Rivers, &c.) it is not to displace the earth, which, by means of this compactness, is kept on heaps and hills, from taking that his proper room it self, but to remove so much ayr as was there before, into a more natural and higher station. And truly, the knowledge of weight and levity, and how to put nature to struggle in endeavouring a Vacuum, and altering the natural consistencie of bodies, is the mother of all natural motions, and mechanical operations.

Come we yet to consider the species and race of creatures more particularly, and how they are all made apt to receive and bestow the vertues and bounties of Nature for the good of themselves and others. How ready and constant supplies find Plants and Vegetables from the earth? And, as if they knew their individual Preservations were not valuable to that of their Race, see we not how they spend their whole endeavours in the growth and security of their seed? And till they come to the ability to propagate, we call them in no kinde perfect; as, on the other side, when this ability is once over, their decay is as apparent. To what purpose serve those goodly Blossoms, Leaves, Fruits and Flowers, but to mellow and defend the Seed? To what purpose the Stem and Boughs, but to reach out this Seed

to receive growth and ripeneſs, from the influences of Superiour bodies, and to remove them from the injuries of things beneath: the ſeed being now ripe and fallen, Natures care ſeems removed from the Plant, who now (as if her work were done) doth droop and wither, and to maintain the perpetuite by her courſe of ſucceſſion, uſually makes the leaves of the Plants (by their fall) a covering to the ſeed, till the fitted earth hath afforded it ſome faſtneſs and receipt.

Mark we laſtly Creatures of life and ſenſe being by that means capable of Pleaſure and Pain, and we ſhall finde them hereby (as by Reward and Puniſhment) ſtirr'd up moſt to avoid or execute thoſe actions that have directeſt tendencies to their ſubſiſtence and preſervation; that action that tends to the more univerſal Preſervation of the Species, having greater delight annexed to it then that of food that maintains the indiyidual only. So that, Creation is but Providence begun, as Providence is but Creation compleat; and, however Creation did precede Providence in the execution, yet doth Providence that in dignity, as being the end and aym thereof, even as that again is excelled by its end alſo, which the glory of God.

Chap. III.

Of particular or ſelf Providence.

As the Preſervation of the ſeveral Races and Kindes of Creatures was unto the continuance and ſupply of the whole Creation neceſſary: So again, to the Preſervation of each Species, the Preſervation of Individuals was neceſſary alſo; and that (conſequently) there ſhould be appetites implanted in them leading thereunto: For although ſome lower ſort of creatures have no individual Perfections at all to ſeek, but, as parts of a greater maſs (being parcels of earth, water, ſtone, metrals, &c.) have (with things of like kindes) their welfares by Nature readily furniſhed: yet creatures of life, (which thereupon come to be called individuals,) muſt have this appetite of Self-good and Preſervation, conferred on it with ſuch degrees of intention, as to aim at the utmoſt Perfection in its power, without ſuch ſenſe of duty elſewhere as might cauſe it to intermit its proper care, and (it may be) in its divided endeavour, be negligent of the good of both.

For to think there could be ſeparate ſubſiſtences, and yet depend on forreign Preſervation only, were impoſſible: becauſe if *Thomas* his being ſhould depend on *Johns*, *Johns* muſt again depend on *Williams*, and ſo infinitely, till one Perſon had all dependencies, which ſhould not then be many, but one man. Or ſhould they reciprocally change, and the reaſon and will that *Thomas* now hath, be in *Williams*, and ſo *Williams* in *Thomas* or *John*: how ſhould either know the others wants, and conſequently provide for his good and ſafety?

And therefore, this endowment of ſeparate-ſenſe, will, and underſtanding,

ing, whereby each particular is enabled to provide and have regard unto it self apart, makes it manifest that the maintenance of Creatures (as before said) was necessary to be kept up by this appetite of self-seeking and following a private end and soveraign good respective to it self only. For although the many mischiefs (hereafter to be spoken of) arose from hence, yet (on the other side) was it the fountain of all the good they had: inasmuch as good men we cannot be, except we be men, and well-being must presuppose being; which had herein its necessary foundation. It was again necessary, in maintenance of that variety of Creation, and of that Oeconomy and rule of Providence God had appointed. For should all creatures have passively and unwittingly followed impulsive directions, as inanimates do their Instincts and Properties, this had been to overthrow Sense, Reason, and Will, as things useless, and to forbid the Almightines goodness, (in some resemblance to himself) to make creatures sensible of felicity; and thereupon, lessening our benefit, so should it abate his praise and thanks. And further, it would stint the race of Creatures, from coming above that of Vegetables.

Or should God have furnished all creatures with reason sufficient, to have known good and evil perfectly unto the degree of Angels, (so as to have followed it without reluctancy in themselves, or injury to others) this had been to overthrow both man and all degrees of Species below him. Or should (again) all creatures have had sense, and an end apart of their own to follow, this must have put a great stop to those many affordments and offices, which inanimates now supply to sensitives, as seeming made wholly for them. For so (for example) should the Sun, the Earth, the Water, &c. have had private and self-desires, would not the good of both vegetives and sensitives be interrupted, and many times fore-slowed? And so also, if vegetives should have had life, and (thereupon) sense of those many sufferings which the continual imployments of men and other sensitives put them unto, both for food and otherwise; would it not, on the other hand, have been inconsistent with the goodness of God to have thus inevitably tyed his Creatures to perpetual torment and affliction, even to their equals in nature (for so to sensitives they must have been if they had been sensitives also;) and, on the other hand, would not the knowledge and sense of these harms have made them shrink and decline that readiness wherewith they now stand serviceable? Whereas now, by this appetite and ability of self-preservation, prosecuted in some willingly, and in others not, they keep up their several Species; and are thereby enabled in the variety and order appointed them, severally to set forth the praise of their Maker.

Upon this it follows, that although the act of Generation, (which tends to Specifical Preservation,) be in each creature hotlier pursued then any that reacheth to individual conservation onely; yet it is done, and maintained out of self-respect; either in sensitives voluntarily, as being thereto allured by the greatness of pleasure, which is their private end; or in inanimates necessarily, where Self-Preservation, (their general end) is by natural instinct so closely involved therein, that the whole Perfection of the thing it self dependeth thereupon. And so far are creatures herein from intending any thing beyond themselves, or shewing specifical aim, that their endeavours stint themselves to the individuals of

their

their own race: it being done in so high a degree of Propriety, as, having therein (as it were) transplanted their whole strength, it obtains (by this transmigration) a kinde of Identity.

In pursuit of this appetite of Philautia, we may observe Plants and Vegetables to follow their individual Preservations so greedily, that they are ready to rob of growth and nourishment all within the verge of their own activity, even of their own kind; nay each single fruit, grain, or berry of the same Plant will do the like to his fellow; and by too covetous engrossing the common sap, leave many of the same stock to pine and wither. And so again creatures of sense, having life and motion, and consequently desire and ability to attain what them shall please of their will and delight, are ready, with all kinde of violence, to run upon prohibition, void of due consideration of their fellows like desires and wants. Upon this ground depend all those conflicts for mastery amongst beasts, which reach many times to mutual slaughter; the most harmless creatures exercising this strife in some kinde, or time, or other.

But, above all, man, being a Creature of most divine resemblance, and his Preservation of higher esteem, had this Philautia more strongly implanted. For with inanimates he resembleth in positive existence or being, with creatures of life and sense in being capable of pleasure and contents, but, above them all, he comes nearest (by much) in strength of reason and understanding. And as sensitives go beyond inanimates in enjoying the benefits of Nature's store, so he more, beyond them again, in appetite (above comparison) both in the generality of desiring and the ability of attaining. Insomuch as, both in regard of their serviceableness and readiness, and the eagerness of mans appetite to entertain and make use of them (as before said) we may be called little worlds by our selves; having, in us, their vertues epitomized, as well as uses stinted: All things seeming but made for us, and no creature exempt and useless from our employment, for benefit or pleasure. What can he wish? above him is an indulgent God, enduing him with appetites and reason, to desire and attain the objects of his content in abundant variety: Below him all creatures standing obedient, and thereunto serviceable.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of Government, as it stands in Natural Reason: and of its reputed Original.

IN this happy estate of innocent coveting and enjoying, we at first rested by the goodness of him that made the delight of all things ours, and ours his; until, ungratefully intermitting our acknowledgement and delight upwards, we forfeited our delight below, by breaking that command which should have been the pledge and tye of both. Wherein (besides Ingratitude,) mans fault seemeth Pride or Presumption; in aiming to break the link of that Golden chain and rank of Subordination, wherein Nature had limited us, and so, balking our dependance on God, be as it were gods unto our selves, *in the knowledge of good and evil.* Gen. 3. 5.

Now is it that the most ordinary and useful parts of our bodies come to be accompted nakedness or sin, which had we been content to enjoy according to the natural simplicity of our first state and the example of other creatures, we had continued innocent in their use, and other injuries done by self-seeking, being according to nature, and she being content with self-sufficiency, she had therein been, as well our warrant as our spur. Whereas now, our unbridled lusts leading us beyond all bounds and measure, and then, having those former innocent acts mingled with our inordinate desires (and so with them taken upon our own scores) they thereby become sin also.

From hence come we to be assaulted, from without, with the revolt of the creature, and, from within, by our own concupiscence, which proves now both our sin and our punishment. For whilst, in our greedy and hasty pursuits, Reason wants either ability, or time to consult of good or bad, our wo instead of our weal is many times embraced. Before, when we were content to follow the natural Laws of our kinde, we could do nothing ill; and now, trusting to our selves, we can do nothing well: And seeming not content with those miseries that singly assail us, our unsociable dispositions finding occasion to make others the objects of our malice and revenge, pull on our selves the like, or greater punishment then they did strive to inflict. And again, instead of those reciprocal helps (in our decay) which should have grown from consort-ship, our enterfering desires continually engage us to mutual prejudice.

And then, when the whole store and variety of nature can hardly satisfie the boundless appetite of one man: how should they content all? Whereas beasts (neither covetous of Propriety, nor relishing their price by difficulty) are content with the simple and ready food of grass or the like. They quietly and peaceably enjoy their loves and rest: and, after their own repasts, can without envy or dislike see the satisfaction of others. Whereas man, in his unlimited appetite, seeking to engross the common revenue of Nature, and esteeming the content of others a privation to himself, in a restless covetousness, makes a dearth in plenty. For,

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be himself never so throughly glutted, he yet grudges at the satisfaction of another, and would (at least) have it his bounty. It would trouble our Arithmetique to sum up the variety of our food, apparel, and other delights, wherewith (not nature, but) the satisfaction of our inordinate desires makes us perpetually industrious: and when all is done, it is not self-sufficiency that can please us, but we become as unsatiable for quantity as kinde.

And further, since equal things cannot but have equal desire and claim, and since neither mens prerogatives amongst themselves, nor proprieties over other Creatures are by Nature distinguished, how should the possession of one happen without the discontent of another? what's the issue of this discontent but strife and fighting? and of fighting but death? to the disturbance of Nature, and destruction of her chief Master-Piece.

The riches of the earth, that without labour sprang up, and satisfied the desires of our innocent Parents, must now only be the reward of our travel, but who will till the field before he can be assured of the Crop? and if when Nature, out of her general regard, and intending the good of all, set no bounds or distinctions for the private possession of any, (but that all may lay equal claim to the soil and fruit,) why should any take more pains, when afterwards his propriety shall be but equal? and, as the issues of his labour, so himself, in defence thereof, but rendred a more probable prey to the next violent hand. To sum up all, consider on one side the variety of Nature and the Creatures, in objects for our use and delight; and on the other side, our proneſs to strife for their possession: or (for better instance) suppose all those things free again wherein men now enjoy their unquestioned propriety, and Nature as loose to make equal tender of them to all: what but hatred, confusion, and destruction, could we imagine would follow, instead of our now peaceable agreement?

Therefore supposing (as is usually done) mankinde to have at first lived in this confused condition, (wherein equality of persons and community of goods set every one against another, where while all things were all mens, no man had the enjoyment of any thing) and then, no doubt, this sense of the miseries arising by dissention, would be the chief motive to bring men to submit to Government, and think of some way of unity. For, partly out of remorse of the slaughter of others, and partly out of just fear that the like might befal themselves or friends, the occasions of their miseries would begin to be enquired; and withal, the likeliest means of preservation and peace.

And because quarrels had for the most part arisen about propriety, propriety would be the chief thing which, by Laws and Rules amongst themselves, they would go about to establish. In which doing, besides the abatement of strife, they foresaw a general positive benefit to ensue: for where before they found that what was every mans profit, was no mans care; and while all might reap, none would plough; or while the herd and fleece was common, the breed was neglected, fear of famine and other humane indigencies quickly taught them (with most reason) to expect the best return of publique utility and trust, where private hands might gain by managery, and to make the wheel of common, concentrique with that of private advantage. They quickly found that a small proportion, enjoyed

with ſecurity and peace, renders more content and encreaſe to the owner, then a larger which fear of diſſeiſen makes unuſeful. Therefore neceſſity (the mother of wiſdom) having taught them to embrace peace and unity, reaſon farther taught this way unto it: namely, that (as the diviſion of their wills and appetites had before made diſturbance, ſo) the only means to acquit themſelves thereof was to ſubmit to ſome definitive ſentence and determination in all controverſies; hereby, many became one in this grand Politique body; and as in the natural, though the arms, legs, and all other parts, draw greedily for themſelves apart that nouriſhment which is for common ſupply (and that with ſelf-conſideration only;) yet all of them keeping their natural order and rules, and relying on the affordment of ſuch members as are of publike concern and truſt, not only their ſingle, but joynt preſervations did follow. For the brain affords nerves, the heart arteries, the liver blood to all parts, as having the like intereſt in them all: and while each member is thus ſupplyed, according to the proportion which its oeconomy and ſervice to the whole doth require, and that Geometrically every one hath alike while they have enough, why ſhould one repine at another? For if (according to the old alluſion) the hands or feet, alledging their greater pains and ſervice, ſhould ignorantly quarrel and envy the greater reſt and ſupplies of other parts, and hereupon grow ſo ſtubborn as to refuſe the directions of the common head, ſo far as to diſable it and thoſe publique uſeful members of heart, liver, &c. from performing their offices, muſt it not follow, that the whole body thus periſhing, the hands and feet muſt therewith periſh alſo? For the whole body (ſubſiſting by, and) being but collectively theſe members, each of their particular growth and good made that of the whole ſwell alſo: So in this Politique Body, the ſeveral benefits and advancements of particular members are made, by this union of will and application, to be the encreaſe of the publique.

But it is (by the way) to be conſidered, that in ſubmitting thus Politiquely to have each private wil ſwayed by a publique, (which thereupon became the only legal will or ſentence,) it is not to be ſuppoſed that the faculty of willing could be reſigned: for that is impoſſible, and beyond our power, it being not capable ſo far to reflect on it ſelf, as to will to be willing, or not willing in any thing: for (if ſo) ſuch kinde of choice would proceed infinitely; nor could the actions neceſſary for preſervation of each individual, have any ſetled, certain, and final ſentence for direction or execution on its own behalf: but the effect of our wills (or the power to execute the ſame) is that we (promiſe, and) are to ſuſpend, or deny, if contrary to publique allowance.

And, as not the faculty of willing, ſo not that of underſtanding and judging can be wholly left and ſilenced; becauſe that alſo is to the preſervation and ſubſiſtence of each man as man, (that is in his ſeparate and perſonal capacity) and to the conſtitution of will it ſelf abſolutely neceſſary. But, becauſe my private underſtanding (taking me diſtinctly for a ſingle perſon) was for ſelf-preſervation only, I can from my ſelf claim no right farther to uſe or apply it; but in ſuch caſes where Polity hath placed me in the relation of a ſubject and member of a Politique Body, united for common good, there it is reaſonable that, as my particular good is unvaluable to that of the general, ſo my liberty and right of judging Publique benefits and expedients ſhould be as unvaluable alſo.

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And although in this course of Politique submission, men could not but expect decisions many times contrary to their private opinions and desires, yet, since this was the only way to common peace and safety, they thought it reasonable that a general good should be preferred before a particular; and as we in our Natural, so they in this Politique Body, were cuting with mutilation or patience the impotencies and griefs of particular members, rather then the whole body (with all other Members,) should run into common hazard, and, while striving to shew partial affection to the grieved part only, the life and subsistence of all should be endangered. For as when life is taken from our natural body, it remains a body no longer but a carcase: so Politique bodies being bereft of their life, which is general agreement and submission to Authority, continues no longer a Commonwealth but Anarchy.

Wherefore we may observe that Monarchy was not only the most ancient and useful form of Government, as having in it the most apparent unity: But also that this chief office was that of a Judge, being in all causes, and over all persons, supreme head and governor. Not that any single benefit, or the advancement or good of any one person was thereby intended, because that otherwise, and without this relation, they were to be presumed but of equal merit. And so, if we shall diligently consider all those examples of more special and extraordinary favour and abilities bestowed by God Almighty in Holy Writ, we shall finde that the good of the whole, or some more considerable part of the people, was the end of those miraculous and personal endowments, and not single honor: it carrying too great a disagreement to Gods justice, and too plain a shew of partiality, that whole Societies and Orders of men should be to no other end abased but to the advancement and good of one. And to this end only were all those Prerogatives and Priviledges annexed to the persons of Princes, as (amongst others) that of irresistible power. For their chief end being the peace of the Kingdom, and ceasing of strife and slaughter, in the doing thereof it must be alwel in his power to decide (if equity shall so lead him,) on the fewer and weaker side, as on the more and stronger, and so much his Obligation of Protection must imply. Else, if the stronger should of it self (and notwithstanding such decision) have full power by force to atchieve their own desires, and refuse submission, to what end should Government be? for without it, the stronger side did before judge and prevail for it self; but now, all Power being resigned unto a third determinate hand, it is no more of right in them but him: and the offer to reassume it, is the highest breach of Trust, and the Treason of all Treasons: even the betraying of all Order and Government it self.

By all which we may discern the Original reason of Government and power of one man over another; we may see why *every soul should be subject to the higher powers*; and how *all powers come to be of God*: and why the resistance hereof, as the greatest crime, is to be punished with *damnation*. For, without submission to Government and Authority, what peace can be hoped for? and without peace, what temporal good can be expected: because, as the care of God in the preservation of all creatures in generall is called Providence; so, being applyed to mans particular, it is called Peace. A blessing of such utility, that, in Scripture, we may observe all other blessings included therein, as the more worthy: so that in our prayers

Rom. 13. 1, &c.

Num. 25. 12

Psal.122. 6. *for the peace of Jerusalem*, or any other state, we include all sublunary benefits it is capable of, and, as our God will be called *the God of peace*, Rom.15.33. Isa.9.6. so our Saviour *the Prince of Peace*, who, (as a complement of all blessings) John 20. 21. saith, *Peace be unto you*: and enjoyns it as a common and summary benediction to others, *Peace to this house*, or, *Peace to this City*. But because peace Mark.10.13 in it self seems but a Negative happiness, we will now (so far as is for the present needful) speak of Mans end and happiness in general: which by means of this peace he strives to attain and secure.

Chap. V.

Of each Mans private End and Felicity.

WE before touched how the different Perfections of Creatures arose from the different nearness to Divine resemblance, and that the whole Creation took effect out of Gods intention to express his goodness, and reap thereby due praise and glory; and that this difference of participation and resemblance appeared most in man, as a creature most lively enabled both to the relishing and enjoying this goodness and bounty, and withal of greatest engagement and ability to return due praise. We are now to consider, that as it would have seemed unreasonable in God to expect praise from us for such things whose use and possession we could not at all apprehend or acquire: so to encrease this debt and thanks, it was necessary that the objects of our felicity, and our vigor in enjoying and possessing them, should be encreased also. And again, as for us to have covered and delighted in any thing by means of our affections, and then have wanted the benefit of reason and discourse to attain it, had been an abuse: so to imagine we should have ever put forth our active power to the possession of any thing, the pleasure or benefit whereof we did no way comprehend, were absurd; and therefore in this necessary conjunction, our reason and affections are heightned and helped by each other: yet Reason doth usually play the part of the Servant or Ministerial Officer to the attaining of what we apprehend as Pleasant: which Reason having assented unto on the behalf of the object, some of which Pleasure is expected, it is then called Good; or when on the behalf of the way and means to come to it, it is then called Vertue; especially if it overthrow not a greater Pleasure in others, to which end all Laws are framed Politically appointing punishments to keep off the seeking of such Pleasures.

They that have hitherto defined mans felicity, have stinted it to such or such particular objects, wherein (for the most part guessing by the measure of their own selfish and apprehensions) they themselves thought their happiness to consist; but we not making mans felicity narrower than the objects thereof will afford, (and reckoning small pleasures even to be parts thereof also) do not mean to contend in what par-

ticular object or exercise this delight doth most consist, leaving it to the proper and indisputable judge, each mans own appetite; but do affirm mans end to be pleasure. Herewith, if any seem offended, as affirming a difference should be put between that which is good and that which is pleasant, (and that goodness may be had where pleasure is not,) their mistake ariseth from the observation that since many men and treasures take often delight in such things as procure them afterwards great harm and sorrow, and, on the other side, finding many things which are painful in the present possession to prove afterwards good; they seek (thereupon) to divide Good from Pleasant: not duly considering that, besides God, no object can have in it self a positive or perfect degree of goodness; but it is in them comparative only, even according to that serviceableness they yield to other things, as for food, cloathing, or other use. All therefore the measure of good received from any thing, must be rated according to the relish, entertainment and serviceableness it finds in the receiver, which must make it good, or not.

For if by good we understand what is commodious and necessary for the preserving and perfecting our nature, without regard whether it be pleasant or not; see we not how they take away the use of sense and reason, and make the felicity of living Creatures not to exceed that of stones and other Inanimates: for these have this felicity conferred on them with greater constancy and assurance then Sensitives; and, if such kind of passive or negative happiness could dignifie, would be more excellent of the two. Whereas they having no apprehension, relish, or delight in what they do, we may justly account them excelled by Creatures of sense, as they are again by man, surpassing them all in the variety and vigour of his enjoyments.

As, for instance, in that intellectual pleasure of harmony, wherein man seems so delighted as if he were besotted: Dogs, they have either none, or small apprehension. Their ears are not capable of harmony, or the sweetness of eloquence, nor their eyes delighted with Colours, Figures, method, &c. They want also many varieties of tastes and smells which we possess. And, (in a word,) as man hath brain (the root of sense) in greater quantity then they, so also he exceeds them in the use and effects thereof: being more various and abundant in his desires, and more vigorous and steady in his possession. All which will conclude, that goodness in Sensitives (as such) cannot be where pleasure is not, and that goodness is but another name for Pleasure, or (commonly,) the way our reason apprehends to it.

For when for the health of my body I endure Physick, (or other observations which are troublesom and unpleasant) or, for the good of my soul, abstain from any thing pleasant, or undergo any task or penance; see we not how that which is called good in both kindes, is but in respect it is the way to what is pleasant afterwards; for the appetite following Pleasure as her general end, and preferring that greatest to the last, by the help of reason finds, that in these and like cases, this end is not otherwise attainable. For the loathing pleasure we humbly doth far outweigh the temporary sufferings of Physick, and the reward of heaven any temporary punishment; and (in both cases) proves another pleasure, but Pursuit of Pleasure. For, in any thing Pleasure is the sole cause

cause shewed but out of fear of some other detriment? not can we make an Atheist forbear his pleasure, when the terror of shame or the Law are off him: or the Glutton his appetite to any thing which fear of sickness forbiddeth. From the first instance we may conclude this Maxim. That slighter and less durable pain is to be suffered rather then greater, as if that of Physick, to that of Sickness and Death; and, in the other case, That greater pleasure is to be preferred to less; as well as some is better then none at all. Mark all we do, and it will be found to this harvest. We labour for money, not for it self, but because it is the sure and common Purchaser of things pleasurable. It is this natural thirst we pursue, even when in things we seem least to look that way. For, who are they that most deny themselves in the contents of this life, but such as have greatest hope of heaven hereafter, and the reward by God there promised? *Having in his presence fulness of joy, and at his right hand pleasures for evermore.* From
Psal. 16 11. all which, we may plainly see Pleasure to be our good or end, and only then to be avoided when it procures pain, or by its possession thrusts out a greater.

The scandal and exceptions commonly taken against making pleasure our aim, is because some thinking pleasure to be only placed in our sense, common to us with Beasts, they have thereupon thought it below mans dignity. But why so? since we have senses alike, should not their use be alike? And since, as we formerly proved, mans by their senses be capable of more pleasure then other things, why should we think it done in vain? Indeed this, by added thus of his intellect, minde and contemplation, what shall we think all these advantages to pleasure afforded him but in jest: and not rather conclude, that whatever delight, content or pleasure man is capable of, the same is truly his end. To think otherwise, were to tax God with cruelty and deceit, in finding out objects to our ruine, or baiting in our overthrow by this golden bait. For is it not by this appetite that all the pursuits of living Creatures are guided, insomuch as what is naturally and kind-like done, is also pleasurable, and whatever is harmful or destructive, is painful and irksome? Is not the food which preserves each individual taken with delight, and that act that preserves the Species taken with more delight, because the more good? is not what is most nourishing, of best relish, and (on the contrary) what is worse, have beasts any other rule to find them by then this? and are they not herein more infallible and happy then we, who (by way of Physick or Pride) making some unpleasant tastes familiar, do many times so adulterate our gusts, as wanting that truer guid, we come (through familiarity) to encline afterwards to both tastes alike, and then, wanting reason sufficient to follow and know our own constitution, our sickness (instead of health) is often procured? In which regard we may call Pleasure the natural Probar of good, or the aim of each sensitive individual (as such) by natures governor prudentially appointed, that thereby its own, and the general good and subsistence of the whole might be preserved, and so Gods end and the Creatures might have a constant way of meaning, which left to be done by such means as their own understandings and fancies should contrive, they could never certainly nor uniformly do. For should Creatures private ends be immediately the same with Gods, Obedience, disobedience, and confusion must follow: Inasmuch as Sensitive agents, (with reservation of their

specifical

specifical differences) could neither be universally endued with such sufficiency of understanding and comprehension, as throughly to discover what was truly tending to common Preservation, and the glory of God, (things in themselves the only chief good and end of all things;) nor could they again (in respect of will) be supposed, either generally, or equally one to another, so strongly and steadily inclined, (out of sense of vertue or piety) as to endeavour an end and good of more high or equal concern to others; as when now, led by the more proper, sensible, and pressing invitation, each one doth by constant following pleasure, its own end, more constantly and generally prosecute that which is Gods end also, his glory, arising by our contents and preservations.

So that, in a word, place any creature in such a condition as to be furnished with continual pleasure to the utmost degree which its kinde is capable of, and who can doubt its felicity? It is true, he might take delight in such things as might be hurtful afterwards: but when this cometh to pass, the supposition is broken: for the pleasure is over, and pain is come instead thereof: unless we can imagine there can be harm without pain, as a sickness or disease which (having sense) we should not be sensible of. And, in this case, we fall upon the rule of comparison before mentioned; better forbear a present Pleasure, when a greater Pain is the necessary consequent thereof, and so again on the contrary: both ways concluding that the most lasting and highest pleasure is preferable to that which is shorter and less: and therewithal, that pleasure is that we seek, and pain what we would avoid. For, if I take delight in such things or actions as bereave me of health, do they not thereby bereave me of Pleasure also, by taking away the only necessary taste and subject thereof: and, on the contrary, possessing me with the pain of sickness or death? If again, I take such delight in all, or any the things of this life, as thereby to lose the more full and lasting pleasures of a future and better, and to be also in danger of torment: do I not again transgress the rules of comparison, and prefer a less pleasure to a greater, and a greater pain to a less? Is it any thing but the pleasures and joys of heaven that draws our wishes that way? for, if heaven and hell were to change conditions, and the torments of hell be in heaven, and the pleasures of heaven in hell, I would know if any would choose heaven, which now men do, as knowing that in a place of Gods continual presence (the Fountain and Authour of all good) the harm and torment of his Creature is not to be feared. Again, making good the object of our wills and appetites, and by good understanding eminency and beneficialness only, and not pleasure: how can the soveraign good of all men be the same, or they thought equally inclined to embrace it in respect of will? for since that kind of goodness must have measure and issue from the understanding, (as being properly the object thereof) how shall the end or soveraign good of wise men and fools be the same? No, they will plainly differ both in degree and kinde; whereas now, by their joynt seeking pleasure, they differ not in regard of their end: For the Fool that fails either in the choice of the object, (whereout Pleasure was expected) or fitness of the means to attain it, must be presumed to have as naturally and strongly covered it as the wisest. So as not only the wisest and fools, but beasts, and all Sensitives, follow Pleasure as their common end: which, according to their utmost abilities,

ties, they necessarily covet, reason only making them differ in choice and pursuit. In which respect, although that addition to pleasure which understanding must yield, from the contemplation of prudential choice or managery, may make wise mens pleasures more good; yet doth it not deny the other to be in degree good too, no more then the acknowledgement that full pleasure or acquiescence of mind, which is nowhere but in God to be had, as the only object that can fill both the Sensitive and Rational appetite with full acquiescence as in its full and final object, doth deny every degree of pleasure and content to be in proportion good also.

Chap. VI.

Of Honor.

OUr discourse past was to prove mans end to be Pleasure; wherein we proceeded no further then in declaring that part of it which was not altogether proper to him as man, but as an individual Sensitive: But now, being to enter on the discourse of Society, it is necessary we treat of the other part thereof, which is proper to him as a moral and intellectual agent; and doth arise from very Society it self; because as from company and converse with others, I come to affect and be provoked to imitation; so again the desire to have my proficence therein appear, makes me for honor sake to affect Society and Company. Whereupon we may say that Honor, Estimation, Reputation, Pride, &c. grow from without us; and do receive both their appearance and encrease through degrees of subordination: being (for the most part) the return of gratitude from Inferiours to Superiors. For, if all were equal, as in nature, outward honor or shame could not be, in comparison of one to another.

Now, as Superiors have high Power above those under them, so have they advantage of being pleasurable to them in their many senses, which because it cannot be from them adequately repaid in kind to him that hath but the sense of one person, therefore by the expressions of the Inferiors joy in possessing this benefit, he hath so lively a sense in his contemplation hereof, that the joys of many come to be his. And hence is it, that it is a *more blessed thing to give then to receive*; and that not only in respect of God, who is the rewarder of charity, but also because there must be more joy in the pleasures of many, then one. Therefore the honoured must have two properties, Power and Goodness; answering two other relations in the honouring, Obedience and Gratitude. And yet Power seems but for Goodness sake; and when it is given by God or Authority, is but in order to that. For as in God himself, the attribute of *Optimus* hath, by the consent of all People, been put before that of *Maximus*: so, in all offices of honor from him derived, Power is added but as relevant to that degree of beneficence wherein by their Places they are put to represent him, and act in his stead: after the same manner as the

Acts 20.35.

means

means or instrument is in any thing a servant to the end. So that to make power alone the object of honor, is to make it the same with fear; and it is also to make it, not onely the same with obedience, but not to differ ence it, whether it be hearty or just, or not. For although to honor and to obey, do usually signifie the same, yet because the inferiour is always in that kinde to honour his superiour, it is still with presupposition of the right and merit of the person commanding: else to obey the usurped power of a robber, although in a greater command, is not so much honour to him as it is to my Prince or father when I obey them in a less. And not so only, but the several returns of our obedience, and acknowledgement to persons of rightful power are in degree more or less honourable in themselves, as the drift of that command is more or less meritorious. So that although some of the heathen, out of supposition of those many other benefits received, might, in complement or ignorance, forbear publickly to upbraid their own Gods with those scapes and faults acted by their power; yet doth the story of *Pallas* punishment of *Arachne* for pourtraying them, assure us that they thought meer power to be dishonourable when it had not goodness in design. Whereupon, it was their use to reverence and worship as publike gods, those that had first been publike benefactors.

Whilst a beneficial action is in intention and execution, it is merit, and when received it is duty; which do again differ in proportion, as the Courtesie and the freedom thereof do; that is as the one is free and intentional in the gift, and in the other [illegible]

When merit is [illegible] without it, it is flattery: flattery being but the lie lying of our one sense to the honouring of another. And therefore vulgar flattery is the basest, because they can be but little worthy: Whereas in true, God we cannot; because he deserves beyond any expression of ours.

In this intercourse of obligation, between superiours and inferiors, a pattion may seem implyed, and the benefit or courtesie to call for gratitude. If this gratitude come from a particular person, it is called thanks; if from many, applause; which when it is past present sense, and is a fruit of memory, is called honour.

In the pleasure formerly spoken of, every mans own sense is judge; this is judged by the sense of others, for they feel the benefits; and our pleasure is in the intellect, as being the reflex of theirs. And, as good and bad actions have the private testimony of the parties conscience; so have they also the publike attestation of the people, on those that receive them, called honor or shame.

Without this way of being sensible of the pleasures of others, the rule of *Do as thou wouldst be done unto*, would not have its stable for upholding the mutual benefit of one another in society. For since pleasure was our end, why should I labour the pleasure of others, if my self had no sense thereof? Therefore God, to provide us an evidence of protection and good, imparts to us of this ability of being sensible of pleasure received by others; and even as, for our individual preservation, he makes us apprehensive of [illegible] proper to senses of our own, so to our [illegible] he makes us sensible of the pleasures of others. When we assume [illegible] and yet conscience convinces not, it is (as aforesaid) pride. If we [illegible] publike disturbance, it is ambition, vain-glory, &c. Yet ambition seems to

regard the mark of it, to wit, publike imployment, but vain-glory and applause may rest in self-content.

Honour arising from being beneficial to others, it must be more, as that is more true and generall: and, being the reward that inferiors give to superiors, it is in the first place due to God, as obliging all creatures for all those pleasures they enjoy. Then, as it is to him onely due, so from him onely to be had; as being part of his right: and as from the abstract Judge to value the desert of others herein. For whilest it remaines in the peoples acclamations, it is like bullion: but when God or his Vicegerent have stamp'd it, the people know what quantity of respect or gratitude each honourable person must have. Else, as bullion, according to different esteems, would be valued by some more, by some less, (so that no use could be of it); so honor also, without this coynage, would come at last to be quite deprived of its worth.

They that placed mans felicity in good, vertue, and contemplation, might have regard to this intellectual pleasure: for if reason (through its confirmation of the attainablenesse and fitnesse of that object of pleasure which my appetite chooseth) hath made it good; the very use of this good, doth (through familiarity) insinuate it self, and so become pleasure also. So vertuous actions, that have politicall pleasure their end, or make way to their own pleasure by promoting that of others; and contemplation, which hath pleasure of any kinde for its aime, do from custome to attain pleasurable subjects, become the objects of pleasure themselves.

This makes Religious and Civil duties to be performed with delight: no otherwise then as men used to hunting, do not onely place content in the end of it, namely the catching some creature for use or pleasure, but this very labour, exercise, and toile in catching it, comes to be pleasure it self: and the cry and barking of Dogs, comes to be like musick. Hence also it comes, that the covetous desire of riches, makes even those wayes to attain them to lose their usual relish of care and labour, and become content and pleasure. According to the answer of a rich father, that being told (by way of reproof) of his sons whole delight in spending what with such great affliction he had gotten; he answered, "He had more delight in getting, then "his son could have in spending. For pleasure that depends not on the bodily sense, but on the fancy, can have no judge but the fancy: and then, being made up of use and custome, pleasure must differ according thereunto: therefore that which is most honourable in estimation of others, is so with me. For as my sense cannot err in judging of things pleasurable to me, so cannot the opinion of others, in matters of opinion or knowledge of what themselves enjoy.

So then, this estimation is either of things, or persons. As for things, all the rate they usually have above necessary use, ariseth from hence: and they can be no otherwise valuable then by common esteem. But this common esteem arose at first from the particular esteem and use of them by persons of honor, which had also its encouragement from scarcity, whereby the appropriation might be more sure and stable. For as the honouring do (in outward regard) make and constitute the person honourable, even so also do the honourable persons make the honourable things.

So that then, all pleasure may be comprehended under these two maine heads: that is, either pleasure of the sense, proper to the body, or of honour, proper to the minde. The last is the greater, and more

For should we make honor depending on it self onely, and a state or stock (which we call Gentry) this is to countenance pride, and hinder the way to vertue, by suffering such to assume honor, who will not go the way to it themselves, and to by possession of the reward, discourage such as would. Truly, noble ofspring is not ever advanced and derived from noble nature, but how is it ordinarily to fall out otherwise, if we consider the antiquity of Arms and true Descent, is all that can be bragged of; I would first ask, since these Arms are derived as from their Fathers, and so down from father to father, what assurance in such length of time, that no one of the Wives played the foul play. Which happening to any one, the advantage of blood is lost to all that follow. I will then again, (also in favour to their side) suppose those Arms they now bear, were not bought, but given by other indirect course, but as a reward of some notable service to the Common weal (or Prince, the life whereof) were bestowed on their first Ancestor, to remain as a memory of that virtue to posterity. And then I shall ask, how they that come from his stock, and derive their honor as from him, can be more honorable than he, unless these streams, be greater than the fountains? If not, how is this stock bettered by antiquity? Again, if the fountain of their Gentry were the best man, though the first of his stock, they then plainly place true honor in vertue.

It is therefore worthy notice, that since every thing is best preserved by the same means it was first begun, the best and onely way to keep up or increase the reputation of their house, is in imitation, or increase of their progenitors vertues, and native or extraordinary honor; things but as Ciphers in Arithmetick, that is, to add strength to real honor or shame to all the parties actions, as his ratio gives him advantage of power above other men. Not but that honor is due to Nobility that have Offices by birth, as Dukes, Counts, &c. for this being given to them by Kings, as to be chief Officers in such places, which always ought to be publickly honorable (as having thereby power and dedication to serving the Commonweal above others,) remains due to such. Else the honor of Princes is but relative: that is, absence of the shame of ignominious birth.

Whereupon it may appear, that honor is gained by advancing ſenſitive pleaſure; and honor being the end, is more worthy then pleaſure that is the means. For ſo uſually, the forbearance of the parties own pleaſure in private enjoyments, is made the way of getting and increaſing honor. For if naturally and ordinarily, there were more pleaſure or ſelf-benefit, in performing the act whereout honor is ſought, then in the contrary, what thanks or honor can be due? In which caſe, honor is plainly preferred to the ſenſitive pleaſure of my particular. And honor (for the moſt part) is difficultly attainable, and the other is in cuſtom varied. And on the other ſide, they that have this ſenſible pleaſure, loſe no honor thereby: and perhaps at another time, may gain honor by like means: ſo that neither then, did they prefer ſenſitive pleaſure to honor, and now they plainly put honor before it. That is, they do on both hands prefer the gain of ſome honor, to the loſs of ſome pleaſure: although none would prefer a continual torment to a continual ſhame. It faring in this caſe between the compariſon of pleaſure and honor, as between meat and mony: for although each man is ready to ſpare and abate of his diet to advance his eſtate, yet would none chooſe to be rather wholly deprived of the ſure and natural way of ſuſtentation by food, then of the artificial way of doing it by mony.

So that, honor ſeems the onely reward to vertue. For as nature, by ſenſitive pleaſure, ſtirs us up to beneficial things to our own behoofs, ſo the politick pleaſure of honor, to what is good for others. For the pleaſure or ſuffering of others, being not perceptible by my bodily ſenſe, how ſhould I elſe be provoked, if this politick ſenſe of ſhame and reward had not been (as afore-ſaid) entertained? whereby, (ſtill retaining my natural appetite of ſelf-ſeeking) I covet, and promote mine own pleaſure, by advancing that of others.

And this appetite of honor ſeems natural alſo: for beaſts and children have ſome ſenſe thereof: but this is as far as they are ſociable, and have lookers on. For though children, in their ſports, make preheminence or honor their end, it is not till they come to ſome ripeneſs: but then, honor being only due where vertue or beneficial actions did precede; and children having no knowledge of them, how ſhould honor be due to them? ſo that then it is not honor, but pride.

And then, by the ſame rule, as none know good and vertue perfectly, it will fall out that all men are both comparatively honorable, or proud one to another: and that none but God can be truely honorable. For in men, honor is ſo far from being eſtranged from pride, that pride is its uſual parent: & honorable things and actions, pleaſe us but in reference to publication; which may be then termed oſtentation. And ſo, it fareth alſo in matters of ſhame: for we bluſh not when faults are ſpoken of in ſuch company, where we think they ſuſpect us not guilty of them: nor bluſh we when we are alone, or privately thinking on the ſame, or other things which we are guilty of: and again are ready to bluſh, though not guilty, if we think the preſent company ſuſpect and obſerve us as guilty.

Honor being thus made the mark and reward of vertuous and beneficial actions, we need not wonder at the eſteem of it amongſt men: and conſequently of the great ſtrife amongſt us, for the having all kinds of things pleaſurable and beneficial in our power: inſomuch, as the pooreſt vaſſal in the world cannot be ſo far deſtitute of this appetite, as not always to covet, and

ſome-

ſometimes to preſume, he hath laid an obligation: whereby ſome honor, (at leaſt in the loweſt degree (thanks) ſeems to him due. And hence (on the other ſide) it is, that Soveraigns themſelves, are ſo jealous of powers under them, to eclipſe obligations. For honor being, in a manner, all that ſubjects can give him, he cannot but be herein very tender. And truely, man is in nothing brought neerer to reſemble his Maker (whoſe glory and praiſe was the end of all he did) nor in any thing ſo truely differenced and exalted above beaſts, (being in pleaſure of ſenſe ready to equal him) then in this appetite.

But we muſt take heed of the extreams thereof, Pride and Ambition; that ſeek it without deſert, or order: the one, as ſlothful, and the other, as reſtleſs, deſerving it not. For as it is neceſſary only to Deity to be unlimited in power, and conſequently to have all obligations due; ſo, to other creatures this omnipotency being denyed, their merit in honor can but riſe according to that limited power their ſpecies is naturally bounded with. So that for any to attempt to *aſcend, and be like the moſt High* in power, will prove their weakneſs and fall: as to that firſt man it was, who would be like him in knowledge.

As thus in nature and the courſe of providence, ſo in policy alſo, (where it is by Law and rule ſet down how each one ſhall be ſerviceable to another, and which doth limit a degree of obligation, by limiting their powers according to their ranks and callings) the ſame rule of moderation muſt take place. We may hereupon define true honor, to conſiſt in the ful diſcharge of the beneficial duties belonging to each mans rank or place. For, if he do aſſume till this be done, it is arrogance and pride; and, if he ſeek honor by gaining power beyond political limits, it is ambition. And hence it is, that ambition is one leading cauſe in all publike diſturbance and rebellion. For ſo glorious a thing, it ſeems, to have power to lay general obligations, that finding it no otherwiſe attainable, but by ſeiſing on that power which now hinders; I am provoked to uſe all the means I can thereunto: and although the ſame good I now ſeek to do, be already done by others, yet my reſtleſs deſire of eſtimation will not let me alone; till by engroſſing all power, I ſhall be able to merit all obligation. And nothing in a Kingdom can be more dangerous then this affected popularity: for it puts all in diſorder, by its unorderly proceeding in the ſearch of honor. For (as beforeſaid) all honor is Gods right, whether you take him as the univerſal Author of all benefits, or whether you take it as the onely thing inferiours (as ſuch) have power to beſtow: in both reſpects it is to him in the firſt place due; as by way of gratitude for his benefits, ſo by way of ſubmiſſion to his power, and therefore we ſhall finde, that, in Scripture phraſe, to honor, and to obey, ſignifie uſually the ſame.

And, as to God primarily, ſo to others, according to the truſt and charge he allows them (to be more or leſs publikely ſerviceable) honor (as derived from him) muſt be holden and acknowledged: ſo that whatever benefit others by our means receive, and do therefore acknowledge obligation, we muſt take heed we forget not (like *Herod*) the true Author of this power, in aſſuming it wholly to our ſelves.

Amongſt the perſons by God truſted with charge for beneficial actions, the chief are Kings: for theſe, in their ſeveral Dominions, are, as (under him) fountains of power, ſo of honor alſo. For they, (in Gods ſtead) are the onely able and authorized Judges, of the reality and generallity of publike benefits: inſomuch, as if receivers ſhould be ſole Judges, they (as parties) would

would but regard their own ſatisfactions onely; and call that publike, which was but private benefit. For theſe are ſubject both to flatter and miſtake: but he, having the publike in his peculiar truſt, and looking on all with like intereſt, can, as the repreſentative whole or common Senſory, beſt and moſt impartially judge of common utilities: and to him onely it muſt therefore belong to confer honor, and the marks thereof: for elſe, while ambitious and proud perſons, were ſeeking and arrogating as they like, true honor would not be: and while people did, through continual ſtrife and ſlaughter of one another, ſet up ſuch as ſhould be ſtill undertaking their greater benefit, they ſhould loſe (as in the Fable) their bone for a ſhadow.

We muſt therefore (as before ſaid) reckon honor as it is in the ſubjects or people, but as Bullion, of no uſe to them, nor to thoſe that have it: and that the value of it muſt be according to the coynage of that Prince, whoſe image and authority it bears.

Hence we may obſerve, that in Republikes, and where Monarchies are not, ſetled honors are not neither. For there is onely applauſe, eſtimation, or the like momentany and uncertain ſhadows: becauſe with them, honoring and honored are the ſame in degree; & honor ſignifying pre-excellence, muſt needs be to none, when it is equal to all; or at leaſt equally divided amongſt ſo many. And then, how ſhall they confer on others, what they have not themſelves?

And, as upon this ground, honor can be onely in Monarchy, ſo muſt it alſo follow (from what hath hitherto been ſpoken) that it muſt therein alſo flow from him to the people, and not from the people to him, as ſome would conſtrue that maxime, That honor is in the honoring, and not in the honored. For ſince (as before noted) the honorable or beneficial act, muſt precede the honor or thanks thereof, as the cauſe muſt precede the effect; even ſo, the honorable perſon (which muſt again precede as the cauſe of that act) muſt alſo much more precede, and be the cauſe of the honor that follows thereupon.

And in this reſpect, the ſubjects or people are ſo far from being originals of honor, that they can therein (at moſt) but carry the force of an Eccho, in the return and report of that voice or rate of honor which muſt come from above: to wit, from God, or ſuch as from him have benefits to give.
1 King. 1. 39. As for example, when *all the people ſaid, God ſave King Solomon*; as they could not be underſtood thereby radically and primarily to confer the Office and power it ſelf, ſo neither to be fountains and originals of the honor then given: but the power and pleaſure of *David*, teſtified by the preſence of his own ſervants, and other atteſtations of his approbation and aſſent, muſt be looked upon as efficient cauſes of this honor; and the people but as ſubſervient and inſtrumental therein. Even as alſo that honor which *Mordecai* received by being brought on horſe-back through the ſtreet of the City, was originally to be aſcribed to *Aḥaſuerus* that had commanded it to be ſo
Eſther 6. 9. done to *the man whom the King would honor*: and, in teſtimony that this honor was derived from, and authorized by him the fountain of honor, and that the people were but to be the reporters and publiſhers thereof, had alſo commanded him to be attended with ſome of his own royal retinue, and ſome enſigns of honor and eſtate proper to himſelf.

And as thus, the honorable muſt precede the honoring in time: ſo muſt they in dignity too, as the cauſe doth the effect. For although (as to the preſent

preſent act wherein the cauſe and the effect ſtand as relatives) they are alike in time, and conſtitute equally one another, as all Relatives do, (ſo that one cannot (as to that relation) be ſet or ſubſtracted, without eſtabliſhment or overthrow of the other:) yet, if we meaſure excellency by that power, vertue, and force, whereby any act is maintained between two relatives, we may well, in that regard, account the Agent before the Patient: even becauſe he was firſt, and more eminent in the action by which the relation was effected: as the father is before, and more excellent then the ſon, although (as to the relation it ſelf,) he was not a father till he had a ſon.

So in Monarchy, although there cannot be a King till there be Subjects, becauſe (as they ſtand in the relation of governour and governed) one muſt conſtitute another; yet becauſe, even in that very act of Government, the Monarch or King muſt (as the Agent) precede both in time and dignity any vertue or worth that can come from the ſubjects, he muſt be accounted original of the power thereto belonging; and not they, who can be onely paſſive; and that (at moſt) in proportion anſwerable to the power of him that rules. For if his power and force therein be never ſo little, yet cannot they in their relation of obedience exceed it: whereas they may very often be defective, in the ability of their performance of what he doth command. Whereupon, as the command muſt precede the execution, ſo muſt the Commander precede the commanded, both in time and dignity; even ſo far, as to be the conſtitutive and efficient cauſe thereof; that is, as to the whole relation; although, in the ſingle and ſeparate acts, they may ſtand reciprocally and equally conſtituted.

Nay, although, in reſpect of each ſingle act, honor may be ſaid to be in the honoring firſt, as the ball projected (for the rebound ſake) muſt (as to that rebound) proceed from the place it was thrown againſt, before it can come to the projectors ſelf; yet, becauſe this rebound took beginning from the ability and intention of the projector, even as the honorable act did at firſt, from the honored perſon, we muſt therefore confeſs, the honored to be the original of the honor thence ariſing; and not they that are paſſive. For ſo far as the peoples honor ſhall proceed without, or beyond conſideration of approved deſert, ſo far it is flattery, and not honor.

And therefore, upon the ſame reaſon that the Creator may be ſaid to precede the Creature, (even in that very work of Creation) although he were not (as to that relation) Creator till there were a Creature: and as again, the Father doth precede in time and dignity the ſon, (even in reference to that very conſtitution of ſonſhip) although he were not a Father till he had a ſon: ſo (for concluſion) the Monarch and Governor, is ſo far from receiving his eſſential honor and power from the ſubjects and governed, as he may (on the otherſide) be accounted conſtitutive of them; even in that very relation: and muſt (however) be acknowledged the Author of that honor that ariſeth from the work it ſelf: which, as it had iſſue according to the vertue of the Agent, ſo muſt the power thereof be aſcribed unto him; and ſo from him to God above, who is the fountain of all power and beneficial acts: and not to the people below; who are onely paſſive and receivers. Of whoſe farther care and power over us in this act of Government we ſhall next treate, by diſcourſing of his Laws ſent amongſt us, for conferring this honor on perſons here below: whereby we might be enabled to prevent thoſe inconveniences in Society which the private and unlimitted ſeeking our own ends, (hitherto ſpoken of) might elſe prodduce.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Laws of God leading to Government.

THe dignity of man above other Creatures we have heretofore in part touched; as alſo, why (thereupon) a greater care ſhould be taken for his preſervation: and therefore, leſt a matter of ſo high concern ſhould be left unto ſo ſlender protection and guidance as that of his own reaſon, God himſelf hath furniſhed him with Precepts and Laws from above for his direction: Religion being nothing elſe but Gods ſupply of natures light for our good; or an expreſſion of Gods love and Charity to us, by directing us how to be charitable one towards another.

And, to divide the Law of Nature, from having the ſame end with that of Religion, is to divide the Author, and ſet him againſt himſelf. For although, to ſtrengthen the obſervation of his Laws (in regard of his known power, and our neceſſary dependance upon him) he doth accept and call for our performance as a ſervice to himſelf; yet, I ſee not how any can, without injury to his al-ſufficiency, think Gods condition thereby any ways bettered. But in theſe performances, we are to conſider that ſaying of *Eliphaz* in *Job*, *Can a man be profitable to God, as he that is wiſe may be profitable to himſelf: is it any pleaſure to the Almighty that thou art righteous, or is it gain to him, that thou makeſt thy way perfect?* No, we muſt (with the moſt Religious King,) believe and confeſs, that *our goodneſs extendeth not to him, but to the Saints that are on earth, and ſuch as excel in vertue:* that is to ſay, to ſuch as live in ſociety with us: which ſociable living is incluſive of all vertue. And although it is a Saint-like quality to be converſant in vertuous and benificent actions, and to be obedient unto the good Laws of God; yet is the good of keeping them their benefit onely whom we converſe with on earth, and not directly his. And therefore Charity is the end of the Law, and alſo of thoſe many other precepts ſet down in holy writ; as to diligent enquiry may eaſily appear: and the injuries to our neighbor, are reckoned in the Scriptures as ſins againſt God. But to make things a little more plain by inſtance, we will make ſome obſervation upon the Decalogue it ſelf: as the head and ground of the reſt.

Job 22.2,3.

Pſalm. 16.2,3.

Job 38

Lev. 6.2,3,&c.

The value and credit of all things, and particularly of Laws, muſt ariſe in our eſteem, either as they are apprehended by our own reaſon available for our good; or elſe they muſt have the known teſtimony of ſuch an Author, whoſe wiſdom and love towards us may no ways be queſtioned. But, in this caſe, for one man (without farther authority) to impoſe upon another, with what reaſon ſhall he expect ſucceſs? for being but my equal in nature, how ſhall I know him my ſuperior in wiſdom? Becauſe (in reſpect of will) we being all equally enclined to ſeek good and avoid evil, and each one doing it to himſelf in the firſt place; I have (no doubt) in that regard, reaſon to prefer my own wiſh or inclination before that of others.

And then alſo, although the will cannot fail in the conſtant choice of good, yet it being dependent on the guidance of the underſtanding, according to the ſtrength or weakneſs thereof, it attains what is really ſo, or is beguiled

with

with appearances: yet it will fall out, that theſe appearances ſhall have equal credit with that which is real and more beneficial. For, be the meaſure of my underſtanding never ſo ſmall and weak, yet it being all I have, and in me the ſupream and onely judicatory; how ſhall I judge the inſufficiency thereof? For, if we ſhould have in us one underſtanding above another to be judge thereunto; we ſhould again need another underſtanding, to give teſtimony and direction to that: nor could we herein come to any pauſe. And then farther, although error commonly happen for want of true induction, and ſufficient enquiry into the particulars, out of which our concluſions are, or ought to be framed; yet when education, or other prejudice hath ſo far foreſtalled my judgement, as already to fill and ſettle it; it is almoſt bootleſs for any then to perſwade me to new enquiry: it being, but is as if you ſhould wiſh me to believe, that my deſire of my own good hath been ſo weak, that competent care and pains hath not been taken therein: or in effect to entreat me to believe, another loves it more then my ſelf.

Add to this, that ſince the general acknowledgement of mans excellency above other creatures, and of one man above another, is chiefly accounted in reſpect of underſtanding; therefore, for me to acknowledge any inſufficiency herein, cannot be expected: as concluding too much to mine own ſhame. Whereupon, we may ſee how ſcornfully the name of Fool is taken, even by them that are moſt ſo: for firſt, how ſhould he know it, and then how ſhould he like it? And when men are heard to confeſs their inſufficiency in reſpect of others, it is for the moſt part fained, and in complement to them: thinking to commend and advance their ſufficiency by their humility. Or if it be real, it is in ſuch and ſuch particulars, wherein themſelves have not put forth with like endeavors; as our ready and common excuſes for all ſorts of failings may witneſs. Which is ſo far from acknowledging any comparative inſufficiency, as my being confident, that if my ſelf had beſtowed equal pains, I ſhould therein have excelled; it will argue my pride rather then ſubmiſſion. And even in practical arts and operations, where ſenſe can be judge of preſent good and bad, how partial are we to conclude for our ſelves? Or when the effect makes it too apparent againſt us, we lay not the fault on want of inward ſufficiency or underſtanding: but on ſome corporal, or external wants and impediments.

All which doth plainly diſcover the difficulty, if not impoſſibility, of one mans ſubmiſſion to the guidance of another. And eſpecially in matters of ſpeculation, this ſtubbornes doth ariſe: for ſo we finde in matters of Religion, which all men look upon with like intereſt and concern, and conſequently concluding that they have therein taken the directeſt courſe; each on becomes ſo inflexible, that no re-examination will be admitted.

And to come to our purpoſe, for making and entertaining of laws for all men to live by: if they be ſuch as have that proportion and agreement with my reaſon, as it can diſcern their goodneſs, I ſhall then for their own, and not for their authors ſake accept them. But what law can be ſo framed as to finde univerſal acceptance: or if ſome could, yet, ſo many as (for number and uſe) are fit for the government of whole nations in all kinds (amidſt ſo great variety) what agreement can be hoped for in their receipt? Are not men uſually in this caſe found rather inclinable to rules of their own invention, then obedient to the directions of others? Who till they are by ſome ſuper-

natural power differenced, must be presumed in command but equal: and in that respect, want that authority which is unto all Law-makers requisite. And hence it is, that the most famous founders of Common weals, have still avouched a God for their Author.

Whereupon, since the force of law, must depend on the authority of the Maker: and that, according to our belief of his sufficiency in himself, and interest in us, our obedience to his commands will proceed; it pleased our All-seeing God in the first Table to settle our reverence and attention to himself: *He first tells us he is God, and that we must have none but him:* for untill we be brought from the condition of Athiesm, what authority can precepts from Divinity have? or if other Deities, should have equal or better place in our esteem then him, our obedience to his commands would not proceed with due readiness.

Exod. 20.2,3.

And secondly, *By denying us the making of Images* (the usual expression of other Deities) he doth remove a great bait to this alienation of minde, both to them, and also the fear of placing our devotions on Creatures or second causes: whereby (in regard of their unworthiness to him) having his presence and authority (by their means) lessened in our sight, our observance to his laws would necessarily fall.

Exod. 20.4.

And as his credit should not be impaired by mingling, so neither by perjury nor by common and unnecessary discourse of him, as of a person of ordinary esteem: therefore thirdly, under the prohibition, *Of taking of his name in vain*, our highest respect to his honour is challenged: upon which the more due observation of his laws will follow. And as this duty of reverential obedience, is in Scripture commonly known by the name of fear. So to implant it, and draw on the peoples obedience the better, God in giving these fundamental Laws, appears more plainly and majestically, then ever before or since: himself then talking with them from heaven, *That his fear might be before their faces, that they sin not:* that is, break not his laws.

Exod. 20.7.

Exod. 20.20.

And fourthly, knowing the weakness of our capacities, in conceit & remembrance of things so sublime; and that by practice and iteration, we are best wonn to approve & keep these things in our mind; he appointed a seventh part of our time to be kept holy to that purpose. In which last command that seems most strictly enjoyned, yet we may observe him to point out, that the end of all laws was more ours then his service: and therfore he indulgeth, not only the cure, and other necessary works for the good & safety of men, but the pulling of an Ox or Ass out of the pit: our Saviour concluding in this command, as in behalf of all others, *That the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for it.*

Exod. 20.8.

Mark. 2.27.

And God having thus given fit and sufficient rules, for fastning his own authority in our belief, he comes to those main precepts which establish our preservation and mutual peace: and begins with the foundation of society and government, to wit, obedience to superiours: and that under the notion of the most common and unquestionable relation of that kinde, which is parentall. For should he have setled obedience under any other relation, it could not have been so universally known and binding: because all could not be wives, nor servants; so as the authorities of husbands and masters, might be universally inclusive. Nor could all yet be subjects; inasmuch as there were yet many Independent families, not grown so great, as that the Master should take on him the title of King: and particularly the Jews themselves were yet such. It was therefore under this notion, the straighteſt and most

Exod. 20.12.

moſt univerſal obligation to obedience, becauſe none could be exempt: inaſmuch as having every one fathers and mothers of their own, they were thereupon, as under the notion of an officer of power, alſo enjoyned to obedience to the publike father of their country. And therefore, the obſervation of this precept being ſo neceſſary, it is obſerved to be *the firſt commandment with promiſe*: and the end and benefit of it is plainly annexed, *That our dayes may be long in the land.* For if (ſlighting the honor and reſpect due to them and their commands) we truſt to our private Rules and Wills for publike guidance, what will follow but civil diſcention, blood, and ſlaughter? which in the ſixth and next command, he expreſly forbids, ſaying, *Thou ſhalt not kill*: a crime ſo foul, that nothing but the life of the offender can ſatisfie it. Epeſ. 6. 2. Exod. 20. 12. Exod. 20. 13.

And then ſeventhly, To prevent occaſions of quarrel and murther, moſt commonly ariſing about propriety; he, by ſaying, *Thou ſhalt not commit adultery*, removes it in the chief riſe thereof, our wives and poſterity. For to what other uſe (almoſt) labour we the poſſeſſion of all other things, but to furniſh and tranſmit unto them? but if my iſſue be not mine, or uncertain, with what heart ſhall I beſtow labour for them? And then, if this parental love and care ſhall ceaſe, ſhall not nature and providence want one of her maine ſupports: whilſt theſe younglings, unable to provide for, or help themſelves, are left in danger of periſhing. Again, ſuppoſe them all brought up, yet when with the ſtrength of body, the knowledge of their different begettings doth come to appear; what will follow but ſcorns, deriſions, and ſlaughters? Therefore, as marriage was to be a means to unite families one to another (and was therefore forbidden in the ſame kindred, as having this union already made) ſo doth the due obſervation of wedlock (eſpecially on the womans part) unite each family in it ſelf: and is the moſt excellent means to peace and agreement: Whereas, adultery adminiſters occaſions of quarrels of parents and families one with another, and of the ſame family in it ſelf. And therefore we finde, however tender God is of the life of man, the breach of this command is puniſhed with death. Exod. 20. 14.

And then eighthly, to ſteal is to deſtroy propriety directly, and thereby unity: when as (on the contrary) aright to give witneſs and information in our neighbours buſineſs, and between party and party, is the likelieſt way to ſettle it, and peace amongſt us; which is ninthly commanded, when the *Bearing falſe witneſs againſt our neighbour is forbidden.* Exod. 20. 15. Verſ. 16.

And laſtly, Having given us ſuch commands as will cut off the chief branches of our quarrels, he now by ſaying, *Thou ſhalt not covet*, kills them in the root. For becauſe I cannot commit external upon another, but what I had firſt approved and contrived in my ſelf: even ſo, if I had not firſt (by covetous deſire) invaded my neighbours property in my thoughts, I ſhould not have attempted his diſſeiſin by act or force; which force will then occaſion reſiſtance, reſiſtance quarrel, and quarrel death. And this death being againſt the whole courſe and rule of Gods providence; *Multiply, increaſe, and repleniſh the earth*; and in the nobleſt race of his Creatures, man; we may ſee plain reaſon why God ſhould be ſo careful in giving theſe and other Rules for our preſervation: and why (to enforce thoſe Rules the better) he ſhould be ſo expreſs and careful of his own honour and ſervice, as their ground and foundation. Verſe. 17. Gen. 5. 1.

Nor doth the Moral Law, and Old Teſtament look this way onely, but

Gospel-Precepts (by comparing those cardinal vertues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and giving to Charity the precedence (as their end) do teach us the same thing also. For though Faith was enjoyned in the first place, it was not for its pre-excellence; but because, as my belief of Deity, or hope of Heaven stands in measure and degree, increased or remitted: so (in proportion) my practice in Precepts of Charity will follow. Which vertue of Charity, being the end thereof, and the true substance of al other Graces, they without it come to be reckoned but as *sounding brass, and tinkling Cymballs.* 1 Cor. 13. 1. For as we before shewed, that Gods glory is the end of all things, and of man more especially; so we must (according to the precepts and rules of Charity) take care of the life and welfare of our neighbor, as we tender in any sort the glory and service of God: And, to the end this peace and safety may be the better acquired, submit to the authority of such as have the soveraignty and command over us: which shall now be our next discourse.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Master of the Family.

THe discourses hitherto, have been to shew the end of Government, which is Peace; and the foundation of it, unity and subjection; and the tye and Authority for both, which is Religion. For without this, how could Nature have set one man above another? And if reason (grounded on such agreement and consent as before supposed) should have done it, yet what Obligation for continuance, longer then the same reason of respective good that set them up, should in the same measure make it reasonable for continuance? For the same natural tye of self-seeking, that caused men to submit at one time, would be as available and just, for them to take contrary course at another: nor could Contract or Paction be then in force, because a stronger Obligation then seeking our own, could not be had. Therefore untill the fear of an irresistable Power for punishing this breach was added, that first conceit of mine own particular benefit, which caused me to make my promise, would also warrant me (if I saw cause) to break it. Nor can fear of punishment, from those to whom I submitted; or fear of suffering my self by consequent or example from others, prevail otherwise, then as in my apprehension over-poysing that benefit I expect: which, if yet by force, fraud, faction, or other practice, I can secure my self against, and avoid; the best course for my self, is the most justifiable. And, until a positive Law comes from God to state and make sin, sin there cannot be; but folly there may be, and is, if through neglect or weakness, I stray from Nature, and prefer anothers benefit to mine own, by any tye above self-consideration. For Man, considered in meer Nature, must be presumed as inculpable in pursuit of his desires, and remove of obstacles, as all things else; though like them, it should extend to the death of the Oponent. For that which warrants the end, warrants the means; and except the difference be made else

how, be they greater or less, they are equally allowable. And till Religion be, Conscience or fear of guilt, cannot be. Therefore we may see just cause, that God himself should come in with his Commands amongst us, and enjoyn us so often to make him our onely fear: for Precepts of Religion, as they give us great light what to do in policy, so are they the onely strong Obligations to make it valid. Because from hence it comes to pass, that men considered in Nature as self-seekers onely, and thereby destructive to one another; are now by policy made to do the same still; and therewith to promote that good of others also: so that whilst it is impossible (without Natures subversion) but for individuals (as such) to minde their own benefit onely; they have now, their hopes and fears (arising out of all things to be done or omitted in their power) so increased by promises and threats annexed to divine Precepts; that the guidance of divine light, and not of our own, must be the choice of our reasonable Will. Therefore if I do injure or do not love my neighbour as my self, as God Commands, I do thereby not love my self as Nature enjoyns; and do, in committing sin against Religion, commit also folly against Reason; by so much injuring my self.

And so again, for keeping Commerce and Society: *He that sweareth to his neighbour and disappointeth him not, though it be to his hinderance,* shall have the greatest of rewards. And so further, for honoring and obeying of Parents and Princes, how many are the rewards and threats running that way? So that, should we not by natural Reason, be led to see and follow those our benefits, arising by obedience to those politick Governments; yet, out of natural prudence, when such large good or evil, to fall on our particulars is annexed, we cannot without self-prejudice refuse. And therefore, being now come to set these Monarchies on their true foundations, we will speak more particularly of their Powers and Jurisdictions: beginning with the Father of the Family; who, in his less Territory is a little Prince, as the other is a Master of a greater Family. Psal. 15.4.

In the treating of this Oeconomical polity, it is not to be expected that I should in this place descend to particulars so far, as to set out the respective duties of all the Members of the Family one to another, more then I do in Kingdoms; but onely to set out the power of the Governor thereof, and the grounds of the others obedience: and that, upon the like grounds of Reason and Scripture as I do in the other. So that in the confirmation of the power of the Master, whereby Children and Servants *were to obey in all things*, we finde in holy Writ those many Precepts for perfect obedience: and that *Abraham* had it as well in his power as duty, *to command his children and household, to keep the way of the Lord, and to do judgement and justice.* Where, by Judgement and Justice, we must suppose the Power of life and death meant and included: as other Nations have formerly granted it to Fathers also. According to which power, formerly given, *Gen.* 9.5. we finde *Judah* sentencing his daughter-in-Law, to be burnt upon suspicion of whoredome: which he did, both as Father to his own Family, and also by the Prerogative of Elder Brother, as being every mans Brother in his own Family. By which power he afterwards again acquitted her, knowing himself *to be the man* involved in equal guilt: even as the adopted elder Brother *David* did afterwards upon like occasion. Therefore for *Abraham* to have killed his son, was not to have exceeded his rightful power: for had it so been, God would not have commanded; and *Abraham* not knowing any intention of diverting him, might have bogled at it. Col. 3.20, 22. Gen. 18.19.

But

But for more full explanation why one person and no more should have power in each Family (the reasons being the same) shall be discoursed in the title of Soveraignty, and other places of Government Monarchical. For this Dominion being scarce anywhere absolute in that relation, but all Families being included in other Soveraignties, the duties of those subordinate thereunto cannot be determined otherwise, then by saying they owe their obedience to him in all things, not prohibited by such as are superior unto them both.

Against those that make the institution of the family, the eldest (as fitting best that ancient thinness of people) we shall not contend much: though we might instance in the Government of God himself; and that of *Michael* the Arch-Angel among the good, and of the devil (as Prince) among the bad: as also that *Adam* (before he had family) was by God made Monarch of all Creatures below; and of *Eve* also. But for answer to such as hold it barely natural, or at least more natural or reasonable then that of Kings; I shall first say, That if by most natural they mean that practice which is common to men and sensitives also, they shall finde the contrary in many instances. For when there is any association of Birds, Beasts, or Fishes, it is always under one remarkable Commander of that Flock, Herd, or Shoal. And as for that Government of Family, it is among none of them; nor can be: for except some sorts of Fowl, they have not their proper Females, and so must want the propriety of the young, whereby to make their family. And Fowl we see, as soon as their brood can flye, beat off them, and part with one another; all becoming strangers. And from the coupling and payring of the Fowle, we cannot conclude for marriage: unless therewith, we say, that the having more then one wife is unnatural.

And then, for the natural subjection of the females, many kindes of them speak the contrary. Insomuch as the designation of number, and the power over Wives, is not natural and constant, but political and differing. And as for the Males equal care of the yong ones nurture (practised in some Fowl) it ariseth from his extraordinary assurance of propriety in the brood: for from the time of their first congression, to her hatching, he is never so absent from his Hen, as to endanger his jealousie. Yet all those Cocks that have more Hens then one, though there be no other Cock in the company to cause suspition, beat and hate the young. And then, as for the way of being a servant appropriate to one another in any sort, no Creature knows it.

Come we now to men; we hear of Nations practising, and some men of reputation propounding the natural community of Wives, and so overthrowing Families: both which do yet entertain Monarchy. The like we may say of the Amazons, who have no Families, and yet have Monarchy.

But now, if by saying the Government of a Family under one head is natural, they mean thereby reasonable, we agree; and that for the reason heretofore, and hereafter to be given; namely for unity of Government in Commonwealths: which Reasons are most of them so agreeing to both, that they shall not need recital. And truly, when I have impartially considered, how both of them have foundation from Divine Authority and political prudence, I can lay the mistake of this partiality onely to this; that such as write hereof, are usually themselves Fathers of Children, Masters of Servants, or Husbands, or likely to be so: and then, to strengthen the duties of all those relations (as in order to themselves) we may finde good reason.

And

And therefore are not onely all thoſe Texts of Scripture looking that way, taken in, without any to oppoſe them; but Nature is alſo brought as its firſt groundwork; ſo confidently, that one would think God Almighty might have ſpared his Precepts. But, on the other ſide, Kings are not themſelves writers: and if they did (as in juſtification of their own Power, and ſubjects Duty) it would be called partiality; becauſe ſo many have intereſt againſt him. And if any of the Subjects, out of Conſcience of Truth, and for the ſubjects good too, (if they well conſidered it) write in defence of Monarchy and its power, (not onely ſuch as have prejudice, by being under other forms, but) other ſubjects alſo, that have all of them their particular intereſts and hopes (by encreaſe of liberty) will accuſe him of flattery. For a Monarch is a head above them, and ſo remains the object of continual envy and trouble, as eclipſing them all: which if away, they in democratick equalities (if ſome of them be not more ambitious) might be all Monarchs, both abſolute over their own families, and, as they could make faction over others alſo: whereas now, they of their family and others may appeale in caſe of oppreſſion.

Another prejudice againſt Monarchs is, for that their ſubjects being numerous, they muſt truſt the guidance of them in many things to others: againſt whoſe pride (as knowing them to be but their fellow ſubjects) the repine is greater, then if the Prince (as the Maſter) ſhould act himſelf: all whoſe miſcarriages comes ever to be laid to the fault of the Government it ſelf, by ſuch as would be rid of it. Which unjuſt cenſures or revilings come again through ſecreſie of offendors (amongſt a multitude) or through multitude of offenders (as conſidered in themſelves) to be uneſpied or unpuniſhed by the Prince: whereas the paucity in the Family enables the Maſter to act by his own knowledge, and quickly to diſcover complaints: which you may well think, he will (for his credit ſake) by power or craft ſmother: at leaſt you may think, that if he do write or ſpeak of the Maſters duty, it ſhall not be in a language as to involve or tax himſelf.

As thus in Government of perſons, ſo in matter of propriety, there is another great prejudice ariſing to the Monarch above the Maſter of the Family: and that from the ſame inconvenience in number of ſubjects alſo. Which is, that the Maſter (in regard of his ſmaller charge) can hold all the diſtributions of his fortune, (that are alotted to the truſt of ſons or ſervants) ſo within the verge of his own knowledge and account, that he need not grant ſo high proprieties as the Prince muſt; whereby to cauſe grumbling, when any part ſhall be recalled.

But however, their diſagreement is but accidental: and that, either in regard of number, or in regard of ſubjection. For the firſt reſpect (as aforeſaid) may make them differ in their manner of exerciſe and managery of power, and in the latter they muſt differ in the meaſure: becauſe Families are uſually included under other Governments; and ſo the Maſter is tyed by the Laws of the ſame from exerciſing Arbitrary power. Yet they agree in inſtitution: both of them having abſolute power of Government from God. For the Prince by his Laws cannot be ſaid to give the power of Maſter, but rather to remit it as he thinks good: becauſe the whole Family, and each one in it, muſt be looked on as ſubjects to him, as well as the Maſter. And indeed, Families as now they ſtand under other Governments ſtreightned in power, may be called politick Governments for the education of children chiefly. And therefore why other Creatures have it not,

is because they are not onely less considerable, but also for that their young are so soon able to shift for themselves: which women could not throughly do between childe and childe, if this divine political institution of marriage, had not been to engage the man also. And yet, though marriage (or having the propriety of wives) and also their subjection be from Divine positive law, yet I finde not but the quantity of that subjection, and number of wives, is at the dispose of the higher power: and where none is, at the husbands.

But let us go on, to examine the particulars of a Family, how they stand in nature. First, the foundation of the Family is in the wife. Now all say marriage is not natural: but that propriety of wives, was one of the first positive precepts: when yet there was but one man and one woman; and they could not have choice. Now in nature, children are the mothers, as amongst all other Creatures, the young belong to the female, and to the male onely as having propriety in the female. If it be said man hath power natural over the woman, as the male of other things hath over the female: this is indeed natural, for the stronger to rule the weaker, and not proper to the sex: for such females as are stronger then males (as in some Creatures it chanceth) rule them too: and for ought this imports, a strong wife may govern a weak husband, as the Nation of *Amazons* do practice. But what is this to the ruling of women in general; or to having of particular wives?

Now suppose the power of the father derive it self from having it over the wife, and so naturally governing as in her right; then the question will be; How long, and till what age this power shall last? And what Creatures example they will follow therein? If they say it is at the parents dispose: this is still indeed the arbitrary government of the stronger over the weaker: and unless they claim the just authority of Gods precepts, nature gives them little other right.

I but (you will say) the childe is bound to the father, in so high an obligation of gratitude as he can never requite. But not bound to him (I hope) till he know him. Well, but suppose he is first to take his mothers word for that; then we are to suppose again, that as his mother hath (during his infancy) natural power over him, so hath she (with her self) resigned this power to her husband. In this case, we must consider, that gratitude is a free and intended return for a benefit, which in the receivers apprehension was freely intended. For if the giver were not free from constraint elsewhere in what he did, or else did it according to paction with the relative party; in the first case it obligeth not, and in the second but as other pactions do. But if it be free, without indenting for return (such as we call a gratuity) then is the obliged as free in measuring and proportioning the return, as the obliger was in bestowing the benefits: and the Agents in both kinds must be reciprocally Judges. For although a courtesie (as in reference to the good of Society) may imply a secret paction for return, yet it differs much from a true paction. First in that pactions have their returns expresst: and next that a third superior party is called to see performance: but in gratituties, as the Donor could be alone judge of the benefit intended, so the grateful of the measure of benefit received, and consequently, what return is most proportionable, both to his present power, and that receit also. And if you put it in the obligers power, to demand

return

return according as he ſhall ſay his intentions were, you will at laſt leave no ſteady place, or meaſure for return or obligation at all.

Children (while little) can neither apprehend benefit, nor make return: unleſs you will ſay that the ſport of the childe is return; as acceptance from the loved, is requital to the loving: for men are not alwayes traders in what they do; but the pleaſure of doing is many times the cauſe of doing. If this be the caſe (as having parents provoked by the affection of propriety, and pleaſure of doing) they lay no obligation beyond ſelf reſpect: at leaſt, until the childe be of ſuch yeers, as to be able to diſcover and value truely the benefit received, his return cannot be expected: which can then onely be what he thinks good; except Gods poſitive precepts ſtrengthen his gratitude beyond nature. But ſince this obligation of the childes is firſt placed for his generation, and then for his education, we will a little enquire into both, and will begin with that of generation.

In this, man muſt be conſidered (like other males) as prompted by natural appetite, with no farther direct intention of laying an obligation on providence for continuance of his kinde, then when the like appetite, cauſing him to eat or ſleep, he thinks expreſly on preſervation of his individual. And, if the behaviour of the males be well marked after this meeting, they will ſeldom be found in any glorying or exulting humor, as confident of good done: but rather ſhame and reluctance. And again, what ſhall we think of thoſe, that through poverty or other conſiderations, might be unwilling to have been the parents of children at all? So, for the woman or female again, although ſhe (beſides her ſhare in generation) hath part of her own ſubſtance imployed in nouriſhment of the young whilſt it is within her (and paſſeth her time in bearing, not in pleaſure, but moſtly in affliction) yet, ſince nothing of it is voluntary, it remembers me of an undutiful, but pertinent anſwer of one (that was reproved as unnatural for ſlighting his mother) which was, "That ſhe got him for her pleaſure, and brought him forth for her "eaſe.

But now you will ſay, that nurture and education after birth is voluntary, and ſo obligatory. And truely ſo ſay I too; becauſe in nature (as to her equity) it is in the mothers power to expoſe it if ſhe will: yet it is not ſo in Religion, for direct precept obligeth the parents to nurture and education of them, thereby proving the duty more poſitive then natural.

And then, what ſhall we ſay of children as they are uſually nurſed elſewhere? what ſhall their duty go to the nurſe? No (you will ſay) the nurſe is paid by the parent: if ſo, then (if this education and nurture be not done as a duty from the parent in reſpect of Gods precept) there lies an obligation but for ſo much as the coſt is. But then againe, if an expoſed, or other acquired infant, be adopted and taken in, and inſtead of being nouriſhed for money, is (it may be) bought from the parent with money, to which parent lies the greater obligation?

If any ſpeak of the affection of parents to the young, this is ſtrong indeed in the female, but not laſting enough to make a family of. But if the male have any thing hereof, it is increaſed as the conceit of his propriety is: For males of other Creatures uſe it not; becauſe the female onely knoweth her brood: and men love their children, not as they are really ſo, but as they believe them ſo: wherein no revealing natural ſympathy leads them, but opinion, which many times deceives them, as ſhall be more fully diſcourſed

in the title of property. But what is this to the natural duty of children to parents? Truely this affection runs so coldly upwards, and so differently, that if God, the Law, and the Parents authority kept them not in duty (when they were of equal power) they might naturally enough (if the example of other Creatures might be trusted) use force against any assault. For as each individual is by nature furnished (as aforesaid) with competent ability to preserve and maintain it self, therefore the youngling (that as yet wants strength and understanding so to do) is in natures account not fully separate from the individual of the female: but this being now effected, it is then by natural course to follow self-guidance, as the parent did before.

And lastly, as for the power of a Master over his Servants; if they be hired, none will (I presume) doubt, but that it is political and pactional. Indeed the government over slaves is natural; depending on force: and here pactional or political precepts meddle not: leaving them to the Lords dispose, in as high a degree of propriety, as any other goods.

But now while we have been thus vindicating Monarchy, against such as would not have one in a Commonwealth to be as natural a government as that of one in a family, if any should think what hath hitherto been spoken, is to take off the reputation and authority of the Father or Master of the Family, or to weaken the obedience of any under him, they quite mistake our intent: for our aime is to strengthen it, that therewith the other (having the same end and foundation (and that more general and strong) might be therewith strengthened also. For as all power is from God, so all obedience must run in respect of his commands: either express to himself, or such as he hath delegated, and though he gave to Kings and Fathers, so large a portion of his power, as to enable them in their governments here to be assisting unto him in the course of humane providence, yet they are not to Idolize themselves; but to think, that since they are no otherwayes set up then by his authority, that therefore those under them are not subjected in that degree by nature, but by his precepts: for as all things should refer to his glory, so the neerer we come in our expressions of it, the better. Whereupon I conceive that the Master of a Family, challenging obedience by Gods direct and many precepts to that purpose given, is upon more warrantable ground, then relying on nature, and referring to God from thence, as at greater distance.

And as this will be (if well considered) a stronger obligation to duty, for wives, children, servants, *&c.* so it will be therewithal more noble also, if when (as voluntary Agents) they may expect reward of their performances from God that enjoyned them, then if, out of innate brutish principles, common to them with other Creatures, their reward went not higher then their direction. We therefore say, that the head of the family hath the true power of a Monarch in himself; and where he is out the jurisdiction of anothers Soveraignity, is a Soveraign himself: and may judge, sentence, and execute (according to Gods and his own laws) wife, children, or servants, as truely as the greatest Prince. For as some Families may be greater then some kingdomes, so the same person, at the same time, may be a Monarch or Soveraign, and yet but head of one family: even as *Abraham*, though he might want unction, Coronation, or other Ceremonies to entitle him a King, yet had the same authority at home and force abroad, as had those other four victorious Kings, which he with his own military servants overcame.

There-

Therefore we will now compare the power and exercise of this government to Monarchy, as hereafter we shall that of Monarchy to this.

The father we will compare to the King; and so he is to have all those royal prerogatives (where he is absolute and independent) that enable a Governor in chief: namely the Office of supream Judge, with its attendants; the power of making and interpreting his own Laws, that is, to have aswell the power to instruct and direct what to do, as the sword of Justice, to punish those that shall do otherwise: and in all these cases to have the last appeal, *&c.* For, if wife, children, or servants, or a faction of them, shall take upon them to decide controversies, or to make, interpret, or execute laws to that purpose (without, or beside him, and not allowing any their fellows of the family liberty to appeal to him as supream) the unity, peace, and government of that family is broken and lost. Then, as the Monarch makes Magistrates, so the Master hath power to appoint what Stewards, Bailiffs, Receivers and other Officers he thinks good; without the leave of any of the same family. Then, as the King lets out the stock and wealth of his Kingdom in several properties for the good of the whole kingdome (that is, for encrease of the publike stock by private managery) so the Master entrusts the wife, children, or servants, as he sees occasion: taking of them (as the use of the family requires) such proportions as he thinks fit: whether it be tenth, or twentieth part of the encrease; which answers the taxes in kingdomes. So lastly, hath he power over their liberties and personal services, for his own or the families occasions. But these, and other similitudes of jurisdiction, will be spoken of more largely under Monarchy.

Some have thought that a family could not be rightly called so, under such a number of persons, that is five at least: and that in it, there must he all relations; that is, of wife, children and servants. They might also have aswel put down servants of all sorts, that is, slaves too, because most families in other Countries have them: but I, considering a family as to preservation of mankind by government, and not as to the encrease of it barely, say that the sole power of each family, as a family, belongs to the head thereof; and that in the relation of Master too. And I do farther conceive, that, as wife and children are commanded as members of the family where they are, so, if they dye or depart the family, the Master doth still remaine the head of the family, although he be now neither husband nor father: and that, although it be but over two servants, aswel as before: For although his power be not so extensive over few, yet it is as absolute. And the same is to be judged againe, though he have none but children, or none but wives: for though these may alter his relation to those under him; yet having sole power, he continues in the full right of government as Master of the family: for, considering them in their general relation of governors and governed, though the Master (from their differing relations that are under him) may differ in notion or title, yet the power is of God, and not from their relations, as inferiours.

If the wife, before marriage (and being yet free) make paction for part of his power, yet she is so far from constituting the power belonging to his office, that he (when he shall judge it necessary) may reassume this for ought she (as of proper power) can hinder. The like may be said of children and servants; unto whom, by promise or without, he may suspend, or remit the execution of his power, as he shall judge fit: and yet cannot he be said to have derived power from them. Let us now proceed to resemble their

orders and relations, and then ſpeak of the Anarchy or overthrow of a Family.

The Maſter himſelf we have compared to the King, and now his Wife we will compare to the Order of Prieſthood in the Kingdom: which is to be ruled more by love then fear, and yet is to be ſubject to the ſame head. The Children we may compare to the Nobility and Magiſtrates; who ſtanding in degree between Monarch and people, or Maſter and Servants, ſerve as the Miniſters and conveyers of Juſtice and protection downwards; and by their ſole dependance of the good of the Monarch or Maſter, ſerve as Bulwarks againſt any forcible attempt. The ſervants in the Family, do reſemble the other ſubjects in a Kingdom.

Now this Government in a Family is changed through remiſneſs or weakneſs in the Maſter, as is the Kingdom through the like in the King: for if he act onely by others, the acknowledgement will follow the power, and themſelves through contempt, loſe or hazard their Soveraignty. As, if the Maſter be uxorious, then (as the undertaking Clergy can make Religious Cognizance ſtretch as far as they pleaſe, ſo) the Wife (as incident to Women) being grown proud of Government, will (as it were now her own right,) take all upon her to general diſcontent. But if he be indulgent, and truſt his power to Children, then they, neglecting all above them (that is power, Civil and Eccleſiaſtical) fall a trampling on all the Servants, as ambitious Nobles in a Kingdom; till the Subjects be Rebels, or Slaves. And laſtly, if (as making himſelf equal with his ſervants) he affect popularity too much, he thereby loſeth his bulwarks of Nobility and Religion, things of no eſteem with them: and lies as a deſerved prey, to his ſervants and ſubjects next violent attempt.

Let us now ſee their likeneſs in their Anarchies. If (in the weakneſs or abſence of the Maſter, or infancie of the heir) the power be exerciſed partly by the Wife, followed with one part of the ſervants; and by the Children, followed with others of the Servants, (ſo that there is diviſion by factions) Anarchy is begun. If the Wife prevail, as in title to her Husband, or as Protector to her ſon and heir; Monarchy is not in much danger; becauſe ſhe and the Clergy have great intereſt in the Crown. But if Maſter and heir dye in the conteſt, and the Children prevail and Govern joyntly, then it is one ſort of ſetled Anarchy; which is Ariſtocracy. If the ſervants that took the part with the Maſters Title prevail againſt the Children, or the Childrens inſolence ſhall make the ſervants that followed them deſert and joyn with others againſt them (ſo as to overcome them and rule themſelves) then it is the other ſort of Anarchy; namely Democracy: both which are (upon the ſame reaſon) as oppoſite to Government in a Family, as in a Kingdom.

But now, although there be more mutterings and repinings in each Family (that is againſt the exerciſe of the Government of the preſent Maſter thereof) then is in a Monarchy, (having conſideration to their proportionable numbers) yet to ſet up ſuch ſtanding Factions, or to proſecute them ſo far as to overthrow the form of Government thereof, cannot be in like manner ſubject to the Family as Kingdom: and this, becauſe the Maſter or his heirs intereſt, is by Superiors Laws ſtill upheld: and then, the Maſters of all other Families having concern in the example, do ſo order things, that the Faction of one Family can never have force enough, to prevail (by preſident) againſt

gainſt ſo many. Whereas in the Monarchy, (diſcontented parties having made a Faction ſo great as to overpower the appointed head therein) there is not another preſent ſuperior fear to keep them from deſtructive proceedings: for other Monarchs will rather help it for gain to themſelves; and other heads of Families will forward it, out of conſideration of their ſhare in Government, when this one is taken away.

And none can doubt, but that Children and Servants are throughout as deſirous, and covetous of the Fathers and Maſters power and riches, as the factious Subjects are of theſe of a King: and would as aſſuredly make their aſſociations to deprive him thereof, and alſo joyn in confederacy to enjoy them amongſt themſelves as the other do, if they had but equal hopes of prevailing, and of being unoppoſed. And could theſe of a Family ſecure themſelves in their narrow bounds, againſt the Prince and his Laws, and the diſturbance and intermedling of the Maſters of other Families, as well as Republikes can fortifie againſt other Monarchs: we ſhould ſoon finde more Anarchical Families then Kingdoms: I mean number for number.

For ſince we all know that the Fathers eſtate is more often and with more covetouſneſs ſought then the Kings, if Fathers had nothing but their ſons Conſciences for their defence, as Kings have, they would often fall into worſe fortune. But Monarchs wanting, firſt preſent undertakers of their common protection when their Offices are invaded, as the Prince is to the Fathers; and Monarchs again, being not unanimous and active in upholding each others rights, as Fathers are, it is no wonder, if we finde here and there an Anarchical Kingdom, even daring to profeſs themſelves ſo; which Families do not. But, would Monarchs take the common intereſt to heart, as Fathers do; and be as vigilant to preſerve their neighbors power as others are to overthrow them, they would finde, that it would be the ſteadieſt courſe to maintain their own power at home: and that, when other Kingdoms could never have been known ſucceſsful in enterpriſing their Kings ſubverſion, their ſubjects would never undertake it; no more, then the Children or Servants of a Family dare for the like cauſe, attempt the like againſt their Father and Maſter: The main reaſon that Subjects uſually have to deſire ſuch Change, being the example of ſuch or ſuch a neighboring people, as have thriven therein: and ſo, making fortune and ſucceſs the onely judge of right and wrong, they do proceed accordingly: all ſtories telling us, that until Anarchies came into the world, ſuch a thing as limited Monarchy was not in being.

Let us now again ſee their likeneſs in Rebellions, and its pretences. The Wife, if ſhe be of greater ſpirit then to be confined in her proper employment, takes occaſion from her Husbands remiſneſs, or too great truſt in her, to enlarge her power in the Family, and to encroach on her Husbands alſo. With theſe ſhe lays Obligations, and raiſes dependances as to her ſelf: and having now (as ſhe believes) gotten ſtrength to ſtand alone, or above her Husband, ſhe becomes more inſolent and open: Which if it ſhall awake him to curb by his juſt power, then comes ſhe to ſpread through the Family the charge and power ſhe hath. She ſaith, "That the power of the head of the "Family, grew from the Family: for as the Family was in greatneſs or pow-"er, ſo was the head thereof alſo: and therefore that they (as the fountains "of power) might uſe the ſame to their juſt vindication from oppreſſion. "She ſaith, that as all kindes of good is increaſed by communication, ſo "the good of the whole Family, is to be preferred in reaſon to the ſingle good

of

"of any one; especially since (as the case now stands) that one seeks but "his own hurt also, led and blinded with evil Counsel. In which case, "necessity of self-preservation, will not onely justifie; but duty to their Ma-"ster, requires the other members, to joyn in a course to force these from "him, and take the charge of his person and Government themselves. She "tells them, that a Family (as a Family) hath foundation on the Wife: "and that (as without Religion (well instructed) there could be no firm "obligation for subjects obedience; so) without a Wife no Children, no "Family: and so no Master thereof. Besides (though truly she is loth to say "so much her self, yet) her Husbands late disrespect and forwardness to cross "her, makes her fear (as men are now easily enclined to heresie, so) he hath "turned his affection to some other women: and therefore she would divorce "her self from him; that so he might be as excommunicate in his Family. For, "although it is true, that obedience is to be given to him by the Law of God, "yet again it is as true, that he is to keep Gods Laws as well as we: "if not, we must *obey God rather then men.* Nay, when he hath neglected "his duty to his Family, in not providing for them (as this man hath done) "Saint *Paul* expresly saith, *He is worse then an infidel.* Now, whether it be "not fit that one *that hath denied the Faith*, an Infidel, nay worse then an "Infidel, should not onely be excommunicated, but put from Government, "she thinks none can doubt.

Act. 5.29.

1 Tim 5.8. Ibidem.

But above all, through her Husbands often absence about other imployments, and remitting the directive part of Government to her in many particulars, she lays the greatest claim to make her self (as it were) Governor in chief; leaving to her Husband (as pertinent to him that hath none but the coercive part) the honor and authority only of a subservient officer: that is, to execute & punish according to her determination and censure. No otherwise, then as the popish and Presbyterian Clergy, upon advantage of their sole exercise in the Office of publike instruction, do come to believe at last, they are supreme and uncontrolable herein: and do thence infer, that as the body is to be subservient to the mind, so the Prince (or Civil Magistrate as they call him) ought with his coercive part of Government, to be reckoned but as subordinate, and Ministerial to what they in their spiritual capacities shall enjoyn.

Not remembring, that all that external jurisdiction and power she exerciseth in the Family, is subordinate, and to be acknowledged as derived from his supreme headship; even as done by her as *his* Wife in *his* family, by vertue of that choice and designation he then made at the time he personally ordained her to be his Wife, and so consequently took her into this consortship and share of power. For although the positive power and honor belonging to her as a mother and Mistris of a family be to be derived from God onely, even from the sacramental efficacy of marriage and Ordination it self; yet since it cannot be imagined that the constitution of a less and subordinate power was intended to be the overthrow of a greater, therefore should she have considered, that she is negatively in all things by him restrainable in the execution thereof. Nay more, in those things which she acts as Mistress of the Family, over any but her own Children, she is to hold her self as well impowered as restrainable by him: although in respect of that obedience (or honor rather) which her own children give her, she be not to acknowledge any humane derivation therein, but is impowered as mother, both

by

by the Laws of God and Nature; and that in chief, where no other head or Monarch is.

With theſe and ſuch like inſinuations ſhe may be ſuppoſed to win Children and others of the Family into a faction and aſſociation with her: by whoſe help ſhe may be able to work her ends. For although women be (rather) more deſirous of Government then men, yet they, wanting bodily ſtrength, are forced to draw in others to their aſſiſtance, by ſetting up of their intereſts alſo. Thus Children ſhall be won in, by hope of ſome parity of power with the Father, as well as Peerage among themſelves: for, by the Text of *Fathers provoke not your children to wrath*, they would both have the duty of Fathers implyed, of not commanding more to their Children, then what they are willing to act, for fear of angring them: and alſo that, being provoked by their Father, it was juſt and reaſonable for them, to proſecute this wrath of theirs unto the abating his power for the future. Epheſ. 6. 4.

Then, the Children, when they meet with an eaſie and indulgent Father, and one that hath never ſo much as ſaid to *them, why do you ſo?* but hath ſuffered them to rule and ſway over the ſervants as of their own right, by his too great truſt to them given; theſe (I ſay) are apt to forget, the joynt and common intereſt they have in their Fathers ſupport, and thereupon to be drawn into theſe inſurrections. But when the Father ſhall now finde himſelf deſpiſed, and ſhall diſcover that they (as contemning his Authority) are beginning to make factions amongſt his ſervants, as ſeeking their own intereſt and ends; and thereupon would now begin to curb them, and it may be (according to *Solomons* advice) put *wiſe ſervants over theſe his ſons that cauſe his ſhame*; "how will they begin to cry out on their ſlavery, when ſtrangers and "ſervants ſhall be made favorites? How ill natured is his own children, to his "Peers? But it is no marvail (they tell the reſt of the Family and people) "that they are ſo uſed, for it is for their ſakes, and onely becauſe they have "ever held up againſt ſuch as would enſlave them: for if they would flatter "him in ſuch a courſe, they might have preferment and favor enough. No, "no, their Conſcience and zeal to the publike, would not let them be of "this Bed-chamber and Court-Junto: they are publike ſpirited, and all for "the common liberty and good: and will maintain the Families, or peoples "liberties and properties; and (above all) the true Religion. 1 King. 1. 6. Prov. 17. 2.

If the Father, finding his Wife more true, do particularly uſe her aſſiſtance or advice, Oh what ſcorn will they caſt upon their mother. "What ſhall "they be ruled by the diſtaff! Are women fit for ſuch employment! What "ſhall they be Prieſt-ridden! Let women (on Gods Name) ſpin, and go-"vern their own maids: have they not Callings of their own? As if there could not be a greater injury offered them, then to tell them that they muſt be ſubject to any other precepts of Religion, but what was of their own contrivance.

But all other clamorous maxims, come far ſhort of thoſe uſed by the ordinary ſervants; being now left with none above them: the Children and Nobility being dead, or diſheartned by long contention; and others now content, to joyn with them in their heady alterations. Now come they to conceive and cry out, "That ſince the main body of the Family or King-"dom conſiſts of the ſervants or ſubjects: that therefore their good and "advice, ſhould be moſt taken into concern. The Maſter had no other "power over them, then what he had by paction; they (by that) made him

"to be a Master: and since they entered thereinto but in order to their own "good, why should they be hindered at any other mans pleasure for the fu-"ture? No, since they are now restored to their own just natural freedom "again, they will not be subject to any sort of rule, but what shall be for "their own good; yea, and at their own choice. Which once resolved, what strange fancies and models of Government, do they at once contrive & practise over one another? What a many of play-days will they make, till, under the notion of slavery, all necessary ways to sustain the Family be neglected? How are the names of Tyranny, Slavery, Liberty, Freedom, *&c.* tossed up and down like Tennis-balls? And, because their weakness and inexperience cannot let them see what proportion of Liberty just Government will admit, they, for fear of want, are still crying out Liberty, Liberty: and as (amongst Children) there is a contest (by way of sport) for saying some word or sentence oftenest in a breath; so amongst them, these that in their Proposals of Government, can name and promise Liberty most, and can put the other political railing terms of Tyranny, Slavery, Oppression, *&c.* oftenest upon others, are concluded to have most infallibly found out the best Government for them to follow.

In the passed discourse of the power of the Father and Master of the Family, and of the subjection and obedience which those that are under them do owe; it will not (I hope) be expected, I should enter into the particulars of his duty again, in the government of them; or of things belonging to the Family; more then I shall afterwards, set forth the manner of kingly administration: therefore (upon the reasons before given) leaving the Masters part towards his Family, to be treated of when I shall speak of the Kings towards his Subjects, what hath been said will (I conceive) be sufficient to set forth the ground and right of the Masters power, so far as to estate the obedience of all under him: and the inferences thereupon, will I hope, prove pertinent (by their likeness) to encourage our subjection, and disprove our insurrection against Kings: to which end this Discourse was chiefly intended.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of Soveraignty, and its Original; and, of Monarchy, or Kingly power.

BY what hath been delivered, both in explaining those many particular Laws from God himself, and those many Documents deduceable from the light of Nature for the establishment of Government, we cannot in reason now own its Original, or that power whereby it is made and founded to any other then him. For, in respect the thing it self is of so great honor, we may well think God to relate to the particular glory of conferring hereof, when upon occasion of impowring the King of Kings, he saith, *My glory will I not give to another.* Isa. 42 8. For God, that hath *all power belonging to him* Psal. 62. 11. having resigned this Scepter into the hands of Christ, *to set judgement in the earth, and cause the Isles to wait for his Law*; Isa. 42. 4. it is not for men to set up to themselves such *Images* of Authority as are of their own *graving* and contrivance: lest we be found resisting and opposing him in these his proper attributes, *of kingdom, power, and glory*; even by refusing or opposing such Matth. 6. 13. Ministers and forms of Administration, as are by him to this end appointed amongst us.

Insomuch, that if any should think it of humane production, and argue, that because the good and preservation of the people was the cause of this power in Princes, that therefore these people must be the originals thereof also; they would by this assertion, rob God of his due. For, although they and their good are partly the final cause, yet are they so passive therein as it cannot be reasonably conceived, how they shall be able to act above, or upon that power they must suffer under: and their good again, being subservient and much inferior to a higher and better end, Gods glory, it will follow that this, as the more worthy, must, upon the same ground prove the final cause also: and the other remain but as a means thereunto.

And if the people be thus weak herein, what claim shall they lay to be efficient causes? How can they be brought to bestow what they had not? Or shall we think, that now, in corrupted Nature, men have farther power to order and govern themselves, then while it was pure? For even then, by right of Creation, Providence, and Protection, man, with other Creatures, stood subject; and had, in the very state of innocence, a Law to observe: and well had it been for him to have had more regard to this power: but now, lapsed and depraved as we are, our acknowledgement and subjection to this power and soveraignty will agree more, both with our benefit and duty, then before.

Nor can we think, because our present distempers need, or call for this coercive power, that therefore we are the radical cause thereof: no more then the sick patient, can reckon himself the cause of cure, or of the Physicians skill. Whereupon, since power cannot own its original to impotency, we must derive it from its onely Author, namely God: and therefore the judgement

which kings give, is by God owned as his; and he is called Gods Miniſter.

2 Chron. 19. 6. Rom. 13. 4. If power were from the people, Democrity were the beſt form of government, and Monarchy the worſt, as fartheſt from its patern and original: but (on the contrary) we finde it on all hands confeſſed that Monarchy is beſt; as having in it moſt apparent unity, and coming neereſt to its paterne and fountain, God Almighty.

Again, ſuppoſing power at firſt from the multitude, it muſt be from each perſon, according to that Maxim *quiſque naſcitur liber*; and then, if all be free by birth (as each one muſt, or none muſt) how can the children of contractors be bound to the compacts of their fathers, more then they were to theirs before: or why have they not power of alteration aſwel as they? for if univerſal conſent makes it, it is a thing which never was, nor never can be had; women, children, ſervants, and many people more (under one arbitrary qualification or other, made by ſuch as bare ſway) being ſecluded. And therefore, the perſons of Electors decaying, and others of equal birthright daily ſucceeding (if general conſent makes governors lawful) the queſtion muſt be daily asked: Nay, if major Votes of theſe Electors, may, in equity pretend to binde the other, then no power can be of any continuance without new capitulation: becauſe part of the old Major Voters will be ſtill dying, and ſo a number of non-conſenters now ſucceeding, they muſt be ſtill asking conſent anew, or elſe it may be doubted, that theſe new ones added to the old minor vote of non-conſenters, may make the major number, and ſo make it to be no lawful government. And ſo farther, by this maxime, how can conqueſt or ſucceſſion have any right? which it hath, by confeſſion of all.

Again, ſince rebellion is a reſiſtance made by a leſs rightful power againſt a more (for ſo diſobedience and ſtubborneſs comes to be called Rebellion againſt God;) why ſhould we not call Kings rebels to the people (if his power be from them) aſwel as call them rebels to him? acknowledging hereby all power of right in him.

We may further finde that God, to expreſs his own propriety in conferring the power of kingſhip, taketh often to him the title of King, as of the ſupream and high power amongſt men, and never of any Ariſtocratick or Democratick compellation: ſometimes putting it before, and above his own name of power; as if it were moſt highly emphatick to expreſs the original thereof: as when farther to ſet forth himſelf as *a great God, he adds, and a great King above all Gods:* importing, that as he had made them *Elohims* to men, ſo would he ſtill keep his own paramont right, in being a *Melech* over them. And ſo *Moſes*, for a greater honor and grace is called King, as inferring none but ſuch to have indubitable power to make Laws: for it is ſaid, that *Moſes commanded in a Law, even the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob; and he was King in Jeſurun, when the people and tribes were gathered together:* that is, he had power before, and not from their aſſemblies.

Pſalm. 95. 3.

Deut. 33. 4, 5.

And ſo againe, God, for the farther enabling and honoring of Kings, uſually gives unto them of his own titles of kingdome, power, might, majeſty, honor, *&c.* which he doth not to any, but theſe his own Lieutenants: whom in the *Pſalms* he moſt particularly owns as his ſecond ſelf, and under the appellation of Gods (there given them) ſhews that their power muſt be acknowlegded from him onely: *I have ſaid ye are Gods, and all of you children*

Pſalm. 82. 6.

of

of the most high. And as this his so saying, confers on them the stampe of his power, so keeps he to himself, the sole prerogative of being *God of Gods, and great King above all Gods*: for *he judgeth among the Gods*, to see if *they deliver the poor and needy: rid them out of the hand of the oppressor.* And these texts of the 82 *Psalm*, are by our Saviour thought so clear, for proof (not onely of Kings derived power from God, but also) of their neer representation of other his honorable attributes, that he makes it the only Scripture argument, to prove the assumption of Divinity to himself warrantable: if *he called them Gods unto whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken, how say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, thou blasphemest, because I said I am the Son of God.* Wherein he proves, that since Kings (being but adopted *children of the most High*) ought to be acknowledged Gods, how much more he, that (being expresly *by the Father sanctified and sent into the world*) might truely assume and say, *I am the Son of God:* and that he was eminently (above others) this natural Son of God, he there attests his works: which, although the stronger proof, abolisheth not the strength of the proof of the Kings power; namely the *word of God, the Scripture that cannot be broken.*

Vers. 1. Psalm. 82. 4. Joh. 10. 35, 36.

And for that exception, of Kings unlikeness to God in regard of immortality, *But ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes*, it makes their resemblance of God in power, *&c.* (while they live) yet more clear: as being thence to be concluded, as far above the ordinary sort of men (and Magistrates also) in their life time, as now in death like unto them. And by that differencing those (there called Gods) from an inferior ranke of Princes, it must signifie that supream office of kingship onely: because on earth, Princes are under none else: And therefore is Monarchical government there acknowledged the foundation of the earth: for (complaining of their present injustice) it is said *all the foundations of the earth are out of course.*

Psalm 82. 7. Vers. 6.

Nay, so far are people or subjects from having any authority to confer these high places, or of having from God any rightful power over one another, that they have it not wholly over themselves: so that no man can kill or destroy himself, but he is so far-forth culpable, as a transgressor of the Laws of God and nature. For as the measure of our good abearing to others, is from presumption of our good inclinations to our selves: if we proceed by such self-injuries, how shall the damage of our neighbour be avoided? in whose, and our destruction, there will happen a diminution to Gods general property in mankinde, by loss of so many individuals. Upon which ground, we see that Kings as Gods Vicegerents, and under him proprietors of their whole territories, must (for the enabling them in their account) have account given them for the life of each one of his subjects: which although destroyed by himself, is yet murther, and the party culpable, as *Felo de se.*

So then, *There is no power but of God, and the powers that are, are ordained of him: he it is that taketh away kings and setteth up Kings, a God of Gods and Lord of Kings* he is; and he himself by paramount right, *beareth rule over the kingdoms of men, and giveth them to whom he will.* The which to deny, and to ascribe this gift and power to any earthly derivation, is with *Nebuchadnezzar* to have the heart and understanding of a beast onely, not of a reasonable creature.

Rom. 13. 1. Dan. 2. 47. Dan. 5. 21.

And *Daniel* farther tells *Balthazar*, *The most high God gave thy father a king-*

kingdom, and majesty, and honor, and glory: and for the majesty that he gave him, all people, nations, and languages trembled and feared before him: he put to death whom he would, and whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down: all which (as it shews the original of power, so) being spoken of heathen kings, what can more directly point out the largeness of authority, necessarily belonging to that office, as derived from God, Vers. 18, 19. Dan. 4. 32. *to whom all the kingdoms of the earth belong*, and whose Lieutenants they are? Could the law of nature, or any other unknown prerogative of one man over another, have otherwise made the taking of mans life away other then murther; had not a power herein been thus gotten from God (who only had it) to be exercised by his Vicegerent: to enable him (as before said) *to put to death whom he would?*

Which general power of the sword of justice, we may find given to Kings, at the same time God gave over the immediate managery thereof himself: for so are we to understand the words, *at the hand of every mans brother will I require the life of man*: namely, to denote unto us that Officer, who is appointed to the execution of this power. For although God will have mans blood now punished by man himself, yet it is not to be done by every one, but by such an one as should personate and represent every man, as being every mans brother: so that by the words *hand*, and *brother* (in the singular number) we are to understand that this power of life and death, is hereby put into the trust of this publike and general person, now the adopted elder brother under and after the law, as it was in the natural elder brother before the law. Gen. 9. 5.

And that this verse was not idlely added to the former, but to signifie this common person the King, will most plainly appear by comparing it with that description of Kingly office particularly given to the Jews: in which, this officer is there specified under that relation of brother three times, and under no notion else: *one from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee, thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother*: and againe it is there said, *that his heart be not lift up above his brethren*. In which places, since the relation of brotherhood is so often used, and not any other word or relation (as of bidding them choose one of their own nation, country, kindred, religion, &c.) it must shew it to be a direct paraphrase on this place. Deut. 17. 15. Vers. 20.

And that which will yet most of all clear it, will be the observation that this first prediction, and appointment of Kingship by God all the world over, was upon the same occasion with this prophesie, and appointment of kingship by *Moses* amongst the Jews: because that in both places, the relation and notion of brother, is set down by occasion of the establishment of the like chief mark of their office, namely supream judicature. For as in this place this publike officer and judge, was appointed upon occasion of Gods first setting down positive laws for men to be governed by, so in this place of *Moses* it is set down after, and upon occasion of setling the power of supreme judicature *between blood and blood*, &c. in one judge amongst that people.

Some have thought the judiciary power, and the designation of magistracy, not to be set down till the sixth verse: and that in the most general terms of *who so sheddeth*, &c. But I conceive that verse, to contain a general recital of Gods care of humane preservation, by the vindicative prosecution of the causers of his death, whither man or beast: both which had been before particularly Gen. 9. 6.

cularly ſpoken to. For that chap. containing expreſſions of Gods providence for man and beaſt, after their former deſtruction, we may note, that as the forbidding to eat blood was ſacramentally delivered to teach men clemency and abſtinence (in that their indulgence for dominion and food over beaſts) ſo (on the other ſide) to ſhew us that God careth for men too, it is next added, *and the blood of your lives will I require at the hand of every beaſt.* By which words, ſince we cannot conceive how beaſts ſhould be otherwiſe (in that kind) reſponſible to God, then by his Miniſter of juſtice amongſt us, we muſt therefore conclude, the requiring hereof at the hand of every *beaſt, and at the hand of every man*, is to be made good by that judiciary authority *of every mans brother* next following. All which will plainly appear to be the ſenſe hereof, by the 21 Chap. of *Exodus*: where laws are ſet down for men and beaſts in that kind offending: which are to be exerciſed by the preſent judiciary power, and not left to *every man* in the literal ſenſe.

But, to return to the other part of kingly power according to *Daniels* deſcription. By *ſetting up and puting down whom he pleaſeth*, we may ſee the ſubordination of all eſtates, orders, and degrees of ſubjects unto him: inaſmuch as the power of all other magiſtrates, muſt be reckoned but as derived from him as ſupreme, and their power but as parts and ſlips of his entire truſt. And this was well denoted, when God took part of *Moſes* ſpirit to enable the ſubordinate Miniſters to exerciſe their functions: for, although God had ſufficient of his own to give as yet unbeſtowed, yet, to ſhew the neceſſity of their dependance and ſubordination for eſtabliſhment of government, he grants them portions onely of what had been entirely conferred on one before: that ſo agreement and unity might be preſerved, by this *unity of ſpirit and band of peace*; which would elſe be diſtracted by plurality of perſons.

And to this end, were theſe perſons to be at *Moſes* choice alſo: for *the Lord ſaid unto* Moſes, *Gather unto me ſeventy men of the Elders of Iſrael, whom thou knoweſt to be Elders of the people, &c. and I will come down and talk with thee, and will take of the ſpirit which is upon thee, and will put it upon them, and they ſhall bear the burthen of the people with thee, that thou bear it not thy ſelf alone.* Which places plainly ſhew, that although God, at *Moſes* ſuit, did give others power to bear part of the burthen, yet is their manner of conſtitution ſo ordered, as to minde them of ſubordination to the Monarch: and again, there is nothing of popular conſent herein: All which would be well conſidered, by ſuch as are ſo credulous of the ſoveraign power of the Sanhedrim. Numb. 11. 16. Verſ. 17.

This delegation of power from God to Kings, was uſually conferred under the name of Unction: for ſo ſaith *Samuel* in annointing *Saul, is it not becauſe the Lord hath annointed thee to be Captain over his inheritance*: plainly implying, the power and office to be conferred with the unction: and that alſo as coming from God; *the Lord hath annointed thee.* And therefore, under this incommunicable and ſacred title *of Gods anointed*, their protection is again by God more expreſly owned, then of other perſons. 1 Sam. 10. 1.

This unction or mark of power, is in the firſt place due and proper to Chriſt, thereupon called *the Chriſt, or the annointed of God.* Hereupon, *all the kingdoms of the earth are our Lords, and he alſo is King of kings, and Lord of lords and prince of the Kings of the earth.* Moreover, he being *the eternal wiſdom of his father*, by and under him it is, *that kings reign, and princes decree juſtice*: nay, the very *heathen are his inheritance, and the utmoſt ends of the earth his poſſeſſion.* Joh. 6. 69. Luk. 2. 26. Dan. 7. 14. Luk. 1. 33. 1 Tim. 6. 15. Pſalm 2. 8.

And

And as in acknowledgement of derivation of office and power from Christ, Kings (as anointed under him) do waer his croſs on their Crowns: ſo by vertue of this Unction (as by a kinde of Sacrament) it is that their perſons have ever been held ſo ſacred, that none have ever yet found out a way, or dared to practice the annihilation of the ſtile it ſelf of King, more then that of Father from the ſame perſons that were really ſo; as in other officers ſet up by humane authority, is uſually done, by way of degradation.

The which amongſt Chriſtians, hath been chiefly confirmed by the example of *Davids* uſage towards *Saul* and *Iſhboſheth*, both of them his open and profeſſed enemies: Againſt the firſt of which, although there might be high faults objected, and that againſt God alſo (who did thereupon by *Samuel* make ſo much known of his will of rejecting him, that the people could not be ignorant thereof) yet, becauſe they wanted expreſs warrant from God to be actors therein (as *Jehu* had) they durſt not preſume to *lift up their hands againſt the Lords anointed.* Nay *David* himſelf durſt not do it; although his advantage by his overthrow, and his oportunity to do it were moſt apparant: and who alſo, had as high provocations from *Saul*, as might have tempted any ordinary humor of revenge: and had farther (beyond the pretence of any ordinary ſubject, or any order of them) as great a preſumption of inſubjection as could be: becauſe of his own Unction by Gods appointment, and from his knowdledge of *Sauls* rejection. Yet he, in proof of derivation of kingly Power from God only, findes nothing but expreſs authority from that God that hath ſet them up, to be warrantable for the pulling them down: they were the *Lords anointed*, not the peoples: It was therefore his part, and much more is it the part of others now, to permit that powerful hand that brought this rod upon them, to have liberty to remove it in a way and time of his own. For how can they do it as ſubjects? and from whence ſhould they derive inſubjection?

1 Sam. 26. 23.

If then they be Gods anointed, the rightful power to govern accordingly, muſt be therewith conferred: or elſe the Unction were vaine, and in a mockery of God. If the politick corporation confer the power, let the charter and ſeal of Office that ſpeaks it be produced: let us ſee the hands and ſeals of thoſe that conferred this power, as alſo their Commiſſions and authorities for ſo doing; that we may be ſatisfied with the juſt derivation thereof. But now, as donations and aſſignations of humane intereſts, uſe to paſs and be conferred from one party to another by ſuch like wayes of conveyance and none elſe; ſo, this paſſing by anointing, it muſt ſhew it to be confeſſedly of a different nature. But to give a cleerer light to the comprehenſion and diſtinction of Divine Right and Authority in theſe things, we ſhall here take leave a little to digreſs.

As to deny God Almighty to be the prime and ſupreme cauſe of all things, and of thoſe vertues and abilities whereby each thing is effected, is perfect Atheiſm, ſo (on the other hand) to ſubmit and faſten on him (as immediate Agent) thoſe operations, which by the ordinary courſe of his Providence he hath appointed to be the productions of natural cauſes, doth as ſtrongly argue ignorance: but if in thoſe effects and productions which may to our ſenſe be obſerved to come to paſs by the interpoſition of ſuch ſecond Agents, as neither by any naturalneſs in themſelves, nor obſervation of ours could be reaſonably concluded the cauſes of them, in that caſe again, to deny divine power, and aſcribe to Nature and ſecond Agents what is above their

reach,

reach, is both Athieſm and folly too. To aſcribe the hardening of the Clay to God Almighty, and not to the Sun or Fire, is to be fooliſhly derogatory to him: even as it is alſo, to deny him to be the cauſe of that heat and vertue in the Sun or Fire, whereby it came to paſs. And no leſs then ſo it is, to aſcribe to the vertue of the Clay, that Cure which our Saviour wrought on the blinde man: for neither any known naturalneſs in that Agent, nor obſervation of the like elſwhere, could reaſonably warrant ſuch preſumption therein.

As thus in Inanimates and the general courſe of Providence, there ought to be a diſcreet diſtinction made by us, in the ſetting down of what operations are immediately Divine, and what Natural; ſo much more, in thoſe things which are wrought by Creatures reaſonable; and where as well the Agent as Patient are voluntary, as in Matters of Government and inſtruction it fareth. In which reſpect, ſince there cannot be any natural Reaſon or Cauſe aſſigned, why the will of one ſhould be efficatious to the Government of the will of another (as in it ſelf) it muſt follow, that that conſtant courſe and ſetled way of ſo doing, muſt be attributed to Divine Authority only. Conſtant and ſetled way, I ſay: for that there may many humane contrivances be made, to introduce temporary ſubjection and agreement, which cannot lay claim to be of divine inſtitution: and becauſe again, although this Monarchical Government be alone *Jure Divino*, and ſo onely conſtant as to the way and form, yet (through humane frailty) it may many times fail in the meaſure and end of its efficacy.

The Officers that are to claim their Functions and Authority as *Jure Divino*, are firſt the King or Monarch: who is from and under God himſelf, eſtabliſhed as well in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, ſupreme Governor. And then Fathers, Maſters, and Husbands: as Civil Governors. And then thoſe of the Clergy, as ſpiritual guides and directors, under this their chief guide and director: unleſs it be where, and when this Maſter or Father of the Family is inſubjected and independent: at which time he (being himſelf a ſupreme Monarch) hath (as Elder Brother) thoſe Prieſt-like and Civil Offices of inſtruction and coertion, by the Law of God united in the ſame unſubordinate perſon: even as amongſt thoſe great and more ancient Families it fared, before Nations came to be under kingſhip; or that the Prieſthood was divided from the Civil power.

Nor doth matter of Reaſon alone (as already and hereafter to be ſhewed) prove the Authority of theſe Functions to be Divine, but the expreſs precepts by God himſelf to that purpoſe given, do (beyond diſpute) ſettle theſe Officers, and none elſe as of Divine right, *immediately to them derived*, for authoriſing them in their acts of Government and Power. By which words of *immediately derived*, we may know how to put a difference, between that Power and Authority which is exerciſed by Kings themſelves, who hold of none but God above them, and that which others their Magiſtrates perform: who, being ordained in their power by the Prince, cannot be ſaid to hold their powers otherwiſe then as immediately received from him.

But although (in this regard of ſubordination) it may be in ſome ſenſe true, that the Prieſt and Maſter of the Family may be alſo ſaid to derive their power from the King (where Kingſhip is) even becauſe in the exerciſe thereof they may be by him directed or limited, yet is there a great difference

rence to be put between them and Magiſtrates, in reſpect of claim to divine right in performance of their Functions. The Magiſtrate, as he is poſitively & affirmatively impowred by the Prince, ſo is he alſo negatively under him in the execution thereof: the Prieſt and Maſter of the Family (on the other ſide) have all theippoſitive power of inſtruction and juriſdiction from God alone derived: being negatively onely reſtrainable by the Monarch in the outward act and execution thereof: whereas, to the King himſelf it is alone peculiar, as to be by none but God affirmatively impowered, ſo to be by none but him negatively reſtrainable.

But then again, although in each independent family, the offices of inſtruction and coercion be united in chief in the perſon of the ſame Maſter, yet between the Authorities which thoſe of the Prieſthood and the Maſters of Families do ſeverally execute (where they are not united) there is unto the Order of Prieſthood a greater honor annexed (in reſpect of divine Claym and Authority) then to the other: and that not onely becauſe inſtruction muſt be ſuppoſed to precede coercion in time and order, but alſo in dignity: in reſpect of the different dignities of thoſe that are to be the objects of their Authorities; the Prieſtly Function preſuppoſing always a more noble Object (namely ſuch an one as is indued with underſtanding and wit) whereas bare coercion can reach unto neither of them. And under the Goſpel again, a farther addition of honor and divine Authority will ariſe, from the obſervation of that more ſpiritual charge and Function, they inwardly claim towards the promotion and exerciſe of Gods kingdom in our hearts: whereas amongſt the Jews, the drift of the Prieſts inſtructions had for objects the outward acts and Ceremonies chiefly.

In which regard of inſtruction and preaching the Fundamentals of Chriſtianity (taken as Goſpel duties) they ſtand by means of ſpecial ordination thereto, not onely ſeparately diſtinguiſhed and enabled above other humane power (as the perſons to inſtruct and teach Gods will are diſtinct, and in that reſpect above thoſe that are to obey) but alſo, whilſt they meddle not with ſuch things as have tendency to civil Peace and Duty, they are unſubordinate to the Prince himſelf: nay above him too; as his ſpiritual Fathers: and as having their efficacy, and holding their authority herein immediately from Chriſt, as his Miniſters; and not of the political head of the Commonweal.

The Father and Maſter of the family enter upon their authorities and function according to natural courſe and equity, without perſonal deſignation and appointment from the Prince and his power, and are afterwards reſtrainable in all things as he ſhall think good: but thoſe of the Prieſthood although they were by the laws and authority of the prince perſonally ordained to ſtand as Gods Miniſters, yet are they (on the other ſide) as Gods immediate Ambaſſadors and prophets, ſubordinate to none. And this Goſpel duty of preaching, beſides publike prayers and adminiſtrations of the Sacraments, are to remaine as the proper duties of perſons in holy orders, without exemption of the prince himſelf: For although to each prince (in order to peace and government) the chief and general care of inſtruction in the wayes of righteouſneſs doth appertain, as it doth alſo in each family to the Maſter thereof, yet doth the office and efficacy of inſtruction in the myſteries of Gods inward kingdome depend on the authority of none but God himſelf.

But

But these things are to be understood of the Clergy in their spiritual Functions onely; and as they relate to one another as equally Gods Ministers: and not as they are differenced amongst themselves, in reference to that distinct proportion of external jurisdiction and power, allotted them for peace and order sake. For as in the first respect they are under none but God, so in the second, they are wholly subjected to the Prince: he being (as great Bishop and overseer of the whole Church) to preside over the Bishops of the particular Dioceses thereof, upon the same Reason and divine Authority, that the Diocesan doth preside over the Parochial Minister. And upon the same ground that the Prince (as great and general Father and Master of the whole kingdom) doth preside in the Government of each Family, by means of that civil Magistracy which is exercised under him, in like manner doth he as head of the Church, preside over the whole Clergy in Ecclesiastical administrations; by means of this Episcopal jurisdiction, which is to be by him directed or restrained: of all which more hereafter.

Having thus far premised in the declaration and distinction of Officers and Functions of Divine right, for the better understanding the present Question, as well as many other discourses which will hereafter follow, where the same shall be farther proved by Scripture, I hope it will to all unprejudiced "men appear, That although God doth not now (as sometimes formerly) so "immediately & expresly operate in the unction and designation of particu- "lar persons, or that there is not now any special Ordinances sent from Hea- "ven by the Ministery of Angels or Prophets (as amongst the Jews some "times it was) yet can we not hence infer, that their power can now arise from nothing else amongst Christians, but the pactions and agreements of such and such politick Corporations: unless they will also say, that nothing is to be acknowledged as from God, but where himself or his expres Messenger is seen.

But they should observe the difference of Gods pleasure, in the degrees of his manifestations to us under the Gospel, over it was to them of former times: and how that since *God was manifest in the flesh*, those former and more expres extraordinary ways for setting up of Kings, have ceased amongst other things. *For God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the Fathers by the Prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his son: whom he hath appointed heir of all things*, by whom as God made the world, so doth *he now uphold all things by the word of his power.* A great part of which power, is that power of Kingship: whereby, as *God hath committed all power to the son*, so Christ again, being ascended on high (amongst other gifts he gave unto men) this of power of Government was one. And in Christs hand it shall alone continue, till the end of the world; at which time, *the son also himself shall be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God might be all in all*: that is, may personally and immediately again govern that *new Heaven and new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness*: whereas the iniquities and violence of men in this world, had by degrees caused him to make this his recess from appearing in their government himself, as we shall in brief declare. 1 Cor. 15. 28. 2 Pet. 3. 13.

In the first age God appears as in person, and speaks by lively voice in the emergencies of mans directions; for so appears he to *Adam* in his instructions: and although he hide himself for fear of guilt, yet his acknowledging *to have heard his voice in the Garden*, shews plainly he was used thereunto. And Gen. 3. 10.

that this appearance was not ſtreightned to Paradiſe, or good men alone, may appear by Gods Colloquy with *Cain*: who was not at all (as we ſee) feared or ſtartled at any unexpected ſtrangeneſs, but anſwers very familiarly, *Am I my brothers keeper?* But at ſuch time as *all fleſh had corrupted their way, and that God ſaw the immaginations of mans heart was evil, and that continually*, he reſolved *his Spirit ſhould no more ſtrive with man*: that is, he would not ſo immediately undertake his government here, whereby to be provoked to any other *repenting that he made man*, a Creature ſo polluted, that he muſt be waſhed by a floode.

Gen. 4.9. Gen.6.12. Gen.6.5. Verſe 3. Verſe 5.

After the flood, God begins to give ſtanding directions for mans guidance, and ſubmits the execution of them to man alſo: God will not longer immediately reprove and puniſh (as in the caſe of *Abel*) *but whoſoever ſheddeth mans bloode, by man ſhall his bloode be ſhed.* Which Precept, as we may not (as before noted) conceive given, that murther ſhould be puniſhed with murther; by leaving every perſon power to kill in revenge, as he ſaw cauſe; ſo, we may farther gather what was the Officer deſigned hereunto, by that bleſſing which God gave unto *Abraham* (the perſon he next appeared unto) when he ſaid, I will make Nations of thee, *and Kings ſhall come out of thee.*

Gen.17.6.

After this promiſe, we ſhall finde that Gods next appearance to *Abraham* is by Angels, not by himſelf, as formerly to him and others he may be noted to have onely done: and in this way of manifeſtation, he ordinarily continued till *Moſes*: after whom another ſort of meſſengers ſucceeded of a lower allay, namely Prophets. The which as they ſerved to give divine direction in that particular kingdom of the Jews (during its time of Theocrity) ſo did they ceaſe at the coming of our Saviour, and calling of the Gentiles; for *they propheſied but till John*, who may be ſaid to conclude theſe appearances for direction in our Government, which ſhould come from that perſon of the God-head that made the world, and to foreſhew all power to be managed by that perſon that redeemed it; that is by Chriſt: by whoſe Authority and Precepts we were to be outwardly governed, as well as to be inwardly guided by thoſe of the Holy Ghoſt: of which, more in the Diſcourſe of Religion, as alſo of the ſurceaſe of miraculous appearances.

Chriſt being thus become *King of Kings*, we are not to expect him expreſly putting in theſe his ſeveral Deputies; no more then while he is doing any thing elſe. It is enough that he hath left us his own, and his Apoſtles many Precepts for obedience unto them: which ſurely he would never have done, if ſuch an office were not to have ſtill continued. It is enough we *have Moſes and the Prophets* ſetting forth this ſucceſſion of kingſhip as Gods Vicegerents: if through ſtubbornneſs, *We will not believe them, neither will we believe though one ſhould riſe from the dead.*

Luke 16.29, 30,31.

Therefore, as Chriſt was to ſucceed his Father in his Regency of men here below, ſo doth he not alter the way and form of adminiſtration thereof by Kings formerly uſed: nor yet the ſubſtance and general ſcope of thoſe former Precepts, by God given to that purpoſe: but leaving the one as well as the other to ſtand in force by his not repealing them, he may then be ſuppoſed alſo to have made his receſs from perſonal adminiſtration for our good, upon the ſame ground that God himſelf did before: to wit, that thoſe frequent repetitions of impiety, oppreſſion, and other ſins which we hourly commit, might not be continually provoking divine Juſtice to our deſtruction.

on. For ſo we finde God ſaying to the *Iſraelites*, Exod. 33 3. *I will not go up in the midſt of thee, for thou art a ſtiff-necked people, leſt I conſume thee in the way.* And as this was by God ſpoken after the promulgation of the Law, and juſt upon his promiſe of *ſending an Angel* or chief governor (like *Joſhua*) before them (as is ſet down in the verſe before) ſo may we finde Chriſt alſo, after he had *for the ſpace of forty days ſpoken of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God*, (and that to the Apoſtles his then ſupreme Deputies) to make his receſs likewiſe, from immediate adminiſtration in the things of this world: reteining to himſelf ſtill, his high prerogative of *King of Kings*, by his actual Seſſion at *the right hand of God, far above all principalities and powers.* Act. 1. 3. Epheſ. 1. 21.

And ſo far ſhould this delegation be from leſſening Gods or Chriſts juſt power in our eſteem, as it will upon due conſideration increaſe it: for omnipotency ſhould not be omnipotency, if potency of any kind were excluded. And therefore, as in the general courſe of Providence, his Almightineſs is the more apparent, by enabling ſecond cauſes and weak inſtruments to produce and execute effects proper to deity onely; ſo in this particular of Government (by delegation) to authoriſe and enable others, which of themſelves could otherwiſe claim neither power nor right herein, it doth, by conferring one another without diminution in himſelf, ſo far (by addition) imply an augmentation of power: inaſmuch as ſelf-ability (ſimply conſidered) is not ſo large, as when (unconfinedly all things, or any thing can be made ſuſceptible of this ſtrength. In which doing, the weakneſs of the inſtrument will alſo increaſe the reputation of the Agent, by having his *ſtrength made perfect and apparent in weakneſs*: when from ſo low a degree, its honor and power ſhall be ſo advanced that it ſhall be (as it were a ſecond deity) able to act things proper to deity onely; as in right of government: and that, without all juſt pretence of arrogating to themſelves, or derogating from him. 2 Cor. 12 9.

So that now, we ought rather to admire and magnifie the ways of Gods government amongſt us, then by ſuch reprobate and Athieſtical Tenents, ſeek to dethrone him, and ſet up our ſelves in his ſtead. For if our Pactions and Aſſociations here below, can once make us independent on him; what will they be, but Conjurations and Conſpiracies againſt Heaven? and ſo (upon the matter) muſt he be ſubject to our apprehenſions and appetites; and either in the way of government, operate as expreſly and perſonally as in former times, or elſe, muſt we conclude it reaſonable to deny his care, or intereſt therein at all?

As if, becauſe God was onely known more immediately to create the firſt man, therefore, all now muſt owe their Creation to their Parents only; as not having in our ſenſe any other cauſe of production, then the known way of generation, common to us with all other things. Or, becauſe God doth not now rain Manna, Quails, or other things from Heaven, as to the Jews he ſometimes did; but that the Sun, the Earth, and other Elements (together with mans induſtry) are the onely ſenſible immediate conveyers and cauſes of all our food and other benefits we enjoy, it is therefore reaſon that our ignorance in his ways of diſpenſation, ſhould forthwith exclude our acknowledgement of his care and providence: and make the uſual returns of thanks we give for ſuch things, appear rather to proceed from complement then duty.

By this Doctrine, we may as well also conclude against mans right of Dominion over other Creatures; because the first Dominion was immediately given to *Adam* and *Noah* onely: when yet, (by priviledge of birth) we have right to inherit also whatsoever belonged to them as men: this being a natural and common, and not a personal prerogative onely. The like we must hold, of heirship to the government of a Family: not making its power dependant on the Will, or any consent to be derived from Wife, Children, or Servants; but he exercising and enjoying it as proper to the Office.

And what were this Doctrine, but to overthrow and walk quite contrary to the Doctrine of Christianity? which constitutes, and commends Faith, where present sense is wanting: and in matters of divine doctrine or example
Joh. 20. 29. pronounceth him happy *that shall not see and yet believe.* For if God must be always tyed to evident demonstrations in the manifold dispensations of his Spirit, and of every good and perfect gift from him proceeding; then must miracles be continual, as that of the fiery tongues; otherwise (in such spiritual donations) how shall sense be satisfied we are receivers at all? Or, if no such manifestation now be, must we thereupon make answer, *that we*
Act. 19. 2. *know not so much as whether there be a Holy Ghost or no?* or, because there is now no such manifest breathings used, nor no persons of equal authority to Christ or his Apostles to confer ordination; must we say therefore, that that power, whereby Priests and Ministers exercise their spiritual Functions, is meerly humane; and from them onely received, that are immediate workers therein? What were this, but, as before we had thrust God out of Government and superintendency of the state (by reckoning his Vicegerent as the peoples, so now) to interdict him any particular care or Authority of the Church also; by accounting his Ministers our own?

But, in sum, this power of Kings, belongs to them as Kings: and by vertue of these their Offices, it is that God owns the very Heathen, as servants
Isa. 44. 28, & 45. 1. &c. and Deputies to himself: for so *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Cyrus*, &c. held and exercised their Authorities, and yet had no special revelation or Ministery for their enthroning, as had *Saul*, or *David*; or different from other Princes. And (indeed) if this power came not by office, then are all hereditary Princes but usurpers; and falsly said, *to reign in their fathers stead*: for how could they reign without power, and have power without special ministration? As for example, *Solomon* held his Kingdom from God, and by as good right as his Father; and that by force of his Office and Unction; although ministred but in the ordinary way, and at his Fathers command onely: he held it not from any paction of the people; who rather looked on *Adoniah* as the true heir; and accordingly joyned with him in rebellion.

And if any think, that it was in regard of some special occasion, God was to employ *Nebuchadnezzar*, &c. that they were thus particularly owned; this is not denyed; but the question is, whether that extraordinary power, or that ordinary one over their Subjects (common to them with other Princes) came by any extraordinary revelation or designation from Heaven: so, as both to enable their subjects to elect and appoint those individual persons, (without regard to their right otherwise) and then, those persons also to act and execute accordingly. But although nothing extraordinarily appeared, yet
Dan. 2. 4, 7. do these Kings confess their power from God: and we finde it the custom for all Kings, to write themselves *Dei Gratia*; and acknowledge the holding their kingdoms and powers from God onely. To this purpose (amongst

Christians

Christians especially) their Crowns, Scepters, Swords, *&c.* (as *Emblems* of power) are first offered, and then received from the Altar: by the last act acknowledging their power from God onely; by the other offering it to his glory and service, the main end of policy.

And therefore, though *Jephtah* had an ordinary way of entrance to the Government, namely (by making Association) he was brought in by the faction and assistance of the *Gileadites*; yet is he reckoned sent of God, as well as *Jerubaal*, *Bedan*, and *Samuel*; who had extraordinary ministration, So that, although God do leave those intervenient actions of Succession, Election, Conquest, *&c.* to the same ordinary event of Providence with other things in mens choice and dispose, (which may therefore (in a sort) be called a *humane Creature*) yet the collation of power is from him onely: no otherwise then in marriage, the Husbands power over the Wife depends of it self, and not on any resignation from her: although, for her greater obligation toobedience, her consent be necessary.

And therefore, those that would wrest those words of *humane Creature*, to import that all kindes of Regiment and power which men exercise one over another, is but of humane Authority and institution, would make the Apostle contrary to himself: for it is plain, that he, writing to the converted Jews (amongst other admonitions to good behavior) to observe this of submission to Authority, could not be imagined to have made that an Argument thereunto, which should have been quite destructive thereof. For if the Argument had run thus, "You are to submit your selves to all such forms "of Government as you shall be under; inasmuch as they being all but "things of humane device, and having no power but what they (as a new "sort of humane Creatures) had received from those many deities their own "Subjects, it is therefore Reason that you should submit your selves unto "them for *the Lords sake*, even because your selves, as setters of them up, "have power above them. No certainly, it is best to interpret *humane Creature* (or *Man* in the general) to imply, and be put, by way of excellence, for *man* in particular: that is, for that supreme and eminent person in each Country, who, as the representer of all men therein, had Authority to command every *humane creature* in his jurisdiction. For we are to submit our selves to every *Ordinance of man*, thus vertually and collectively considered, and not to every Ordinance of every man else, that should take upon him to command us. Because this were to confound the persons submitting, with those to be submitted unto: and to make the injunction useless, if to be fulfilled by what we, as men, did enjoyn to our selves; or impossible, if bound to submit to every man besides.

Whereupon we may conceive, that by way of pre-occupation, those words of *humane Creature*, or *humane Ordinance*, are put in with that latitude by St. *Peter*. Namely, the better to fasten their subjection, who (having had amongst themselves, the office and race of their Kings so expressly designed from God himself,) might else have bogled at the submission to kingship elsewhere: as thinking them but of humane device and power. And therefore we may interpret him, admonishing them (who were now to have their conversation *honest amongst the Gentiles*) to be subject to these *higher powers*, although no such express divine designation did so appear, but that their offices & powers might seem but of humane Creation. For they were to know, that those *powers were of God*: and that therefore they were to submit

Verse 12.

Rom. 13. 1.

mit themſelves *for the Lords ſake*, that was the Author of every juſt derived power.

1 Pet.2.13. Which words for the *Lords ſake*, as they may ſerve to explain the power to be of God, however humane device or cuſtom be intervenient, ſo will they ſerve to reſtrain the generality of the object of our ſubmiſſion formerly ſet down, by conferring it onely on ſuch as can claim it for the *Lords ſake*: Ibidem. namely *to Kings as ſupreme, or to governors as ſent of him:* of which more 1 Pet.5.5. hereafter. So that then our *ſubmiſſion one to another*, ſhall be made good, by giving it to *our Elders*; or to ſuch as from the Lord have power to re- 1 Pet.2.17. quire it: even as alſo, the way to *honor all men*, (which would have ſeemed a ſtrange as well as difficult precept) is in the ſame verſe explained, by *Honor* Ibidem. *the King*. For by honoring him above other humane Creatures, and by ho- Rom.13.7. noring others as he appoints, I can onely rightly *honor all men*, and give 1 Pet.2.17. *every one their due*. For as by *fearing God* above all, *I give fear to whom* Rom.13,7. *fear*; ſo by *honoring the King*, I give *honor to whom honor:* 1 Pet.2 17. Rom.13.7. So that laſtly, by this reſtriction of all humane Ordinance and Authority unto *Kings as ſupreme*, we may note St. *Peter* to be explanatory of *his brother Paul: who, in his Epiſtles, as he had many things hard to be underſtood, and which the unlearned and unſtable did wreſt to their own deſtruction*; ſo this wreſting, and the *damnation* or deſtruction thereupon following, was nowhere to be ſo much feared, as by interpreting that thoſe *higher Powers* he appoints us to be ſubject unto, are but ſuch as are indeed the loweſt powers; being but ſuch as are ordained of our ſelves: and not ſuch as are ἐξουσία, rightfully derived powers from the true *I am*, or original Being himſelf: and ſo given by him to one Deacon or Miniſter here below, *viz.* to the King: to whom therefore we are to be ſubject *for the Lords ſake*, that is, in acknowledgement of Gods power abiding in him, ſo far as to authorize him in this his Office.

And therefore, it will now appear a moſt unreaſonable ſuppoſition, that any ſhould give what they never had: for from whom had the people this power? Why ſhould we confound, or ſubſtract their relation as ſubjects, and, inſtead of a capacity to be governed, think they had power of governing? Or, if they had, who was then the governed? For take away one relation, the other will alſo fall.

Or, will you ſuppoſe in them a vain power, that ſhould never be brought into act in them, as in the hands it was firſt put? Why ſhould we think God ſo unneceſſary in his diſpenſations? Is it not more agreeable with reaſon and truth, to put this power directly into the hands of the perſons that ſhould manage it, then by ſuch long deviations, firſt to give it to the people, that the people may give it to the Prince, that the Prince may again give, and make uſe of it unto, and upon the people: and all to no other end, but by this reciprocal dependency, to be at laſt, both of them independent on the true Author of all power, which is God himſelf.

But this opinion of the Prince his dependent power on the Peoples, grows uſually from the obſervation men make, of the different powers which Princes have over their Subjects, in compariſon of one another: as thereupon concluding, that if this power belong to the Office, and to Kings as Kings, and that from God (who is no reſpecter of perſons, but gives to every man, and ſo to Kings, what is due and neceſſary for their callings) how comes one King to be leſs abſolute then another? "Is it not (ſay they) from the "different ſtipulations with their people, at their Coronations and Elections;

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"when by them, they are tyed to the observation of such Laws and Customs "as do more or less streighten them? By which means (changing the former Argument about derivation of Kingly power it self, into the manner or measure of its execution) they think to obtain their conclusion. But the Question is not, whether the proprietors of any thing by the Law of God or Nature (not being particulary restrained) may suspend or dispose of part of their rights, or not, but it is, whether Princes be hereof proprietors, or not.

And they that think Princes are impowered from their subjects, have their mistake hereof, because from these obtrusions or Pactions they think them to have their power, when instead of giving they are but restrictions and abatements thereof: For so, upon good heed it will be found, and that these liberties of people, have arisen but from the grants of former Princes, and not Princes power from them: even thereby acknowledging, all power to spring from its proper root. So that, when people lay claim to any Priviledge, the Charter or Grant of such and such a Prince is alledged, as its ground and Authority: wherein they then being petitioners, and (il stiling themselves subjects, there is no more reason why the indulgence of former Princes, or Rebellion or Force of Subjects, should be of more avail to despoil Princes of their just power and Soveraignty, then for Wife or Children, in any Association of theirs (by way of Fact) to take on them the rights and power of Master of the Family.

For although in different Countries and places, the Marital or Paternal power is more or less, and so also, Bishops, Pastors, *&c.* are in some places restrained more then in others (in Ordaining, Preaching, Baptizing, and also in jurisdiction and government) shall we therefore conclude, their Offices and Powers was not at first founded, and so to continue as from God; but is at the liberty of Wife, Children, or People, both how far, and whether it shall be so or no.

And to come yet neerer, because they are usually esteemed the greatest Princes that have greatest store of Subjects, it should be thence thought that their power was from people; because encreased according to their power, and number. What shall we then think of such as have power encreased from their wealth, from their Forts, Magazines, Arms, Navy; or by the valour and military discipline of their people? What is power therefore first in these things, and from them derived to Princes? doth the Artificer receive the power or skill belonging to him, as Artificer, from the instruments? can they make no difference between having power over, and receiving power from? What do Princes Treasures, Militia, *&c.* convene in their underived Majesties, and freely elect also? have Military subjects double or trehle Votes, because they have more power? Nay, are not Princes to derive all their power from them, for they usually set them up and uphold them? nothing less reasonable.

For, as that Father, that hath none but weak or indigent Children, is yet as much, and truely a Father, as he that hath rich and potent ones: even so, these additions do not constitute formally the power or office of any King or Monarch, but are onely accessory qualifications, to difference them in their comparative powers from one another. And therefore, although in the glory of such actions of Children or Subjects, that flow not formally from their relations as such, and do yet reach to the honoring of their Father or

Prince

Prince, it may be ſaid, that honor is in the honoring, and not in the honored, (meaning that it is in the honoring firſt) yet can neither they, nor any ſubordinate Corelate (as heretofore noted) be truely ſaid to be originals of any honor or power, formally in them, by vertue of that relation, wherein Father, Prince, or other Superiors ſtood to them as principle: but, on the other ſide, ſince they voluntarily entred not into theſe relations, nor had been Sons or Subjects, had not the intervenient acts of Generation, Conqueſt, &c. made them ſuch, it muſt follow, that what was the Author and Cauſe of that relation, muſt be Author and Original of that Honor which is thereby cauſed: and may conſequently, challenge the propriety and diſpoſal thereof.

Whereupon we may infer, that ſuch Conceſſions of predeceſſors, are no more binding, then the preſidents of an indulgent Parent, ought of right to take from the heir that power, which afterwards, as Father of a Family, ſhall come to be neceſſary and due unto him: but as forceable Entries, are in Law and Equity held invalid towards the diſſeiſin of a true proprietor, the like muſt be held in theſe uſurpations and encroachments on the Soveraignty.

And therefore, as they, ſuppoſing power in the people, do thence infer, that as they are truſters, ſo, they are to re-aſſume as they think good: ſo, it now truly appearing that power is from the Soveraign, if he, or his predeceſſors, have indulged more then he findes, will now ſtand with publike good, he may rightfully reaſſume alſo.

From all which premiſes we may conclude, Soveraignty to be a Power deputed from God to one perſon, for the Government of ſuch or ſuch a Kingdom or Society. From God I call it, becauſe (as elſewhere ſhewed) all power is from him onely; and to one perſon it muſt be, becauſe as the original of power affects unity in himſelf, ſo was he never found equally to diſtribute or entruſt it otherways.

If you will, you may call Soveraignty the puiſſance of any Society, united in one perſon, for the attaining political ends. Where (by Puiſſance) is underſtood that natural Force, Vertue, Vigor, or Ability, which the Subjects had before to operate externally; which doth now come by this congreſſion, as the ſticks of a Faggot by the band, (according to the uſual tale or alluſion of the old man to his Children for Unity) to receive ſuch augmentation of ſtrength, as to accompliſh and ſubdue thoſe ends and difficulties, which divided, were not to be done: ſo that as without it, the Major part took on them (as the repreſentative whole) uncontrolable power over the Minor, ſo the Prince being no more truely the whole, hath irreſiſtable power alſo.

By external operations, is meant the proſecution of ſuch deſires as may be of a forraign concern onely, or that have influence or reſpect beyond the party acting; for otherwiſe, my own will is ſtill director. But, where loſs or gain cannot be wholly centred in my ſelf, rules of aſſociation do require, that application and direction be made and ſought from the common center of a Commonwealth. Therefore although, in natural ſtrength and bodily force, the Prince continue ſtill but of equal ability to others, yet, through this reſignation (by ſubmiſſion) having more then all, he is of power to act againſt all oppoſition; according as reaſon and political good ſhall dictate. Political ends, or the good of aſſociation, is either that of Peace, or that of Plenty: the one made by ſubmitting our own ſeveral powers of deciſion unto the determination of one uncontrolable Judge, the other by his diſtributing

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(as from a Center again) to people (the circumference) the assurances of propriety, protection, & other benefits, consistent with political utility & justice.

This vigor is not onely gotten by way of addition or accumulation, as when (for the removal of the strength or opposition of a powerful faction) he is assisted with the strength of others, but sometimes, by suspention of vigor in the subjects: whereby, his power comes to be more, by their having less: or, by their obedience, he grows able to command.

If you will have a larger description, Soveraignty, which establisheth true policy, is an apparent, certain, and accessible union of irresistable power. Apparent and certain (I say) for else how shall litrigant parties know where to make their addresses? accessible it must be also, both for the last appeals sake, or what else it shall choose to act by it self; otherwise its being is in vain: And thereupon, union it must have in it self; how else can it give to others? For, in this respect, it must be (as before said) like the Center in a circle; for there, as the singleness of the Center makes the union and meeting of the circumference, and consequently but one Circle; so two Centers, though never so like and neer, yet (having circumferences drawn from them) will make two Circles. And further, as the Center gives being to the circumference, so the circumference to it again: for until this be drawn, the center is but a point; as untill the subjects be, the King is but as another man. And as, until this Center be fixed (whereby to measure equal distances on all hands) it will remaine an uncertain round, and not a Circle: so in policy, till the body of the people are fixed upon an unity (as upon a Center) they have no assurance of equal and certain proportions amongst themselves: but, as all lines are made of points, so, these individuals, striving to make up this Circle without a Center, or making two or more Centers, they will in the latter case, make two or more Circles or Commonweales; and in the other (as wanting a common and perfect rule or measure) make it (like an unequal round or circumference) to consist of many irregularities and factions.

And then again, as the Center of the earth hath in its union the vertue of the whole Globe, insomuch as the desire of approach of massy bodies (which we commonly call motion of gravity) is directed to it, and not to all or any part of the circumference besides; so, this union of property and power, must first be united in one Center of Soveraignty; that so, the whole force and vigour, resting now there (like as one foot of the compass must fix and make the Center before the other can make the Circle) subjects may be capable of an harmonious receit and direction from thence againe, by the strait lines of attraction and entercourse: which, as it will prove neerest their journeys end, namely the attaining political good (called peace & plenty) so will it also keep them, from justling or enterfering upon one another, in their addresses and desires; and thereby avoid political evil, which is civil war.

For if any faction of the people, should grow to that greatness and temerity, as to disanul soveraign command; then should soveraignty be no soveraignty, nor political happiness at all attainable; the measure or way thereunto being thus lost or uncertain: no more, then if the force of union or attraction, should be greater or equal in any part of the earths circumference then in the Center, it could still keep its round figure; or indeed have any determinate figure at all: but, by this uncertain, or unequal direction and addition of massy bodies, some one part of the circumference unproportiona-

bly ſwelling, the Center muſt alter alſo: whereby, for want of ſetled place in that element, it ſhould not be able to operate in due manner. So in States and Kingdomes, if they have not a common Center of deſire and good, or have not the ſame ſo definite and certain, but that all or any parts of the people may take upon them, according to their ſeparate appetites to judge and determine of good and bad, what equality or proportion can the whole have? for this differing and doubtful application, will not onely render it weak and disfigured, but alſo one part deſtructive to another.

So that no government can be rightly called a Commonwealth, or one Commonwealth, where the ſupreme power and intereſt is not centred in one perſon. For, in Monarchy, as there is a perſonal, ſo is there a natural and neceſſary union: when as in all Pollarchies, there is ſtill a natural and neceſſary diviſion of perſons and intereſt, and only an accidental and contingent union, occaſioned by ſome foraign fear. In which caſe, they may be ſuppoſed for a time ſtrengthened and united by way of Antiperiſtaſis only: Whereas the Monarch, having an unity in himſelf, muſt conſtantly remain ſo.

As we have a pertinent ſimile of this agreggation of power, property, *&c.* in the Monarch, in that viſion of *NebuchadneZZar* (wherein himſelf as *that great goodly tree*, is repreſented as the common author of protection and food for all ſorts) even ſo we have a plain direction to this unity, from God himſelf. For after that he had given command for making of Judges and Officers throughout all the tribes (by whoſe number the people might be ſupplied with means of deciſion) he then (to unite and Center them) ſaith, *If there ariſe a matter too hard for thee in judgement, between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between ſtroak and ſtroak, being matters of controverſie within thy gates: then ſhalt thou riſe and get thee to the place which the Lord thy God ſhall chooſe, and thou ſhalt come unto the Prieſts and Levits* (meaning for deciſion in matters of Religion) *and unto the Judge that ſhall be in thoſe dayes, and enquire, and they ſhall ſhew thee the ſentence of judgement: and thou ſhalt do according to the ſentence of judgement which they of that place which the Lord thy God ſhall chooſe, ſhall ſhew thee: and thou ſhalt obſerve to do according to all that they inform thee, according to the ſentence of law which they ſhall teach thee, and according to the judgement which they ſhal tell thee thou ſhalt do: thou ſhalt not decline from the ſentence which they ſhall ſhew thee, to the right hand or to the left, and the man that will do preſumptouſly; and will not hearken unto the Prieſt that ſtandeth to Miniſter before the Lord thy God, or unto the Judge: even that man ſhall dye, and thou ſhalt put away evil from* Iſrael: *and all the people ſhall hear and fear, and do no more preſumptuouſly.*

Dan. 4.22.

Deut. 17.8, *&c*

Here we finde an expreſs and direct injunction to obey the ſupreme definitive ſentence, aſwell as a promiſe to conſtitute one: no pretence of our private judgements, can warrant us to decline from their ſentence, to the right hand nor to the left. Marke we not, how many ſtrong, and urgent commands here are, and how often preſſed and repeated, for maintenance of this Soveraigne united power in the perſon of one Judge. For as all Iſrael was contained in the tribes, and every tribe united in its own Fathers and Elders, ſo, for common unity, and quieting their differences again amongſt themſelves (being there called *Blood and blood, and between plea and plea*) one common and uncontroleable Judge is to be ſet up and obeyed:

from

from whoſe ſentence they are not to depart, under any pretence of law or equity to the contrary. For although the Law had been given to the whole people, yet are they not to interpret it, but *to do according to the ſentence of law which they ſhall teach.*

And, under the notion of *the Judge that ſhall be in thoſe dayes*, he is to be obeyed either actively or paſſively, however tyrannical or unjuſt his ſentence may appear: becauſe *between plea and plea* (or where law is on both ſides pleaded) there the definitive ſentence is to be enquired and obeyed from this ſupreme Judge onely: that is (as before ſaid) either actively by proſecuting (according to their utmoſt devoire) all his lawful commands, or paſſively, by enduring the penalty or puniſhment, in caſes plainly againſt the Law of God. For as Gods Law, in regard he is the fountaine of power, and ſupreme Judge of all, ought in the firſt place to be obeyed; ſo, even in that very caſe, diſobey the Magiſtrate they did not, inaſmuch as, where obedience or penalty were both ſet before them as eligible, they might chuſe either of them. But however, active reſiſtance or rebellion (there called *doing preſumptuouſly and not hearkening*) is neither in lawfull or unlawfull commands, (that is, *neither on the right hand, nor on the left*) to be tolerated; but to be puniſhed (as ſo preſumptuous an offence doth deſerve) with no leſs then death; to the end that all Iſrael, (or the whole People) may *fear, and do no more preſumptuouſly*; or attempt again to rebell.

And, leaſt it might yet be doubted what manner of perſon this ſhould be that muſt have ſuch great obedience, the next Verſe (by way of Propheſie) ſhews the other Officer that ſhould follow Judges: that *when they ſhould come unto the Land which the Lord God gave them, and ſhould poſſeſs it, and dwell therein*, they ſhould both deſire, and have a King ſet over them. And this, being a ſtate of Government beſt befitting that Peace and Plenty they were then to enjoy, muſt needs be acknowledged given as an accompliſhment and increaſe of their other bleſſings: For under that notion God promiſeth it to *Abraham* as aforeſaid, *That Kings ſhould come out of him*: Gen. 17. 6. and the like again he promiſeth to *Sarah*, *That Kings of People ſhould be of her*: Verſe 16. the like was promiſed to *Jacob*, *Kings ſhall come out of thy Loins*: who Gen. 35. 11. again, as the next Father to the Tribes, gives it particularly to Judah; as an high bleſſing to be ſetled on him, in right of that primogeniture which his elder Brother had forfeited: namely, that this promiſed *Scepter ſhould not depart from* Judah, *nor a Law-giver from between his feet*, Gen. 49. 10. *till the Shiloh come.* In which laſt Promiſe, under the notion of *Lawgiver* and of *Scepter*, in the ſingular number, we may well underſtand the Judge and King before mentioned.

All which, would be well conſidered by thoſe that fancy other Governments to that of Kings; or think that the Iſraelites might, at the time when they had full Poſſeſſion of the Land, have choſen any other Government aſwell. Not marking, that it was as expreſly foretold they ſhould have a King, as that they ſhould poſſeſs the Land: for the words run in the future; *When thou art come into the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and ſhalt poſſeſs it, and ſhalt dwell therein, and ſhalt ſay, I will ſet a King over me, like as all the Nations that are about me.* It is not ſaid, *If thou ſhalt ſay*; no ſuch conditionall, but an expreſs duty or Prophecy: For the conjunction *and* here uſed, *And ſhalt poſſeſs it, and dwell therein, and ſhalt ſay, &c.* makes all of them equally certain. And the Peoples fault in chooſing a King afterwards, & Gods

puniſhment of giving him in his anger, we muſt impute to other circumſtances: as being done in a haſty humor of diffidence of Gods protection, who was then their King: that is, till then had governed in chief himſelf, and was to have his advice and conſent asked, in all great and extraordinary occaſions.

During which time of more perſonal and immediate undertaking their protection, their ſuddain deſire of alteration, was the ſame reproach to him, in his providence and care for their perſonal ſecurities, as their murmuring for choice of food was formerly in the wilderneſs: for as then, Quailes, Manna, *&c.* (things in themſelves good, and to be acknowledged great bleſſings) were given in anger, becauſe unſeaſonably and diſtruſtfully demanded; ſo now alſo, this promiſed bleſſing of kingſhip, becauſe asked upon the fear of *Nahaſh* and the power of the Ammonites, was the occaſion of Gods puniſhing them in the firſt perſon that ſhould have it, in regard they had demanded it in a way derogatory to him, as if diſtruſting his care or power in their preſervation.

It was unſeaſonable alſo, becauſe they had not as yet the full poſſeſſion of the land, and ſo no time as yet (according to *Moſes* appointment) for asking of kingſhip from God. And that they were not as yet in full poſſeſſion of the land, nor ſuch a ſtate of ſecure dwelling therein as could be called reſt, appears (amongſt other things) in that they had not as yet attempted the rooting out of *Amaleck*, which ſhould have been done upon their firſt ſetling according to *Moſes* words. It *ſhall be, when the Lord thy God giveth thee reſt from all thine enemies round about, in the land whith the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance to poſſeſs it, that thou ſhalt blot out the*
Deut. 25.19. *remembrance of* Amalek *from under heaven, thou ſhalt not forget it:* And becauſe they neither had yet ſo poſſeſſed the land as to do this thing, therefore did God appoint that perſon to do it, which he had given them as King by way of anticipation, in anſwer to their haſty unſeaſonable petition.

And that this prediction of kingſhip was aſwell mandatory as prophetick to this their time of future reſt and enjoyment of the promiſed land, and ſo unſeaſonable as yet to be put in execution, will moſt plainly appear by the compariſon of it with that prediction and appointment of ſetting up a Temple, when they ſhould be in the like condition, for the eſtabliſhment of Gods houſe, and of his deputy in that houſe, as the tokens of Glory and reſt of the Nation: being to be accompliſhed together (as ſhall be more fully declared hereafter) for it was plainly then foretold them, *Ye ſhall not do after all the things that we do here this day every man whatſoever is right in his*
Deut. 12.8. *own eyes.* Which being the very ſame expreſſion as was uſed of them when
Judg. 17.6. *there was no King in Iſrael*; it muſt import, that then they ſhould be under a higher reſtraint then before; and that they ſhould be confined both to one place of publike worſhip, and to one perſon of publike Judicature; then, and not till then. *For ye are not as yet come to the reſt and to the inheritance which the Lord your God giveth you, but when ye go over Jordan, and dwell in the land which the Lord your God giveth you to inherit: and when he giveth*
Deut. 12.9, 10. *you reſt from all your enemies round about, ſo that ye dwell in ſafety* (which they had not, nor did not at their election of *Saul*) *then there ſhall be a place*
Verſe 11. *which the Lord your God ſhall coobſe to cauſe his name to dwell there.* That is, more eminently to dwell there, in reſpect of the greater glory of this one

place,

place, and this one deputy: ſo much more lively repreſenting the unity and glory of him that thus miraculouſly procured their reſt and ſafety therein.

It ſavoured of ingratitude to *Samuel* alſo; who, now grown old in their ſervice, they might have patiently attended to have let him honorably end his dayes in the government. And, beſides that Gods granting it makes the having of a King lawful, they that then refuſed or ſlighted the Office (ſaying *How ſhall this man ſave us*) are called *ſons of Belial*: that is, men without yoak, or rebels. 1 Sam. 10. 27. And, we may farther conclude Gods decree for eſtabliſhment of this Office, in that is was before promiſed as a dignity and reward to *Samuel* himſelf; *that he ſhould walk before Gods anointed for ever*: which muſt expreſs the Office of a King ſhortly to enſue (for Judges were not anointed) even as it muſt alſo import, that it ſhould be an honor for him to attend him. 1 Sam. 2 35.

They that would urge this expreſſion of *they have not rejected thee, but me they have rejected*, to import their direct abandoning Gods regency, as God, and not their deſire onely of the change of the Function and Officer he had before deputed over them (and ſo think that now Princes had not their power from God as his Miniſters, but were to derive it from the peoples pactions) ſhould rather (methinks) have grounded their opinion on the Iſraelites former expreſſion, at their election and ſubmiſſion to their firſt earthly governor in chief, *Moſes*. For thereby, a refuſal of God and Paction with *Moſes* may be rather inferred: *Speak thou with us and we will hear: but let not God ſpeak with us, leaſt we dye*. Here, the people are ſet down as expreſly declining Gods immediate government, and as chooſing, and treating with another for the exerciſe thereof: Whereas in this place they object nothing againſt Gods more immediate medling with them at all. And therefore this phraſe of *rejected me*, is to be conſtrued as in relation to their diſobedience and rejecting of Gods commands onely; and not of his perſon, but as by conſequence. In which way of interpretation, there are many places of Scripture that may warrant us, but none that can inſtance where the Jews, or any of the Gentile Churches or people, did either wholly, or at all ſo abandon Gods or Chriſts regency, as to chooſe or ſubmit to any abſolute or Independent Prince or governor; and not rather (as to Gods Deputy and Miniſter) think themſelves obliged to obedience unto him aſwel in conſcience, as for fear of wrath and bare political reſpect. Exod. 20. 19.

And if any think theſe expreſſions, *I will ſet a King over me like*, &c. and again, *him thou ſhalt ſet over thee*, &c. do import that therefore their power is from the people; they may obſerve the people to come to *Samuel* to *make a King over them*: and although he delayed it, yet they, knowing of no ſuch power of themſelves, come to him again: inaſmuch as *Samuel ſaid unto all Iſrael, Behold I have hearkened unto your voice in all that you ſaid unto me, and have made a King over you*: and verſe the 13 it is ſaid, *Behold the Lord hath ſet a King over you*; as truely ſhewing whence his power came: for however (as aforeſaid) circumſtances made it evil, as good things may be evilly done, yet their having and deſiring a King, were both from God. 1 Sam. 8. 5. 1 Sam 12. 1.

And that the Office was given to them as a bleſſing, may be farther noted from Gods ſpeech to *Samuel*: *To morrow about this time I will ſend thee a man out of the land Benjamin, and thou ſhalt anoint him to be Captain over*

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1 Sam. 9. 16. *my people Iſrael, that he may ſave my people out of the hand of the Philiſtines; for I have looked upon my people, becauſe their cry is come unto me:* Which laſt words do plainly declare the intended end and benefit of this Kingly Function: and they may well prove Gods deſignation thereof, as the means; even as he had deſigned the end; the ſafety and good of his people. And as theſe words prove the conſtitution of the Office, and that in kindeneſs (although their haſty demand might make the perſon given as a puniſhment) even ſo the former part of the verſe, *Thou ſhalt anoint him to be Captain over my people*, muſt ſhew both his ſupreme power, and from whence the Authority of this Officer was derived: that is, from God, not from the People.

A farther proof that the deſire of Kingſhip was not a fault in the Jews, is, that neither *David*, nor *Stephen*, nor any elſe, reckoning up the faults of that Nation committed from time to time againſt God, did account this for one.

Nay this particular perſon and his power were from God, in ſuch ſort, that it was no more in their power to refuſe, then to ſteal or murther, and yet be innocent: and therefore we muſt interpret that which is called the *renewing of the kingdom at Gilgal with him*, and the Covenanting of the *Iſraelites* with *David*, to be nothing elſe but to ſhew to the people the perſon whom God had choſen, that they might continue in obedience to him and his ſtock. Whereupon, as this was neceſſary in *Saul* and *David*, becauſe the firſt of their Families, ſo was it after left off in their Children; who ſtill *raigned in their ſtead:* that is, in their right onely; according to Gods promiſe to *David*, to eſtabliſh the Throne upon his ſeed for ever.

1 Sam. 11. 14.

And therefore (I hope) it was not in the peoples power (as in right of their paramount Soveraignty) to refuſe this Family or take another: if it had, ſure God did them great wrong, to ſettle it thus without their juſt conſents. So that Gods not ſhewing them theſe Kings, till himſelf had determinately anointed and appointed them that Power and Office, ſhews he acknowledged no Negative voice of Government to reſide in them, but onely the duty of ſubjection: to which end, their Oaths and Promiſes of Alleageance were to be made before him, as is ſignified by the offering Sacrifice at *Gilgal:* of which more hereafter.

And as the fore-cited Prophecy and Direction of *Moſes*, did plainly ſhew Kingſhip to follow this firſt ſetling the Jewiſh Nation in ſafety and honor; ſo, almoſt all the Propheſies of their reſtauration, do again run in the ſame manner. But, becauſe we ſhall ſpeak of ſome of the reſt elſewhere, we will here onely ſpeak of that ſet forth in theſe eight laſt Chapters of *Ezechiel*, which is undeniably pregnant and expreſs herein. There this Office of kingſhip is ſo particularly deſcribed, that the uſual gloſs of Antimonarchical men, in attributing to Chriſt that power and honor which in ſome places is given to Kings, finds no colorable ſhift in this place, becauſe it is ſaid, *And my Princes ſhall no more oppreſs my people.* Which Oppreſſion being not to be feared from Chriſt himſelf, and the admonition being in the plural number, it cannot be thought congruous for him: as, on the otherſide, the aſſignation of a certain portion of Land for his maintenance; not to be alienated or encroached by any of his ſervants, but to remain to his Children only, muſt intend Kings, not Chriſt. And ſo muſt ſhew alſo, both the deſignation, and ſetled perpetuity of that Office: who, as the ſupreme Officer of power and honor,

Ezek. 4. 8.

honor, is in this receſs of God, to retain the Image of his Authority, and be acknowledged as in his ſtead. As maymoſt plainly appear, by that command of keeping the Eaſtgate for him only; ſaying, *This gate ſhall be ſhut, it ſhall not be opened: and no man ſhall enter by it, becauſe the Lord the God of Iſrael hath entred by it: therefore it ſhall be ſhut: it is for the Prince, the Prince he ſhall ſit in it to eat bread before the Lord: he ſhall enter by way of the porch of that gate, and ſhall go out by way of the ſame.* Ezek. 44, 1, 2, 3

Nor can we by Prince underſtand chief Prieſt (as ſome would) becauſe they neither had this power of Oppreſſion: and alſo were diſtinguiſhed from the Prince under the notion of the ſons of *Zadock*; and ſo had Lands diſtinct aſſigned for their maintenance. chap. 48. 11. And therefore again, although the Prieſts are there appointed to *put difference between Holy and Prophane, and to judge in the Aſſemblies of God*: they are ſtill to be ſuppoſed as under the Prince herein: being preſently appointed to be *the ſons of Zadock*: which are to be preſumed Loyal, as having been by the King put into that miniſtration for that very reaſon; when *Abiathar*, for joyning in rebellion with the reſt of *Iſrael*, was by the King thruſt out. So that the Prieſts here ſpoken of, being always ſet under the notion of *ſons of Zadock*, it ſeemed needleſs to ſet down that, in this, or other things, they ſhould be ſubordinate to the Prince: for this *Zadock* and his ſucceſſors (repreſenting the Evangelical Prieſthood) were by Gods appointment, 1 *Sam.* 2. 35. *to have a ſure houſe built them*, and to *walk before Gods anointed for ever*: the laſt words ſignifying at once, the perpetuity of both Chriſtian Kingſhip and Prieſthood; as well as prieſtly ſubordination, to ſucceed. ch. 44 23, 24. 1 Sam. 2. 35.

And if we ſhall take theſe chapters as prophetick, to ſet forth the ſtate and pattern of the Chriſtian Church (as uſually is done by Chriſtians) and not as literall to the Jews onely (as they uſually do) then, nothing can remain more luculent and cleer, then the divine direction hereof, for the perpetuity of this Office in the Chriſtian Church: in order to other Prophecies elſewhere mentioned; of having *Kings to be their nurſing Fathers, and Queens their Nurſes*; and of the Churches having *ſons, whom they may ſet as Princes in all Lands*. Which Office, as it is undeniably therein appointed, ſo to make it farther appear to be propheſied, as neceſſary to compleat the Church in a ſtate of perfection and happineſs, we ſhall finde that it is to be ſhewed to the Jews as an unqueſtionable plot to that purpoſe; and to be promiſed them upon their good abbearance: ſaying, *If they be aſhamed of all they have done, ſhew them the form of the houſe, and the faſhion thereof*, &c. *that they may keep the whole form thereof, and all the Ordinances thereof, and do them.* Iſa. 49. 23. Pſal. 45. 16. Ezek. 43 11.

By which we may finde, that in policies eſtabliſhed *according to the pattern in the Mount*, Kingſhip and Prieſthood muſt be: and that the one can be no more omitted then the other.

How this Office of Kingſhip was ordained to accompany and compleat the flouriſhing eſtate of the Jewiſh Church, and to precede and be inſtrumental in building the Temple, will be more fully diſcourſed hereafter: when we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of ſuch places of Scripture, as contain a connexion of promiſes to that purpoſe; as 2 *Sam.* 10. 11, &c. & 2 *Chr.* 17. 9, 10, 11, &c. and other places. All of them plainly ſhewing, that *Jeruſalem* (or the Church) *is* (or ought to be) *builded as a City that is compact together, or is at unity in it ſelf*: that is, hath an inward principle and ground-work of Unity and Peace in it ſelf, from this Divine appointment of one Governor to Pſal. 122 3.

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preſide therein: even by *ſetting there the Thrones of judgement, the Thrones*
Verſe 5. *of the houſe of David:* and not, as left to a plain way of diſ-union and diviſion, by means of any poliarchical contrivance, to judge and govern without a *Throne:* whereby their Compaction or Union ſhould not proceed from any naturalneſs in the form and means within, but from contingency and fear without.

But becauſe ſome Anti-Monarchical men do believe that it was no more lawful for the people to deſire a King afterwards, then at that time, and are very urgent, that the words, *I gave thee a King in mine Anger*, ſhould be interpreted as though the Office of Kingſhip were ſo given, (without conſidering alſo, *that he was taken away in wrath*, and ſo rightly conſtruing the abſence of the Office to be a greater puniſhment then the impoſition) it is to be noted that theſe and many other expreſſions uttered in reference to *Saul*, had relation to him as a perſon haſtily demanded, and ſo given as a puniſhment; and not as to one, on whom (and his poſterity) the flowriſhing eſtate of that Church was to be ſetled. For that promiſe we ſhall finde annexed to the Tribe of *Judah* (as before noted) of whoſe lynage alſo our Saviour was to come; whereas *Saul*, being a Benjamite, it could not be thought that he was the perſon to be ſetled herein. Nay, ſo much himſelf doth acknowledge to *Samuel*, while *Samuel* is telling him of his Election. *viz. Am not*
1 Sam. 9. 21. *I a Benjamite of the ſmalleſt of the Tribes of Iſrael*, &c. *Wherefore then ſpeakeſt thou ſo to me?*

But then it may be asked, how we ſhall make good thoſe expreſſions which
1 Sam. 13. 13. *Samuel* uſed unto him, that *God would have eſtabliſhed his kingdom upon Iſrael for ever?* Why, this might have been fulfilled by means of his lynage in a feminine line, matched into the Tribe of *Judah*, as was that match of *Michal* to *David*. But you will anſwer, that *Michal* was made childleſs for a fault of her own, and not of her Fathers. It is true, ſhe committed a fault to deſerve this puniſhment, but it hinders not, but the ſame puniſhment was in purſuance of a former fault of the Family alſo: as we finde many preſidents in Scripture, and in particular one done about the ſame time, namely the puniſhment of *Elies* houſe, which will come home to this. For we ſhall finde *Solomon* thruſting out *Abiathar* from the Prieſthood, to puniſh his perſonal act of diſloyalty to his Father, and yet, it was by Gods ſecret appointment ordered to be done, to make good the threat againſt *Elies* houſe
1 King. 2. 27. (namely, to *fulfil the word of the Lord concerning the houſe of Elie*) even ſo, we may interpret the puniſhment of *Sauls* firſt fault (that is, the cutting off his blood from the Crown) to be accompliſhed in *Michal:* and his other fault in ſparing *Agag* (threatned to be puniſhed in the rejection of his perſon) to be made good by his untimely ſlaughter. And the due obſervation of theſe Stories, will alſo inſtruct us, how that the building of the Temple, (ſignifying the glory of the Church) and the ſettlement of Kingſhip and Prieſthood, were all accompliſhed together: and how Kingſhip was the leader in this Chorus of happineſs, as Gods chief Inſtrument for compleating of them.

Deut. 17. 9. For ſo are we inſtructed by the direction which *Moſes* gave concerning matters of Appeals; wherein, the expreſſion of *the Judge that ſhall be in thoſe dayes*, not only denotes another manner of Judge then formerly, but
Verſe 8. the Prieſts and he, and the place *which the Lord ſhould chooſe* being conjoyned, muſt ſignifie their contemporary eſtabliſhment for perpetuity: *for to*

none

none of the other Judges God had ſaid, Why have yee not built me an houſe? nor was Kingſhip nor Preiſthood ſetled but in *Solomon* and *Zadock* the ſons of *David* and *Samuel*, and immediate inſtruments in building this Temple, the figure of the Chriſtian Church to ſucceed. 1 Chron. 17.6.

Nay this Office and power of kingſhip is ſo cleer in Scripture, that it is uſual with the abetters of Polarchies now adays, to balk it in the plain ſenſe thereof, and to hearken to *Philo*, *Joſephus*, and I know not what Antichriſtian Authors, to learn from them the Authority of the people, of the Sanhedrim, and ſuch like Magiſtrates: not conſidering the intereſt and prejudice wherewith theſe men writ. For they, deſigning to bring their Writings and Nation into the more eſteem amongſt the learned perſons of thoſe times, and having ſo long lived, and been ſo well entertained, the firſt among the *Grecians*, and the other amongſt the *Romans*, as to be affected with their humors and way of learning; they had the ſame reaſon to commend thoſe other Forms, and to depreſs this Kingly Office and Power, as they had to commend thereby, their own writings and Country.

And as in Kings all power is thus united, ſo he alone it is, that is the true Repreſentative whole: and whoſe actions may binde the people, without their conſent, but not theirs, without his. And ſo much is often by God acknowledged; making the good or ill of the King and Kingdom all one. Thus *Abimilechs* particular detaining of *Sarai:* is by him apprehended as an evil threatning his whole kingdom: and we finde *Sauls* particular act againſt the *Gibeonites*, puniſhed with the peoples famine; as *Davids* numbring the people afterward, was puniſhed with their Peſtilence. And in that whole ſtory, we may obſerve the puniſhment or reward, the good or ill of the people, ſtill to anſwer and be proportioned, with the Vertues or Vices of their Princes: and that, though the people did offer *in the high places*, or had not prepared their hearts *to ſeek the God of their Fathers*, or the like: yet if this general Repreſentative perſon was upright before God, even for his ſake, a bleſſing did enſue: which is nowhere obſerved to be done in reſpect of any ſubjects piety. And this may ſeem leſs ſtrange, ſince we finde that *Adam* (being made Monarch of all Creatures) ſhould have the violence of his race, imputed and charged on them; ſo, as to involve them in the ſame guilt and deſtruction by flood. Gen. 20.9. 2 Sam. 21.1. 2 Sam. 24.15. 2 Chron. 20. 33. 2 Chron. 21.14

Nor is this degree of power before ſpoken of, much more then what before was practiſed by *Moſes* himſelf, according to the advice of his Father-in-Law; as we read *Exod.* 18.20. namely, to make Laws and Ordinances for them to live by, and where Law was already made by God, to reſerve to himſelf the interpretation thereof, as alſo all appeals, and all difficult and important cauſes: and (for the better diſpatch ſake) to refer common cauſes to ſubordinate Judges. All which is again farther expreſſed, *Deut.* 1.9, to the 18. where he owns the making Judges, and laſt appeal. Out of all which it may be found, that the moſt material marks of Soveraignty were in many of theſe temporary Judges: as the power of making ſome Laws, and interpreting them; the laſt appeal, and ſupreme deciſion of controverſies: eſpecially in *Moſes*, becauſe he was a King too (as formerly noted) and ſo made by God, and not by the people. And unto *Joſhua* next, as made by *Moſes:* for on him by Gods appointment was he (*by impoſition of hands*) *to put ſome of his honor, that all the Congregation of Iſrael might be obedient:* that is, that he, by receit of this juſtly derived power from God his Vicegerent, might have full power to command them. Numb. 17. 20.

And therefore are they alſo called Kings; as in the inte-rregnum, (when
Judg. 17. 6. there was no Judge) it is ſaid, *there was no King in Iſrael:* and yet was theſe Judges power inferior to that of Kings, coming after.

This ſoveraign power of Kings, we may finde implyed in that anſwer of
1 Sam. 8. 11. *Samuel* to the people, *of the manner*, or power *of a King:* which, had it but been equal to that of their former Judges, what needed it have been told the people? And they that will not have the things there ſet down to be in his power, but that he was to give account thereof, or that his actions were controleable by any order or body of the people, do yet commit a greater abſurdity: for then, to what purpoſe ſhould *Samuel* go about to fright the people with a thing of no danger, and which was in their power to remedy? For
1 Sam. 8. 18. ſo it follows, *that they ſhould cry out in that day becauſe of their King, and the Lord ſhould not hear them:* meaning, that they had none but God in that caſe to appeal to; by whoſe forbearance to hear them therein, they had no lawful remedy left them. For had his words imported no more terror to their underſtanding, but what they had right and power to remedy, they might have anſwered, "Nay, but we will have a King under us, and not o-"ver us. No, he ſhall be onely King of the leſs number of the people, "and their Repreſentatives: but unto the major part or Vote, he ſhall be "ſubject upon all occaſions they ſhall think good: and ſo making our ſelves "Soveraigns over our Soveraign, we ſhall prevent thoſe threats: for there-"by having (upon the matter) no King, we ſhall do but what unto every "one ſeems good in his own eys.

And by the expreſſion *over thee*, ſo often there uſed, muſt be meant over the whole people; being the ſame *thee* that ſhould chooſe him: ſo that if his election were by the major part, or ſuch as ſtood for them (as ſo it muſt be, or elſe it could be no Election) his power muſt be above the major part or their Repreſentatives: and as common relation bindes him to be King of the whole, that is, of major as well as minor, ſo muſt he be alſo over them both. And accordingly the practice of theſe Kings ran: for ſo *David* commands, and is obeyed by *Joab*, and the Rulers or Repreſentatives of the people, in numbring of them; though themſelves knew it to be unlawful, and that it would be a treſpaſs or harm to *Iſrael*, or the
1 Chron. 21. 3 whole people: And although there were neither neceſſity nor countenance of Law for the deed, yet *the Kings word prevailed againſt Joab and*
Verſe 4. *the Elders of the people:* and ſo remains as a maxim to *Solomon* his ſon, who ſaith, where the *word of a King is, there is power, and who may ſay unto*
Eccleſ. 8. 4. *him what doeſt thou?*

By which words we may diſcover, not onely the high unqueſtionable power of Kingſhip, but alſo, that it had its derivation from God: inaſmuch as that laſt phraſe *What doeſt Thou?* Is in Scripture onely ap-
Iſa. 45. plyed to God himſelf. Whereby we may alſo note, that although the
Job 9. 12. Scripture do ſometimes (at leaſt before Kings were) give this appellation of *Elohim* (or Judiciary power) to other perſons in earthly power, or to inferior Magiſtrates, yet becauſe (ſince that time) they are (or ſhould be) under this greater Earthly *Elohim* (as *ſent of him*) they never have this phraſe given them, nor have they ever (like him) any of thoſe appellations proper to Chriſt given them, as *of Meſſiah, Chriſt, or Anointed:* or of *Saviour:* they being to Kings (his immediate Vicegerents) in the firſt place due. And when they are any where given to

other

other persons, it is upon their receit of some extraordinary power from God: and if they have them in right of their Offices, then it may be observed to be ascribed to such Offices, which were anciently annexed to Monarchy (*paterno jure*) to wit Priesthood and Prophesie, as shall more fully appear hereafter.

So that then you may see, the Office and Authority of a King is not separable from his person, nor is it lawful for people (after a kinde of idolatry) to pay obedience to any other kinde of resemblance: For so, at last, having (by these strange resemblances of Authority made in our fancies) blotted out the knowledge and fear of the true Object, and rejecting his personal Will to be of force at all without the Authority of Law, and this Law of our interpreting also; we necessarily again fall into Anarchy: having no Will or Understanding but our own to direct us.

No, *David* and *Solomon* knew too well this kingly Prerogative, to be beguiled with the seeming shew of Authority in, or from the people: and followed not the example of *Saul* their Predecessor, to lose their power by complying, and submitting it to the Vote of the people: and therefore, it proved an unvaluable excuse which he made to *Samuel*, saying, *I have sinned, for I have transgressed the Commandment of the Lord, and thy word: because I feared the people and obeyed their voice.* 1 Sam. 15. 24. But he should have remembred, that he was set over the people, and not they over him: That, as it was one of his Prerogatives, *to be for the people, to Godward*, as *Moses* was, (or to have none above, or between God and him) so, there would an account by God be expected from him onely; as being his next Vicegerent; and, as God on earth, entrusted with sufficient power. And if he had not had power over the people, how could God in justice punish him, for obedience to them that might command?

Nor was this fear of the people a fained pretence; for if it had, *Samuel* would not have spared to tell him so. Therefore when these people took of the spoil, *sheep*, and *oxen*, and the chief of the things that should have been utterly destroyed, to sacrifice to the Lord, he might have withstood their major Vote by his denyal: and have told them as *Samuel* did him, *Obedience is beter then sacrifice.* Verse 22. For, as it was a vain imagination in him, to think that God would excuse his disobedience in this, through this pretence of doing him better service otherways; so it is also from Subjects to Kings, when they withdraw their obedience upon like pretences. *For rebellion is like the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornesse as idolatry*: 1 Sam. 15. 23. that is, whilst we stand bewitched with our own fancies of Gods will, and thereupon shew our disobedience to the Authority he appoints, we do by that example shake off obedience to all Law whatever: and whilst we do thus set up a will-worship of our own in the state, by denying any Authority in the will of the Soveraign, and by making nothing right or just but what shall be consonant to our own Reasons, do we not hereby lose the general and whole benefit of society which is gotten by obedience, and by relying again upon our own understandings and interpretations of Law and Right, fall consequently into Anarchy?

For not onely Soveraignty it self, but all kinde of Rule and power else, cannot derive any other foundation of Authority then what is from above, as was well noted in our Saviours answer to *Pilate*: nor can these below them, be in any respect so above them, as to give or refuse command. For when an unjust Joh. 19. 11.

command is put upon us, and we appeal from one power to a higher: this is not done as out of any power of ours below, but by the power and permission of the party above those we appeal from: subordinate persons being in no sort capable to be superior or insubjected, as of power from themselves. When the Master of a Family hath his Authority in any thing justly disobeyed, the power of so doing is not in Children or Servants, but from the Prince or Magistrate above, to whom the Master himself is subject: who else, if not restrained by Laws from the Prince his Superior, would have as absolute Soveraignty over his Family, as the Prince hath over the whole people: that is, in all things wherein he is not restrained by the Laws of God.

And when it is affirmed that power is in the people, it would be known whether that word include the Magistrates also? if it do, where is the relation between governing and governed? and if it do not include them, then is the people above, and the Magistrate beneath: or else, according to truth, the Magistrate hath power to govern, and the people onely power (that is ability) to obey.

For if this supreme indisputable Power of Kings had not been taken as a real and confessed truth, but that the people or their Major Vote should have in themselves the highest Soveraignty and Command, and he onely be as a titular thing to countenance their acts, then how should it be a *woe to a Land*
Eccles. 10. 16. *when their king shall be a childe*, that is, want ability to govern in his own personal capacity? No sure, that condition must by this rule render such Lands most happy, inasmuch as he having discretion enough to tell one, two, and three, and so to discover the Major Vote in his subjects assemblies, must be supposed to be still ready (without any thwarting presumption of his own understanding) to cry implicitly, *So be it*, to all that his subjects shall command. But if people in that condition be under a *woe*, it is because of their Prince his disability to judge and act in his own person: for surely, his resemblance of Children in innocence cannot be a *woe*: it must follow, that the more the Prince is made a childe by his Subjects, and hath his power eclipsed, the more *woe* will that kingdom proportionably have.

And they that yet think the whole, or major part of the people above the King, and not subject to his commands, let them consider (even) the power
1 King. 11. 37. given to *Ieroboam* himself from God, *to reign according to all his soul desired*. Let them also (that think the generality, or major part of the subjects cannot in case of resistance be called Rebels) again consider the censure God gave to the Representative whole body of the people, when they rejected *Rehoboam*
2 Chro. 10. 19. and followed *Ieroboam*, saying, *And Israel rebelled against the house of David unto this day*: neither the major Vote of eleven Tribes to one, nor their pretension of oppression under *Salomon*, could excuse them of the guilt of this imputation: nay, although the action were but in pursuance of what was before appointed by God, in punishment of *Salomon* his Fathers fault. Which was the reason why *Rehoboam* was forbidden to take vengeance on these Rebels, as his Grandfather *David* had before, on these major numbers and representative bodies of the people gathered against him in *Absolom* and *Adonijahs*
Chap. 11. 4. rebellions: therefore is he, and the people with him, bidden *to return to their houses*. Yet because the eleven Tribes had no direct warrant from him who alone is above Kings, this crime of rebellion is not to be wiped off, but on the contrary disavowed by God as concerning the fact it self: for it is

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there ſaid, *That the Prieſt and Levites, and all whoſe hearts were right ſet to ſerve God, returned from following Ieroboam.* Verſe 16.

And therefore that expreſſion of all *Iſraels* coming to *Sechem* to make *Rehoboam* King, muſt be underſtood, not as having power to elect another, but as ſummoned by *Rehoboams* command to paſs their fealties and acknowledgements to him, that was already in actual poſſeſſion of his Father *Solomons* Throne: for ſo, we ſhall finde it noted, in the verſe foregoing the recital of this ſtory; *And Solomon ſlept with his Fathers, and Rehoboam his ſon reigned in his ſtead.* Chap. 9 31. And ſo alſo, after this revolt did he continue reigning over Judah, without any mention of popular confirmation. For it ſeems thoſe of Judah had acknowledged their Alleageances unto him already, without any ſuch diſpute: which being ordinarily done to him and others, may ſeem the reaſon of the remarkable record of this denial.

And we may yet more plainly ſee, what this phraſe of the peoples making of Kings doth import, by the like expreſſion uſed at the time of their acknowledgements to *Solomon* his Father: for, although the people had no hand of Authority in it, but that as *David made Solomon his ſon King over Iſrael*, yet, *David* then ſummoning all the Princes of *Iſrael, the Prieſts and the Levites* to take notice of this and other his directions about the Temple, and ſo concluding with a Sacrifice (as was uſual at the peoples promiſe of Fealty and Alleageance) it is ſaid, *that they did eat and drink before the Lord with great gladneſs, and they made Solomon the ſon of David King the ſecond time: and anointed him to be chief Governor to the Lord, and Zadock to be Prieſt.* Which words *ſecond time* muſt relate to their firſt making of him: when, being anointed King by *Zadock* at the command of *David*, all that the people did to the making of him, or conferring his power, was but (as in acknowledging him made already) with ſaying, *God ſave King Solomon*, or the like: which, as it was fit for that ordinary rank of people aſſembled at his firſt making, ſo, in this ſolemn convention of the *great ones, Princes*, &c. we may ſuppoſe ſome actual Fealty to paſs unto this *chief Governor unto the Lord*; both when that Congregation did *bow their heads and worſhip the Lord and the King*; and alſo when it is ſaid, *all the Princes and the mighty men, and the ſons likewiſe of King David ſubmitted themſelves unto Solomon the King*: that is, acknowledged him their King; by ſuch perſonal outward acts of homage, as were uſual amongſt that people: for ſo the word *ſubmitted* doth bear in the original.

1 Chron. 23. 1. Chap. 29. 22. 1 King. 1. 39. 1 King. 1. 39. 1 Chron. 29. 20. Verſe 24.

Beſides, it is likely, that at this time alſo they took their Oaths of Alleageance, in other places implyed under the name of Covenants. Which Oaths are alluded unto in that precept of *Solomon*, *My ſon, I counſel thee to keep the Kings command, and that in reſpect of the Oath of God.* Eccleſ. 8. 2.

And as for the expreſſion of the peoples annointing of *Solomon*, uſed before, and to other Kings, it is not to be underſtood, as if they had right to confer the power belonging to Kingly Office on any: for they had it no more, then they had right to confer the power of Prieſtly Office. And therefore, *Zadock* being joyned in this their *anointing*, who it is well known was put in by *Solomon* before, ſhews that the phraſe was but equivalent with acknowledging. And that, becauſe at *Solomons* firſt eſtabliſhment, the greater part of the people were abſent; as being ſharers in *Adonijahs* Rebellion. Who indeed (if he had thriven) might have been called a King of the peoples

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making (as to his perſonal election) whereas *Solomon* and other Kings, are to own their Thrones and power from God. And therefore it is ſaid, *That Solomon ſat on the Throne of the Lord as King*, &c. *and all Iſrael obeyed him:* that is, obeyed him as in Gods Throne, and not in theirs. And that it is God onely that doth conſtitute the power of this Office, appears by that which follows, *viz. The Lord magnified Solomon exceedingly in the ſight of all Iſrael, and beſtowed upon him ſuch royal Majeſty, as had not been on any King before him.*

1 Chron. 29. 23

But let us examine more neerly, thoſe places that ſeem moſt to reſtrain Soveraignty, as the laſt verſe of *Deut.* 17. *That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren:* which may ſeem to imply that he had no abſolute power over them. But it was not to forbid him any neceſſary power and authority over them, for puniſhment of vice, or maintenance of peace, nor of any external honor or juriſdiction above them, for then had the Office been uſeleſs; but as a caveat to humility: and that he ſhould conſider, that however he were thus advanced, it was more in relation to the good of the people, then his own: and that, ſince his ſupreme authority over them, was to make them happy by unity, and not him proud by preferment, he ſhould therefore *not have his heart lifted up above* them, by nation *his brethren*, and by nature his equals: but the conſideration hereof, imprinting the ſenſe of compaſſion and fellow-feeling in him, it might reſtraine all exorbitance in the exerciſe of this high power, ſo far, as not to inſult or afflict beyond meaſure. And this is the cauſe, why ſucceſſion of Princes, and continuance in the ſame ſtock, is ſo generally preferred before election: namely, that they are then ſure to have one of their own nation, or brethren.

Even ſo again, by forbidding him to multiply horſes, or much ſilver *and gold to himſelf* (there alſo expreſſed) it was not ſimply to forbid him theſe things as unlawful; for the two next and greateſt Kings of eminency (*David* and *Solomon*) had them in great abundance without blame, but to give another like caveat againſt pride: that is, leaſt preſuming upon theſe advantages, he might be brought to forget God his ſtrength, and think to keep under his ſubjects, more by the fear of tyranny, then the love of a brother: And alſo to admoniſh him, that he ſhould not put his people to unneceſſary charges, in ſupplying him beyond publike uſe. And to cleer this, by inſtance, in multiplying horſes, we ſhall finde the prohibition point particularly towards *Egypt*; as a prophetick admonition againſt their leaning on the ſtrength of that ſtaffe, *which ſhould run into their hands*: which was afterwards verified in *Haſea* and *Zedekiah*, who put vain truſt in theſe Egyptian forces: and the 24 and 43 Chapters of *Jeremiah*, are full of diſſwaſions from this Egyptian confidence, and from returning again thither. And as that people were extreamly inclined to ſet their faces towards that place, ſo could not theſe admonitions but be very neceſſary for their King, both to keep them from ſo doing, and to forbear making *fleſh his arme himſelf*. To which purpoſe *Iſaiah* is very full; *Wo to them that go down to* Egypt *for help, and ſtay on horſes, and truſt in Chariots becauſe they are many, and in horſemen becauſe they are ſtrong: but they look not unto the holy one of Iſrael, neither ſeek unto the Lord.*

Jerem 17. 5.

Iſa. 31. 1.

As for the law there mentioned, it cannot be underſtood of any particular one made for his reſtraint, and ſo proper to him as King, but of thoſe general Laws of *Moſes*, given for all men to live by: And therefore, it is enjoyn-

enjoyned him *write it out of that which was before the Prieſts*, to whom he is now to ſucceed in the chief charge thereof. In which charge, although he differed from others, yet, that the Law was the ſame, appears by the intent thereof there mentioned (common to him with the reſt) namely, that *He might learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep the word of this law and ſtatutes to do them.* He is not bidden (you ſee) to be affraid of his People, Repreſentative, or Collective: nor are they or any one earth, hereby authoriſed to look unto his performance of this law; or to reſiſt or puniſh him, in caſe he tranſgreſs: the which is the thing in queſtion; and not whether Kings are ſubject to God and his Laws or no: for none will deny but they are, and are alſo (for many conſiderations) more obliged to keep and preſs theſe laws then any of their ſubjects: As none (on the other ſide) will I hope ſay, that his ſubjects are to be to him in Gods ſtead, ſo as to judge and puniſh him, if he do not. Deut. 17.18. Verſe 19.

But then it may be anſwered, that the people have a dry right without a remedy: "They have a right indeed to be free from oppreſſion, but ſuch "an one as ſerves to no ſtead, ſince it may be taken from them at the plea- "ſure of another. What, ſhall we call an appeal to God no remedy? or ſhall we ſay there is no remedy or juſtice for ſubjects, but when and where themſelves ſhall be judges and executioners in it? for if ſo, what uſe of this common judiciary power, when one part of the people may ſtill have power to judge of another? It was the partiallity and injuſtice incident to this way of proceeding, that made it reaſonable for people to ſubject themſelves to a common umpire or judge: whoſe ſentence ſhould alwayes be taken as indifferent. Becauſe elſe they did nothing; and are yet but in the ſame firſt ſtate of Anarchy they were: For he that is not ſupreme in all cauſes and things, but onely ſuch as the people ſhall aſſent unto, is not truely ſupreme in any thing: foraſmuch as their judgement coming after his, as of power to confirme or diſanull, they will ſtill be without a ſupreme, and their Major vote allowing his affirmative, or rejecting his negative ſentence, will at laſt conclude the whole definitive ſentence to be come into their hands.

No, if rulers of policy, peace, and government be maintained, the King onely (as aforeſaid) can be ſupreme, and all other of his ſubjects can have but derivative powers; that is, *at ſent of him.* The complaint of miſuſage muſt ſtill run to the higher; the people cannot appeal to the people, when the King (their onely ſupreme Judge on earth) hath oppreſſed them. They have in this condition, none but God above him to appeal unto; he is the onely King of Kings, *and to him onely* (in this caſe) *vengeance doth belong.* All which was well intimated in *Samuels* reply, foreſhewing that theſe oppreſſions ſhould irremediably happen ſometimes: *In that day ſhall ye cry unto the Lord, but he ſhall not hear you.* So that then (after all theſe warnings and threats) the people chuſing to ſubmit to this government and power, it makes their reſignation of power and truſt to him to be implicite, and for better or worſe. It makes it appear, that they had conſidered before hand of theſe things, as miſchiefs that might ſometimes befall them; the which patience and ſufferance, not rebellion and reſiſtance were to remedy. And ſo far were they from pretending, or deſiring any caution againſt it, that their reply (*Nay but we will have a King over us, that we alſo may be like all the nations, and that our King may judge us and go out before us, and fight our bat-* 1 Sam. 8. 19.

battailes) imports an acknowledgement of his unqueſtionable ſupremacy over them, and that aſwell in Civil as Martial affairs; which is meant by judging them and fighting their battailes. And then, by their propoſing herein *to be like other Nations*, whoſe Kings (it is well known) had at that time abſolute Soveraignty, the condition of perfect ſubjection will be farther manifeſt.

And again, in deſiring a King in the place of Judges (who already had ſupreme authority as far as poſitive law went) muſt farther imply their acknowledgements of an extraordinary obedience, to this new and extraordinary power. For when *Samuel* tells them that now God *was their King* (meaning that in all extraordinary and urgent occaſions his advice and direction was to be ſought) and they notwithſtanding this, chuſing to have a King, it makes that abſolute degree of ſubmiſſion yet more apparent, which was to be given to this high Officer, who ſhould ſucceed in this Divine place of Authority: which, as it might ſubject them to many unavoidable miſeries when evil Kings came, ſo, on the other hand, they might foreſee much benefit to enſue when good ones came: as it proved ſhortly after, in the days of *David* and *Solomon*.

So that, untill this latter age of the world, that men through vulgar and popular flattery, could be brought both to forget Gods precepts and their own reaſon, ſuch Maximes and poſitions as are now frequent in the mouths of ſome ſeditious perſons, would have been abandoned as undutiful, aſwell as ſcorned as ridiculous. It would have ſounded ſtrange in their ears, to have heard men affirm, "That they had contrived a way of limitation for Kings; "whereby he ſhould yet have all power left him to do good unto his people, "but none at all to hurt them: and yet, ſuch is our preſent averſion to government, that the haſty and inconſiderate ſwallowing down of ſuch like Maxims for the limitation of Monarchical Power, hath been the cauſe of all our publike diſturbances. All which right reaſon muſt ſay we are ever in danger of, whilſt Soveraignty is not entire, and perfect in the perſon it ought to be.

For what, ſhall he have ſuch power of doing good, as it ſhall not be in the power of others to hinder it? if ſo, then (ſuppoſing him a voluntary Agent) you muſt alſo ſuppoſe, that (if he think fit) he hath power of forbearing it; and ſo doth ill, by not doing good. Or, if he work as an inſtrument and neceſſary Agent, by the force and impulſion of another, then is the power of doing good, to be properly aſcribed where this direction is: becauſe the Miniſterial Vertue or Power of the inſtrument, may be thereby implyed other wayes, or not at all.

And ſo, if you make him to carry the ſame force in the work of government, as the Carpenters chizel doth in all his work; then, how ſhall a voluntary Agent be imagined ſuch? or what is the difference of the Kings power, from that of the meaneſt ſubject; when he muſt do ſo as he is directed, and no otherwiſe? And ſo laſtly, how can that be called good, which is done neceſſarily and unwillingly?

But theſe things will be beſt ſeen by inſtance. The power of each kingdom is in the Militia: now, as he that hath power hereof, may benefit the kingdom by the invaſion of another, or by defence of his own; and as he may uſe the ſame at home, in maintenance of laws and equity againſt oppoſers, ſo may he thereby do the contrary. Whereupon Reaſon and Experience tells

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us, how ridiculous this their device is. For ſince the Militia muſt be ſomwhere, and of abſolute power, if it be not in one mans hand, it will be in more. What will they then be the neer? will they now ſet ſome in truſt over theſe again? to the end, that as thoſe were truſted above the King, to hinder him from doing wrong, ſo theſe again, ſhall have power to be over them, that they abuſe not that their power, which they before had over the King? when will they have done ſetting of watchmen upon watchmen? and muſt they not be men ſtill that they ſhall ſo entruſt? In which reſpect being alike ſubject to tranſgreſs, will they not neceſſarily be more in danger of injury being now under the power of many, then they were before while under one?

And truely, they that thus can fancy a poſſibility, of ſtating a perſon in ſuch a condition, as he ſhould alwayes have power to do good, muſt next contrive him ſuch a will, as he ſhall be doing it alſo; or elſe this power is but vain: becauſe he may do ill in forbearing it. And they again, that (on the other ſide) would take from him all power to do evil, and yet think he may be all this while a voluntary Agent, do in both reſpects, ſeem to me to condemn God Almighty of imprudence or injuſtice, in not governing all men in the world, as theſe would do ſome in kingdoms: That is, not knowing how thus to take from men the power of doing ill, without taking from them (thereby alſo) the power of doing well, but ſuffering ſin thus needleſly to raigne in the world.

Out of what hath been hitherto ſpoken, we may gather the reaſon, both for the eſtabliſhment of Monarchy, and alſo for annexing unto it thoſe abſolute degrees of Soveraignty; not to be wreſted or alienated from the perſon of the Prince by any of his ſubjects: who cannot, without overthrow of Monarchy, be ſuch ſharers or engroſſers of the Soveraignty, as under pretence of bridling him from evil, *To ſay unto him what doſt thou?* becauſe he hath power by his Office to do *whatſoever pleaſeth him.* To which end, we may alſo ſee the reaſon, why Oaths of obedience and ſubjection are by ſubjects taken, as for other ends, ſo, in caſe of reſiſtance, to take their part againſt all others: The people being for this very ſubjection ſake, called the ſubjects of ſuch and ſuch Kings. And this Oath, in regard it is made in Gods name and preſence, and in regard it is the tye and obligation to maintaine policy and peace, and thereby humane preſervation (the end of God alſo) it is called the *Oath of God*, as aforeſaid. Eccleſ. 8. 4. Verſe 3.

And therefore, to Kings are we to give obedience, *not onely for wrath, but for conſcience ſake*: for ſo Solomon directs it *the fear of a King is as the roaring of a Lyon, he that provoketh him to anger ſinneth againſt his own ſoul*: it is not a crime in policy onely, to diſobey and reſiſt him *whoſe wrath is as meſſengers of death*, but a ſin alſo againſt Religion. And leaſt any ſhould *uſe their* Chriſtian liberty *for a cloak to their maliciouſneſs*, and the better to act their own revenge or ambition, pretend that in unlawful commands obedience is not due (which once granted how eaſie would it be to make any thing unlawful we had no minde to obey) we are enjoyned to be ſubject, *Not onely to the good and gentle* (ſuperiors) *but alſo to the froward: for this is thank worthy, if a man for conſcience towards God endure grief, ſuffering wrongfully: for what glory is it if when we be buffeted for our faults we take it patiently, but if when we do well and ſuffer for it, we take it patiently, this is acceptible with God: for even hereunto were we called, becauſe Chriſt alſo* Rom. 13. 5. Prov. 20. 2. Chap. 16. 14. 1 Pet. 2. 18, 19.

ſuffered, as leaving us an example that we ſhould follow his ſteps: who did no ſin, neither was guile found in his mouth: who when he was reviled, reviled not again, when he ſuffered threatned not, but committed himſelf to him that judgeth righteouſly. What could have been more expreſly and rationally ſaid, for perfect ſubmiſſion to our ſuperiors, then here? for firſt, whereas the glory of God conſiſts (as amongſt other things) in the preſervation of man, and that againe, by ſubmiſſion to authority, they are to *ſubmit themſelves to every ordinance of man for the Lords ſake*; or as they tender Gods glory, or their own good. And then, leaſt any factious pretence ſhould alienate their duties in the true object of their allegeance, it is appointed *unto Kings as ſupreme*, and unto other governors *as to ſuch as are ſent of him: for ſuch was the will of God and their well doing, that hereby they ſhould put to ſilence, the ignorance and fooliſhneſs of men*: even of ſuch men, as not knowing that the foundation of Society was laid upon the united and irreſiſtable authority of the perſon, had, under pretence of liberty, vented their maliciouſneſs, and countenanced rebellion, in favouring ſome ſubordinate authority againſt the ſupreme.

1 Pet. 2 20, 21, 22, 23.

Verſ. 13.

Verſ. 15.

And then laſtly, leaſt any ſhould object, that becauſe (as aforeſaid) theſe governors were but for *the puniſhment of evil doers, and praiſe of them that do well*; therefore, if they ſhould do the contrary (as their Commiſſion or authority would fail, ſo) their obedience to him might faile alſo: We ſhall farther finde him giving precepts of *ſuffering patiently*, though they knew it wrongfully. And this he confirms by the example of our Saviour himſelf, who, as he vvas infinitely more innocent, ſo vvas his uſage more hard and unjuſt: and that many times, from under Kings that had neither natural nor rightful authority over him. As for one inſtance, in the caſe of paying tribute; for although (as appears by *Peters* anſvver) it vvas but vvhat he had uſed to do, he makes an expoſtulation purpoſly to cleer all doubt that might be made: *Of whom* (ſaid he) *do the Kings of the earth take cuſtome or tribute, of their own children or of ſtrangers?* Peter *ſaith unto him of ſtrangers; Jeſus ſaith unto him, then are the children free, notwithſtanding leaſt we ſhould offend them, go thou to the ſea, and caſt an hook, and take up the fiſh that cometh firſt, and when thou haſt opened his mouth thou ſhalt finde a piece of money, that take and give unto them for me and thee.* So that (you ſee) rather then he vvill offend them, that is reſiſt authority and give occaſion to rebellion, by ſtanding out and refuſing (as he proved he might have done in this illegal command) he vvorks a miracle to perform it; and doth it for *Peter* alſo, of vvhom it vvas not demanded.

Mat. 17. 25, 26, 27.

Nor vvas this done out of fear, as vvanting povver to reſiſt, if reſiſtance had been lavvful; *For he was able to have commanded more then twelve Legions of Angels*: a povver ſufficient to have maſtered any oppoſſion. But he, like a Prince of peace, left us this example, not to promote rebellion againſt the ſupreme authority; but to *commit all to him that judgeth righteouſly*, even to God: to vvhom alone Kings are accountable, and therefore to him alone *vengeance* (in that kinde eſpecially) *doth belong*. For, as God vvas the alone author of their povver and Office, ſo vvill he be the onely judge of their defaults therein; according to that of *David, againſt thee onely have I ſinned*: as if lying vvith another mans vvife vvere no vvrong or treſpaſs to her husband: vvhich that it vvas ſo, is cleerly evinced in that parable made by *Nathan* of the taking of the Evv-lamb, and in *Da-*

Mat. 26. 53.

1 Pet. 2. 23.

Pſal. 51. 4.

vids

vids anſwer, acknowledging it an offence, and making a cenſure thereupon: namely, *The man that hath done this ſhall ſurely dye, and make reſtitution.* 2 Sam. 12. 5, 6. But, although *David* had power thus to puniſh any of his ſubjects, as having from God rightful juriſdiction over them, yet, when he underſtands himſelf to be *the man*, he concludes none on earth above him: but that he is ſubject to God onely, in the ſaid words, *Againſt thee only have I ſinned.*

Marke alſo the uſe of this kingly power, in enforcing or abating the rigor of the law: For reſtitution was by Gods law onely ſet down as a puniſhment of theft, which was the onely fault, and not adultery which appeared in the parable of the Lamb: but he, for the puniſhment of a fault ſo aggravated by circumſtances, though fit to have death added: and ſhould no doubt have been therein by his ſubjects obeyed, without imputation of guilt for uſing arbitrary power; no more then when he took the ſhewbread, altered the courſes of the Prieſts, erected new Offices amongſt them, brought in Muſick, and other Ceremonies into the Temple, without particular direction from God or *Moſes* law: and when he commanded the numbering of the people as beforeſaid: and again, made that law for the ſhares of ſuch as ſtayed with the ſtuff; both of them, not onely without, but againſt his preſent peoples liking. 1 Sam. 21. 6. 1 Chron. 23 24, &c. 1 Sam. 30. 24.

To conclude therefore, Soveraignty is the ſupreme judge and diſpoſer of Publike intereſt: where, by Publike, is meant whatever may be of general concern between that Kingdom and another, or of mutual concern to others in the ſame kingdom; although the ſame be kept as a propriety in private hands. The particulars of this authority, we will briefly here ſet down. The chief is (that ſo largely heretofore ſpoken of, namely) the ſword of Juſtice, or the laſt appeal, aſwel in Religious as Civil Cauſes: and is inſeparable, and incommunicable. The next, is the power of making, and interpreting of laws. The next, is to lay taxes, and grant privilidges and exemptions: and therefore had *David* and *Solomon* both their *tribute Maſters*; and ſo *Saul* alſo (out of his known prerogative) promiſed to them that ſhould ſlay *Goliah*, to *make his fathers houſe free in Iſrael*: which power to free, muſt ſuppoſe a power to impoſe. 2 Sam. 20. 24. 1 King. 4. 6. 1 Sam. 17. 25.

The next is to make Magiſtrates and ſtate officers: for he having delegation from God, and being the common Fountain and Center of power, their power muſt be but derivative and part of his. The next is, to make peace and war: all of them comprehended under thoſe general terms of ſubmiſſion, mentioned in the Jews firſt election of their Kings: namely *to judge them and fight their battailes.* And, as for the other more ſeparable and communicable markes; of receiving homage, coynage and valuing the mony, weights, and meaſures, to grant Letters of Mart; to have Crown and Scepter; to have titles, additions, and donations of honor; as they may be ſometimes but complemental, ſo may they be comprehended under ſome of the more general and expreſs markes before ſpoken: for if he have the laſt appeal, and be in all cauſes, and over all perſons and eſtates in his dominions ſupream head and governor, it will follow, that he is ſo alſo in theſe. 1 Sam. 8. 20.

Although in the paſſed Treatiſe the name of King be only commonly uſed, yet what is ſpoken of him is to be applied unto Monarchy in general; under what other title of Emperor, Prince, Duke, Lord, *&c.* ſo they be free and holding of God onely. For unto the Monarch, in right of his Office, and not to the name, is the Power and Soveraignty due: even as the head of the

family, is, in relation to his wife called husband, to his children father, to his servants Master, and yet is the same person: so, if a Duke or Lord (as those of *Edom* and the Philistins sometimes were) be absolute; their smalness of territory debars not their right to Monarchy; more then the Master of a less Family, to be in his Office of government, as absolute as he that hath a greater. And the like may be said of a Soveraign Officer in a Commonwealth also, if he be supreme and not accountable to any one earth for his actions: as was that famous *Cesar*, and other the dictators in *Rome*. For whosoever hath the sole independent prerogative of *Kan-ning*, from which the word King is derived, he is truely a King also; but so far as he hath not, his soveraignty, is so far defective, and Anarchy introduced: which shall be our next discourse.

THE

THE SECOND BOOK OF GOVERNMENT AND Its Ground and Foundation, according to VULGAR POSITIONS.

The Introduction.

IN purſuance of my firſt Propoſal, for eſtabliſhment of publike Peace and good, I have in the paſſed Book, brought Monarchy to its juſt height: and that, from ſuch general and obvious Arguments from Reaſon and Scripture, as do, to my thinking, point directly to that end, and no way elſe. But, being to write in an age, where contrary prejudice will not ordinarily give men ability or leiſure to attend the diſcovery, it fareth therefore with me, as with that Artificer, who, having brought ſomething unexpectedly to paſs, is forced for the farther confirmation of the thing it ſelf, to ſubmit it to the handling and tryal of the ſpectators in their own way. And becauſe it may again be objected, "to what purpoſe all this ado, ſince theſe very ends are, or may as well be "attained, by the ways already approved of: and that, by men

men of great Eminence and Learning amongſt us? It ſeems therefore now again needful to take all this Structure of Government in pieces, and to examine it farther, part by part, according to that Fabrick, and thoſe materials, which are uſually brought to the conſtitution thereof. In which Diſcourſe, having firſt cleered and rectified thoſe vulgar political Maxims from their former rubbiſh and diſguiſe, I ſhall then prove, that ſo much of each of them as is compatible with juſt Government, and the ends thereof, are to be appropriate to Monarchy onely. In this my undertaking, in the defence of Gods true Vicegerent amongſt us, there ſeems to lye on my part, the like task as there did formerly on *Moſes*, in the manifeſtation of God himſelf: that is, not onely to prove the Monarch to be ſo by way of plain demonſtration, but alſo to extend this Reaſon, to the eating up of all thoſe ſerpentine ſhews, wherewith theſe *Janni* and *Jambri*, the rebellious Enchanters of our times, have hitherto deceived the people; and thereby kept them in a kinde of an Egyptian darkneſs. And, in this courſe, I ſhall begin firſt with the head thereof, the fained unity in Ariſtocracies and Democracies.

Jambri ſignifieth *rebellious.*



CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Of Anarchy.

THey that ſuppoſe the word to imply onely that ſtate and condition of men where no Government at all is exerciſed, will be much to ſeek to finde out any inſtance or example for proof of their Aſſertion: or indeed, any poſſibility how it ſhould at all come to paſs. Therefore, that which hath hitherto been ſpoken of the original of Government, in the fourth chapter of the precedent book, muſt be underſtood onely as ſuppoſing it to have its Reaſon in Nature, and that thereby it might have been known, although the ſame had been by no other light or poſitive Law found out and appointed: and not as determining that ever men were, or could be left by a careful God in ſuch a confuſed condition, where, like a brood of *Cadmus*, wanting all manner of Breeding and Inſtruction, they ſhould fall to the ſlaughter of one another; till their bleeding wounds, and not his Precepts or Providence, had taught them rules of Subjection. No, it would be too plain and great compliance with Athieſm to think Gods Omniſcience in foreſeeing, or his Goodneſs in preventing, ſo ſmall or ſlack, as to leave man, a Creature upon whom (above all the reſt) he had beſtowed ſuch workmanſhip and care, to the common hazard and condition of that which was meaneſt.

Leaving therefore theſe fancies aſide, that think men ſhould (like ſwarms of Bees) be brought to choice of Policy without any foregone experience or knowledge of Government, we muſt make Government the elder brother to Anarchy. For ſo we finde, that while there were but two perſons in the world, the woman, by ſpecial appointment, was to *have her deſires ſubject to her husbands, and he was to rule over her.* And, as Wives, ſo Children and Servants, were ſubject to the Father of the Family, in ſuch ſort, that no man, but, being either Head or Member of a Family, (by one relation or another) either had or yeilded ſubjection. And, even before Kings to finde an *Ex Lex* or perſon (like *Caine*) under no protection, and conſequently under no Government, was a vain attempt. Gen. 3. 16.

And this prime or more natural Prerogative of Primo-geniture, and Father of the Family, although it had not the name; yet it had the truth and reality of Monarchy: and that as well in the Authority as Unity of the perſon: as by that phraſe, *the father of the Moabites and Ammonites to this day*, may appear; which muſt ſignifie ſucceſſion of theſe Monarchical Governors, in right of the firſt Father. So that now, under the name of King, there is but a continuance and reſtitution of that ancient form, by change of the name from *Pater Familiæ*, to *Pater Patriæ*: importing a continuance of Power and Office, notwithſtanding the encreaſe of territory and num- Gen. 19. 37, 38.

ber

ber of Subjects. For the length of life that gave these Ancients advantage to see many Families peopled out of their own loyns, gave them also right of Government in chief.

But this common Parent now dead, Pride, Covetousness, Ambition, *&c.* quickly clouded the respect due by birthright to the elder brother, who by
Gen. 4.7. the Law of God should *rule over the other, and have their desires subject to him:* and so, through stubbornness, did break that course which, if it had been observed, would have made Monarchy perpetual: but not being so, Anarchies succeed. For the divided Families, finde many occasions of controversie amongst themselves, which they, in their reputed equality of Jurisdiction, knew not how to determine: because, not submitting to that hereditary right (before spoken of) by the which *Isaac* had appointed *Esau* as servant to *Jacob* (as apprehending him the elder) and which *Jacob* also, for Peace-sake, gave to *Judah* amongst the Tribes of *Israel* (namely to be perpetual Law-giver) discord and dissention quickly broke in upon them. And this (no doubt) was the state of the old world before the flood; for we read not of any Monarchs; but that, as men began to multiply in the earth, so began they, for want of restraint, to be ruled onely by their own likings: which, the heads of Tribes, for want of a common Head, exercising over one
Gen. 6.11. another as *men of renown, the whole earth came to be filled with violence.* For although each Family had its Government within it self, and so all men within one Government or other, yet, since there wanted a definitive sentence or Monarch to unite these Governors amongst themselves, they were in the true estate of Anarchy.

But to *Noah* and his sons, that were to people the world afterwards, as these mischiefs were well known, so were they avoided. For after that the earth came to be so fully inhabited that now Families must interfere one upon another, and could not part peaceable as *Abraham* and *Lot* did, we finde them under Kings, as a necessary form for preservation of mankinde. Which blessed Government was ever accompanied with Gods promises of fruitfulness, as before recited. But if, by accident, they were removed, these people were in the sense of Antiquity, if without Kings, without Government also, and in the estate of Anarchy and confusion. And thereupon, we finde it threatned, *Isa.7.16.* that before the overthrow of *Judah* and *Israel, the*
Isa.7.16. *Land should be forsaken of both her Kings.*

And so much as will suffice to convince Anarchy to be absence of Monarchy, is in Holy Writ implyed, when, in the inter-regnum of the Judges,
Judges 17.6. it is said, *there was no King in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eys.* And yet were all men, at the same time, subject to the Fathers and chief of their Tribes, as appears by the act of the Danites: they had also the same Laws they had before for their direction. But, because there was now no single judge, who might interpret and inforce this Law, and give direction and command in chief, it was reckoned a state of Anarchy.

The like, at that time was imputed to the men of *Laish*, and made a rea-
Judges 18.7. son of their easie destruction: *for there was no Magistrate in the Land that might put them to shame in any thing.* Where, by Magistrate in the singular number, *or heir of restraint* (for so the original will bear) we may conceive
Prov. 28.2. their want of Monarchy was intended: for it was always esteemed as a *wo to a Land when many were the Princes thereof.* And indeed, is the punishment

of

of rebellion, for caſting off the one firſt head, and ſo making many in their divided Factions and Tribes. And again, the ſtate thereof is in the Text counted as preſerved, by having one Prince: called there *a man of underſtanding and knowledge.* Meaning one of ſuch capacity, as can act by himſelf: and not leave the kingdom to be governed by others, after Democratick principles. Ibidem.

They that think underſtanding and knowledge was here more pointed at then the unity of the perſon, will be then troubled to finde, why the plurality of Princes ſhould be diſliked: ſince, in that reſpect, many underſtanding men muſt in quantity be more then one. And again, likely it was for one ſingle perſon to want it, and almoſt impoſſible for a number of any greatneſs: whereupon it might, upon that ſuppoſition, have been ſet down, but by *many men of underſtanding*, &c. But the truth is, the curſe and malediction is in the word *many*, or elſe many underſtanding Princes might have been a bleſſing, as well as one. But why this one Prince is here ſet down, on the other ſide, as *a man of underſtanding*, is becauſe *Princes that want underſtanding, are great oppreſſors:* and ſo could not be counted as the preſervers of Countries. Whereas we ſhall never finde the having of one Prince, as one, to be otherwiſe given then as a bleſſing: nor of many, as many, (and that in ſupreme Authority at once) to be otherwiſe given then as a puniſhment. It being for the inconvenience of being governed by Democratick principles, in the interim of any Monarchs inſufficiency, that makes the nonage and other diſabilities of Princes come to be eſteemed *the Lands woe.* Prov, 28.16. Eccleſ. 10.16.

For if, at all, the equal Government of Peers or People, either independently amongſt themſelves, or as joyntly ſharing therein with the King, had been good or commendable, then this nonage of the King, which muſt neceſſarily produce it, ſhould not have been reckoned as in it ſelf *a woe.* But ſo we ſhall finde it undenyably to be accompted, if we look into the third chapter of *Iſa.* where God threatens the Jews to give them *Children to be their Princes, and Babes to rule over them.* And, in the next verſe, tells the conſequential puniſhment that ſhould follow the Anarchical rule of others in their names and rooms: *viz. and the people ſhall be oppreſſed every one by another, and every one by his neighbor.* And there being want of power in the perſon that ſhould be the fountain of power and Government, it ſhall ſoon follow in the inferior relations: ſo that *the childe ſhall behave himſelf proudly againſt the ancient, and the baſe againſt the honorable.* But then, becauſe theſe miſchiefs had been by them obſerved to riſe from want of Monarchical power, *a man ſhall take hold of his Brother of the houſe of his Father*, ſaying, *Thou haſt cloathing, be thou our Ruler, and let this ruine be under thy hand.* But, becauſe God had determined to puniſh them, they ſhall be herein denyed alſo. Iſa. 3.4. Verſe 5. Ibidem. Verſe 6, &c.

Which deſolation, to follow the abſence or inability of the Monarch, is again expreſſed in the twelfth verſe, *viz. as for my people, children are their oppreſſors, and women rule over them*; under which notions *of women and children* oppreſſors, we are to conceive perſons diſabled in the execution of their Governments themſelves, through perſonal diſability, and want of power and judgement. For ſince, we cannot think women and children could do it moſt in their own perſons, we muſt thereupon conceive their puniſhment & oppreſſion to ariſe from that divided, & Ariſtocratick way of Government which the Nobility or others ſhould act, by reaſon of this want of ſuperiot

reſtraint. Whereupon, in the following verſes, God, in the diſability or abſence of his Deputy, undertakes the cauſe of the oppreſſed himſelf: *The Lord ſtandeth up to plead, and ſtandeth up to judge the people: the Lord will enter into judgement with the ancient of his people, and the Princes thereof: for ye have eaten up the vineyard, the ſpoile of the poor is in your houſes: what mean you that you beat my people to pieces, and grinde the faces of the poor, ſaith the Lord of hoſts.*

Verſ. 13, 14, 15

And if we look into the New-Teſtament, and the time of our Saviour, we ſhall finde, not onely this malediction actually removed from the world, by the preſence of him that came *not to deſtroy mens lives but to ſave them*, but, it will alſo appear, that this error and abſurdity of Polarchy was by that time ſo well known, that the fountain of truth makes the impoſſibility of its right in Government amongſt men, to be the medium of his Argument againſt admiſſion of any equality in our ſubjection to God: for had it been true, that a man might have ſerved more then one Maſter, his Argument had been nothing. And why he puts it in the notion of Maſter, and not of Prince, may be for that the Jews had not any Prince of their own at that time: nor was there any Polarchy elſewhere to make inſtance in, ſo as his Auditors might conceive how inconſiſtent plurality of Commanders is with that ſingleneſs which belongs to the duty of obedience. And therefore, although he inſtance in a Family, becauſe to them beſt known, yet it proportionably holds in all Governments: namely, that intireneſs of obedience can onely be from entireneſs of command. For elſe, I ſee not but a man may as well ſerve two or more Partners in a Family, as he may do Partners in a Commonwealth.

Luke 9.56.

But although our Saviour ſeem not to point againſt Polarchy expreſly herein, yet St. *James*, that knew well his minde, and perceived the myſtery of Antichriſtianiſm already working, doth it plainly; ſaying, *My Brethren be not many Maſters; knowing that we ſhall receive the greater condemnation.* Surely, he meant not by this word *many*, to forbid any man to be Maſter of his own Servants or Family: to which end, as he did allow more Families then one, ſo muſt he allow ſeveral Maſters to them. Nor could he be ſuppoſed generally to reprove Pride or any other Vice, as barely Vices.

Jam. 3. 1.

Firſt, for that he, and others, uſed to name ſuch crimes more plainly that all might know them: and next, for that ſuch like Vices, being not allowable in any man at all, it had been more fit to have ſaid be not any, then be not many. And therefore, I conceive the Maſter here meant, is that one publike ſupreme Commander, which is ſet over us: into which rank he forbids any more then one to enter, when he ſaith, *be not many*. And, that his meaning was of theſe ſupreme Maſters, will farther appear by the conſequential guilt likely to follow in the great account of theſe publike Stewards, although righteouſly undertaken; for *in many things we offend all*: that is, we have ſo many offences to anſwer for in our ſeperate and private callings already (in relation to things ſubmitted to our own guidance) that we need not increaſe them by increaſe of our charge and truſt.

But, if any there be, that do yet doubt that theſe laſt alleadged Texts (prohibiting patity in command) do reach to Political or State Governors, becauſe ſet down *many Maſters* onely: or that the former alleadged *woe* of *Solomon*, ſet down to attend the diſability of the King, were not applyable to that diſability which his ſubjects ſtubbornneſs did cauſe, as well as to that

which his natural incapacity did produce, let them here this wiſe man once again moſt plainly pronouncing them both: *My ſon fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change: For their calamity ſhall riſe ſuddenly, and who knoweth the ruine of them both.* The firſt verſe expreſly points out the onely Officer and perſon who, next unto God, we are to make the object of our higheſt obedience and fear: and the other, plainly ſets forth the woe and ruine following, both to the ſeditious and ſeduced.

They that would interpret the prohibition againſt ſedition and change here ſet down, as alſo the fore-recited puniſhment of *many Princes for the wickedneſs of a Land*, not to import the admiſſion of Polarchy in the place of Monarchy, but the change of Princes one after another; do then (thereupon) confeſs, that all Lands and People that practiſe ſuch ſeditious courſes are wicked: inaſmuch as fear and obedience to an evil King might elſe have been excepted; and ſubjects themſelves allowed to change him *for a man of underſtanding*: without conſideration that they were bleſſings or puniſhments ſent and ſet over us by God onely.

If it had been ſaid, *For the wickedneſs of a Land many are the evil Princes thereof*, or, *my ſon fear the preſent good King, and meddle not with them that would change him for another*; then we might well indeed have thought, the words *many, and change*, to import ſucceſſion. But then, why ſhould not many Princes or men of underſtanding, ruling ſucceſſively or at once, be ſet down as a bleſſing and preſervative to a ſtate, as well as one? For, if underſtanding make the bleſſing, as in it ſelf, there will (as before noted) be more in this many, then in one. And laſtly, what evaſion will they finde againſt the prohibition of *many maſters*? What, muſt it intend ſuddain ſucceſſion too? and ſo tolerate *many* at once to be in equal command, either in the Family or elſewhere: in ſuch ſort, as we might *ſerve God and Mammon* both at once, but not preſently one after another, ſo as to change *Mammon* to ſerve God?

No certainly, the word *many* can admit of no ſuch wreſting; eſpecially being put in the preſent Tenſe by *are*, it muſt plainly denote them to be ſuch as are to be at the ſame time, and all at once; and not ſuch as ſhall, or have been ſucceſſively raigning, and ſo may come to be called many, in reſpect of thoſe many ages and times wherein they reigned. For if ſo, how ſhall we do to ſtate and compute any Lands Malediction, for want of a determinate preſent time wherein theſe *many Princes* might be ſaid to raign, more then, then at another time? For if ſucceſſion be unhappineſs, then are all Lands ſo. It is not therefore to be doubted, but that *Solomon* intended Polarchy by *many*, as the plaineſt expreſſion he could give thereof: having not learnt his wiſdom from their Schools, where the notions of Ariſtocracies and Democracies were invented.

Or, if the word *many* ſhould be thought importing that condition of any people wherein many competitors are at once ſtriving for the Regality, ſo as to introduce Civil War, then is the malediction confeſſed to be want of Monarchy. For although it be the height of Polarchical miſchief to be in actual Civil War, and in open Arms, yet it takes not off the cauſe thereof from being malediction too: which is that faction and fiding, which muſt always be where many Governors are at once.

But if any there be, who ſ from Gods permiſſion of theſe Governments

to be in the world, do therefore think them lawful; and ſo are ſlow to interpret any place of Scripture to make againſt them, there is no better way to diſcover their partiality to theſe forms above Monarchy, then by ſuppoſing the one to be put in the others ſtead; and ſo to think with themſelves, if it had been ſaid, *For the wickedneſs of a Land one is the Prince thereof, but by many men of underſtanding the ſtate thereof is preſerved:* and ſo alſo, *My ſon fear God and this or that ſort of Polarchy*, &c. whither they would not (thereupon) have more readily concluded againſt Monarchy, then now againſt Polarchy?

And hence (as our Preface noted) we may obſerve that there is not in Scripture to be found the mention of any people without a King; nor can any other Record inſtance in any ſtate of eminence, which oweth not its foundation to that form of policy. For it was after-times onely, that, as the inordinate luſts of men began more to abound, ſo ſought they to be rid of reſtraint: and therefore by little and little ſtrived to take wholly away, or clip the wings of Majeſty: that under pretence of ruling by Law, and ſo interpreting and ruling thoſe Laws by themſelves, they might at laſt be under no rule at all. And now come Ariſtocracies and Democracies, being but Anarchies, and onely differing in number of Commanders from one another, to be called Governments lawful, againſt all Reaſon. For ſince political government muſt be onely where there is a diſtinct relation in the perſons of Governors and governed, here they are both the ſame, and ſo confounded, that they are not to be known one from another, and ſo cannot be rightly called Governments.

For Government is then onely, when the Governor, as Agent, and the governed, as Patient, ſtand reciprocally ready to operate towards the Governors ends.

Towards the Governors ends I ſay, for ſo far as the Patient or governed, hath deſign reſpective to it ſelf in any thing, it cannot be called paſſive or ſubject, but active rather; and ſo no Government. And although Government may be in degree more or leſs, in compariſon of one government to another, as the vertue of Agency and Patibility ſtand in meaſure increaſed or remitted, yet doth the due execution of ſmaller commands make government as well as the greater; and obedience to the ſmaller Prince is as truly conſtitutive of Government, as to the greateſt; whilſt his Subjects ſtand to their powers ready to receive and obey his Laws. For albeit that Government, being an active quality, ows its chief eſſence to the Governor, from whence it did at firſt proceed and take force, yet ſince this active quality is not of force to act otherwiſe then as in the Patient, as its proper ſubject, it cannot therefore be called government farther then that Correlate the Patient or Subject ſtands reciprocally fitted to admit the Governors power and impreſſion. Fitted I ſay it muſt be hereunto, according to its relation as aforeſaid, ſo as to work as the Agent or Governor ſhall ſee cauſe: which fitneſs doth then conſtitute Government to be and continue, even whilſt there is no real execution according to the vertue thereof. For Government may be while this Agency is not outwardly exerciſed, but cannot at all be where the relations themſelves are not diſtinctly and properly ready and kept up to act according to occaſions.

So that now, in the confuſed fabrick of theſe Polarchies, we can by no means finde true Government, as being ſo diſabled to finde where to fixe and

place this active quality of governing, and the paſſive quality of governed. For we ſhall not onely finde it uncertain whether the people or their own Magiſtrates and Senate are Governors, becauſe ſometimes the people or governed are really taking on them to act their own wills as chief, but alſo (ſuppoſing the Government in the Senate) it will be ſtill as hard ſo to fix it there, as to make it to be Government.

For in that fancied equality which they have in power to one another, who ſhall be ſuperior? and if the perſons in the major Vote be Soveraigns, and the leſſer Vote and the reſt of the people Subjects, who ſhall then be Soveraigns when theſe major voters come, by variety of occaſions, to be many of them on the minor ſide? will not this render both relations, and the Government it ſelf thereupon founded, to be a thing unfixed and uncertain; or but Anarchy new-named? For the whole body cannot be Soveraigns, becauſe the minor part muſt be ſtill ſubject to the major: which major part again, having no perſonal or certain aſſurance it ſhall continue ſo, the Government alſo may be ſo, or not ſo; and conſequently, the ſame perſons be Governors or not, as occaſions ſhall lead them. Take then away, or unſettle the relation of Governors, and that of governed will ceaſe and be unfixed alſo.

And whereas, again, Monarchies receive their main aſſurance from the mutual oaths between Governor and governed, where are the Oaths between State and people, as between Monarch and people? do they ſwear to obſerve the Laws, or do the people ſwear to them Alleagiance? Or if God be omitted, as not ſeemly to call him in as party or witneſs to a mock Government, ſo unlike his, then the truſt muſt be ſuppoſed implicite from the people to them; and ſo to paſs with their election. Whereupon, ſince this Election and truſt is to the ſeveral and particular members, all alike, and equal, as they came to be choſen, how can ſome Members, under a minor Vote be excluded, without breach of that truſt whereby they had equal power? Or was the truſt to the whole joyntly (which is yet hard to be conceived ſince they muſt be elected perſonally and ſeverally) how can a Major Vote exclude *John, Will: Thomas*; and it may be a hundred more of equal truſt to themſelves? To ſay they truſted a major is unconceiveable; becauſe truſt follows Election, and Election muſt have a perſonal and definite, and not a notional object: ſuch as a Major Vote is; which muſt be always contingent and unfixed.

And, if this major Vote have not its power from Election, how comes it to have it? or, how differs it from the tyranny of Anarchy, which is of all tyranny the worſt? for every man is herein *oppreſſed of his neighbour*, and the weaker and fewer in continual vexation of the ſtronger and more in number: with this aggravation alſo, that herein they ſeem remedileſs; becauſe their many oppreſſors, (for ſo the major part muſt be) have the countenance of Juſtice for what they do. They that tell us, "that ſince it "is requiſite that all controverſies ſhould be ended, it is therefore fit that a "major part ſhould be taken as the whole: foraſmuch as in few, or no caſes u- "niverſal aſſent being to be expected, without this rule, no deciſion, or opini "on of the Aſſembly could be had. But then, I pray, what neceſſity of putting your ſelves into ſuch a condition of Government as muſt put you to this neceſſity? Indeed this collection of a major Vote is many times neceſſary and good in Parliaments, and Aſſemblies in Monarchies; where the re- Iſa. 3. 5.

ſults

ſults and opinions of the whole Council can no otherwiſe appear to the Prince, who for that cauſe aſſembled them: and where he himſelf, repreſenting the whole people joyntly, ſhall in the determination, afterwards be on which ſide he pleaſeth: and ſo leave none uninterreſſed, or unconſenting: Joyntly I ſay, for that in him onely, as being but one perſon, there can be an united and general conſent and repreſentation. For, if that rule be true, that what is the concern of all ſhould have the conſent of all, how ſhall theſe Shires and Burroughs that come now, as minor voters, to have their Repreſentatives overborn, be obliged to the determinations of a major Vote, not by them elected or entruſted, if by their joynt ſubordination to the Monarch, who did before give them power thus to elect, they ſtood not ſtill obliged?

So that, they that alleadge a major Vote ought of it ſelf to prevail, becauſe it is to be preſumed that, in caſe of oppoſition, even by by ſtrength it would ſo fall out, where is then their Government founded on pretended conſent, if meer force muſt be the rule? For what think they ſhall become of Equity, which alone ſhould take place, as having Reaſon and Wiſdom for its guide? what doth Equity and Reaſon ſo abound, as that the major part of men in general, or of any Society in particular ſhould be always the juſter and wiſer? if not, what do we but endanger to *follow a multitude to do evil,* Exod. 23. 2. *and ſpeak in a cauſe to decline after many to wreſt judgement.* For if the minor ſide muſt acquieſſe, onely becauſe it is the minor and weaker in number and power, what differs this from the Government of Beaſts and Fiſhes: which prevail not by ſtrength of Reaſon or Argument, but by force of body and number? Again, if the fewer muſt be always overborn and governed, who ſhall govern the other? Or, how can the major part be without ſubjection or government, and yet the whole State or Society be truely ſaid to be governed? And while they ſhall pretend to determine the differences of the people, who ſhall have power to determine theirs? Will they ſet a major Vote upon a major Vote, or will they (as moſt uſually) remain ſo many *Ex Lex*, or unbridled perſons, in purſuit of their own Wills onely?

In a word, in this fained Government or political Paction, how can Peace or Unity be expected, where it is not ſo much as deſigned in ſhew or appearance? For, whereas the ſubmiſſion of all in general to ſome kinde of coercive and ſuperior power is in Government on all hands neceſſary, here the greater part are exempted and left at liberty. And where political order appoints an Union in the body, by means of an Union in the head, in Democracy the head is made of many; and, by a monſtrous deformity, made bigger then the body. And where again, in Monarchy the whole people are ſubject to the Prince, and he to God (ſo that there remains but one perſonate Liberty as to the Laws of the Kingdom) here the greater part have no Laws to reſtrain them; but, according to the dictates of unbridled Nature good and bad, Juſtice and injuſtice; are at their own determination.

Againſt which, it will be bootleſs to object that the good of the major part is in reaſon to be preferred to that of the fewer, for that none will deny, ſuppoſing it in things equally concerning them: but who ſhall judge of that, when, inſtead of one perſon, of common concern and intereſt in the whole people, one faction ſhall thus be ſtill judging another, and ſo, reckoning themſelves the whole State, endeavor the ſubverſion of their oppoſites, without conceit of publike detriment.

But

But that which is moſt direct to ſhew this Government null or unlawful, is their want of Authority. For their deriving power from the people onely, muſt argue they ſtill want it: becauſe the people having it not themſelves, they cannot (as elſewhere proved) give it to others. For how can the people give power to the people, more then a man can be ſaid to give power to himſelf? whereupon, theſe Polarchs, having no miſſion from God, or Authority from that rule of Government by him ſet down, how can they be but in their adminiſtrations tyrannical, and be in danger, when they put any man to death, to commit murther with the ſword of Juſtice?

And where again, it is alleadged, "That all power is founded in the Will, "and that voluntary ſubmiſſion makes Authority lawful and tolerable; theſe forms are but ſo in pretence, and carry on their executions by continual and irreſiſtable terror and force, in regard of their number not to be withſtood. Whereas the ſingle Prince, can be obeyed but voluntarily; according as ſenſe of Loyalty, Duty, or Love ſhall direct: and when, or ſo far as he ſhall uſe force, ſo as to be called tyranny or oppreſſion, this muſt ariſe as he makes uſe of a major number or ſtrength, and by the force of other men prevails againſt a minor part which he thinks fit to puniſh: but as King, or as one perſon in himſelf conſidered, he can never be but voluntarily obeyed.

For it is the groſs vulgar miſtake, that becauſe there is in ſome Republikes freedom to elect Repreſentatives allowed to the people by ſuch as ſway in the preſent domineering faction, that therefore they are alſo free and perſonally conſenting in what theſe Repreſentatives do. And under this flattering diſguiſe popular Orators prevail: affirming, that as we ſingly cannot will to deſtroy or harm our ſelves, ſo communities alſo cannot be ſuppoſed to injure themſelves. "For although (ſay they) they ſhould enact a Law of ſome "univerſal damage, yet ſince their enacting of it muſt conclude this damage "was to them inſenſible, they cannot therein be harmful to themſelves in ge"neral, or injurious to others in particular. Not harmful to themſelves, be"cauſe upon any experience thereof they may alter it; not injurious to o"thers, becauſe, according to the foreſaid ſuppoſition, each one being con"ſenting, the Maxim of *volenti non fit injuria* acquits them thereof. Whereas in truth, theſe formal Elections can never be general nor free: nor can the particular actings and Laws of Governors be any more ſtiled the voluntary actings of the governed, then any other arbitrary Authority (for ſuch it muſt be, if it be any) can be called the voluntary act of ſuch as muſt obey.

But, when they ſay a Community cannot harm it ſelf, the falacy lies under the notion of Community. For they would have it comprehend in our conceits the whole people: as though each one ſhould be ſtill perſonally acting and conſenting in all things concerning their own harm or benefit. It is true this community of Truſtees and Repreſentatives (who indeed uſually make themſelves ſignifie the whole Community) can never (as taking them to be of one minde and intereſt) hurt themſelves irremediably: but why may they not, nay why muſt they not (as a ſeparate body) have a ſeparate intereſt from the people under them, and ſo joyn for enacting ſuch things as may concern their power or riches in general? And why muſt they not again, as having ſeveral proprieties and ſeperate places of Honor and Power of their own to ſeek, (ſeperate from theſe of their fellow Senators) and divide amongſt themſelves likewiſe, and alſo divide the people, by ſiding to gain

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and joyn a major Vote to attain them? at which time (truely) thoſe that are of that part of the Community which is on the minor and weaker ſide, will think and finde themſelves harmed, although the major community, taking on them to be the whole community, do not hurt it ſelf.

And whereas the preſervation of Peace and Unity of Society, conſiſts in the Unity of the definitive Sentence, here, through the many heads, the Union cannot be: Or if, as to the definitive part, they ſay there may be an Union by collection of major Votes: It is true ſo indeed, that there is an Union in the major Vote to that purpoſe; but is there not another Union in the minor Vote alſo againſt the major? and then it will come to paſs, that this Affirmative and Negative Unions (as contrary to one another) will make a plain diſunion: and ſo, this ſuppoſed great head of the State be two heads at leaſt; and conſequently, this political body, being divided alſo, it cannot reſemble the natural; which is therefore called individual.

Nor can there be any firm Unity here expected; becauſe the true cauſe and foundation thereof is wanting: in that they can never look on one anothers proprieties, or theirs below them with equal concern and intereſt, as the Monarch doth to the generality of his Subjects. For he, having his honor and profit ariſing from all in general and each one in particular, is careful of all alike: whereas they unite and agree but out of neceſſity. For at firſt, whilſt they were yet riſing, and were called factions, they were united in their ſeveral intereſt by hope of common gain, and now having attained it, they ſettle upon this confederacy through a common fear of loſing it. So that hope chiefly unites Factions, and fear chiefly keeps them ſo, and ſettles Anarchies. Becauſe, if their hope of gain, by overthrowing their own former Authority, had not exceeded their fear of ſo doing, they had not aſſociated at firſt; and ſo now if their common fear of loſs from a Soveraign Authority did not exceed their preſent hopes of gaining from one another, they would not ſo continue.

And farther, if in States the major part be the whole; why have not the Magiſtrates and Decrees their derivative Power from them onely? If they be not the whole, as indeed no part can be the whole, (but that it is neceſſary for more fulneſs of power that the acts proceed in the name of the whole) how come the leſſer and abſent parties, which might perhaps together make the major, to be rightly brought in to authoriſe thoſe actions that are not theirs, but done againſt their conſents? So that, to make an Unity in this head or definitive ſentence, ſince the whole body of them and each one ſeverally was alike truſted, there muſt be firſt a full Union of conſent amongſt themſelves: and then, no remedy but to ſerve them as the Cardinals in the Popes election, that is, to keep them immured without Light or Food till they agree. At which time, it may be, the minor ſide will be as likely to overcome the major by their gift of abſtinence, as the major would have before probably done them by force. But as this would make the Office of a Stateſman little deſired, ſo would it give cauſes a ſlow diſpatch: and yet, till it be done, I ſee not how the opinion of the major part can carry the ſenſe of the whole, ſo as to make the whole and a part to be but the ſame thing.

Again

Again, if acts muſt paſs in the name of the whole, as the body intruſted; and in nature and reaſon more worthy then a part, why muſt not an appeal proceed ſo alſo? And ſince they which bring their cauſes thither, bring them to the whole aſſembly, until they have their unamous verdict, they have not what they came for: their truſt to the whole being but in part ſatisfied. Nay, if things be well conſidered, they never or ſeldome have the major ſence of the Senate neither; for to omit external force (which is wont to awe them) if there were ſuch an equal number deducted from the major ſide as will anſwer thoſe on the minor that diſagreed from the major in opinon, there will be (many times) ſo inconſiderable a number of perſons left to make the odds, that one would think it ſtrange that three or four men ſhould be held for, and repreſent the whole Senate. And yet it muſt ſo uſually be with ſuch, that inſtead of multitude of Councellors, would have multitude of Commanders; whereupon all Publike debates come to be managed as in a kind of Lottery, which none knows the iſſue of, until the caſting up of Votes be taken.

For none can ſay that reaſon doth at all prevaile there, as of it ſelf, but as ſwayed by heat of paſſion and contention: not by weight or number of arguments, but by noiſe or number of voices. And this, becauſe in taking the iſſue of the debate, the reaſons or arguments given by either ſide are not left to be conſidered of by thoſe that are to take the reſolutions of the Senate or Parliament, but the greater number of perſons on either ſide doth conſtantly of it ſelf ſo prevaile, as it cannot be called the reaſonable, but accidental or occaſional reſult or determination of ſuch or ſuch a counſel. Which is only avoidable, where one perſon of power hath liberty to give his reaſonable ſentence and judgement therein; and that, according as he ſhall finde the force of the reaſons given on either ſide to prevaile: and not to be any way tyed to the blind hazard of number. One perſon he muſt be, and that of power above them alſo. For if they be more, you ſhall fall into the ſame hazard again, of having their ſentence and debate ended by meer force and number alſo. And if this one perſon have not ſole power, but be obnoxious unto any; then terror from without, and not reaſon from within may again ſway his determination.

But it is anſwered, "That the major part is repreſentatively the whole Se-"nate, as the whole Senate is repreſentatively the whole people. But how (I pray) can this be brought to paſs? how can a ſhaddow make a ſhaddow, or deputies make deputies? Whence can the major part derive their power? Not from the people, they truſted the whole; not from the minor part, for they oppoſe them; and cannot give what they have not. Why did not the major Vote of the eleven Tribes pretend to this right againſt *Benjamen*? No, they knew they could not of right aſſume the power of the whole of themſelves, they being but a part; therefore, in abſence of their Judges (the next united whole on earth) they take power and authority from the fountain thereof, namely from God himſelf: by whoſe aſſent and direction they came to be enabled herein: and until then, their reſolutions in their aſſemblies had no rightful power for execution; but ſhould have been reckoned amongſt other Anarchical acts of ſelf-liking, as wanting lawful authority otherwiſe to impoſe on their brethren and equals. And if delegates have not this power of delegation in themſelves, where is it expreſſed or warranted from their originals, the People? And therefore, ſuppoſing the voice and determination of the whole Senate may be of force to binde the people, as

having their power vertually in their ſeveral members by them choſen to that purpoſe, yet this domineering power of a major Vote will prove unlawful: as having nothing of the pretended paction and conſent, or political aſſociation therein: whoſe end and aime was chiefly protection, or defending the minor or weaker ſide againſt the ſtronger, if juſtice ſo required; at leaſt, not to ſuffer the major part to judge of their own cauſe: but to appoint a definitive and certain determination, that might be above all orders, numbers, and degrees.

So that Anarchy is where the major and ſtronger do alwayes govern the leſs and weaker; and is it ſelf not ſubject to any third differenced authority. And true policy is where this tyrannical force is avoided, and that, by a juſt ſubmiſion of the major, aſwel as of the minor, unto a third common and indiviſible judge: who thereupon becomes ſtronger then them both. And, although in all diſputes there muſt be diſagreement, and a major and minor ſide, yet he being the vertual whole, and both parts ſubmitting to him, union and peace muſt follow. Till this be done, nature is not holpen by policy. For, if government imply no more then the exerciſe of force or power, anſwerable onely to ſuch rules as the ſtronger ſhall judge fitting, beaſts have it aſwel as men: who by numbers and ſtrength prevaile upon one another. But, unto men, this deciſion ſeemed too unreaſonable: For they found it on all hands prejudicial. Inaſmuch, as themſelves that were on the major ſide in one caſe, might anon be on the minor in another: and that then, as they would be themſelves protected from violence being weak, ſo they ſhould not inflict or uſe it being ſtrong. They found that, whilſt this way of prevailing was continued, men ſtudied not equity, but aſſociation: not to get right, but force and numbers on their ſide. And they found, that, as each man judgeth for himſelf, ſo did each faction and party alſo. In which controverſies the dangers of mens lives were more to be feared (in relation to the whole State) whilſt they thus contended in multitudes, then while they ſtrove ſingly: as ſet battailes deſtroy more then duels, and the two Iſraelites ſtriving in *Moſes* time before the Law, made not equal deſtruction to the combination of *Iſrael* and *Benjamin* againſt each other after the Law.

On all ſides they confeſſed, that right, and not force ſhould prevaile in deciſion: but who ſhould judge of this right? Would not each party pretend to it? was it to be expected that either ſhould ſay we contend for what belongs not to us? Therefore, while this courſe held, right had no certain aboad in cauſes or perſons, but fleeted up and down as the major ſide did. Should any third perſon interpoſe, out of charity, and to reconcile them, both ſides would anſwer as the ſaid Iſraelite to *Moſes*, *Who made thee a Prince and a Judge over us?* They had (no doubt) the Rules of Do as thou wouldſt be done unto, or becauſe I would receive no harm I ſhould therefore do none; With ſuch other common maximes of equity amongſt men: and theſe, from the very firſt, acknowledged and aſſented unto. They had (no doubt) cuſtomes and rules of deciſion; beſides other poſitive laws to that purpoſe. But to what availe? For thoſe rules and laws, which ſhould decide their quarrels, needed deciſion themſelves: becauſe each one pretended and interpreted them for himſelf. Therefore, till they placed ſome ſupreme perſon to interpret their law, unto whom, as unto the laſt appeal in all queſtions, all perſons, aſſemblies, orders and degrees beſides might be ſubordinate

Exod. 2. 14.

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and inferiour, Anarchy was not avoided. Neither was any law then of juſt force; but, on the contrary, when ſeeming Law and equity was how eaſily aſſumed by a major vote and faction, it was heightned and eſtabliſhed.

And if any ſhould argue, "That, ſince the number of contenders in "theſe ſtate aſſemblies are not to be preſumed ſo great as when before the "people judged themſelves, and that therefore, the danger and miſchief to "follow the diſagreements will probably not be ſo great and general. We will therefore ſuppoſe them leaſt, namely an Ariſtocracy or Oligarchy of two perſons: yet the danger of diſagreement will be then moſt. Suppoſe them (for peace ſake) three; becauſe two being alwayes on a ſide, it will probably ſcare the third to agreement: yet then, will not there be the continual terror of a major part upon the minor? wil not the force be equal, or more as of 2 againſt one, of the 1000 people againſt 600, or of 40 *Senators* againſt 30? In which caſes, the people, by their elections and reſignations, have not loſt, but changed their miſeries. For firſt, the manner and fear of diſagreement is the ſame amongſt their pretended peacemakers now, as it was with them before: and the miſchief in proſecution thereof is not abated neither: becauſe in their diſagreements the people cannot ſecure themſelves as lookers on: they cannot ſhift their own intereſts: but will in the contention be engaged on one ſide or other.

And therefore it is now manifeſt, that Anarchy is not want of government, but want of unity: and, being the ſame with Poliarchy, is not where no governors are (for no people can be ſo) but where there is equality and power alike, or in more then one as the word originally doth import. As in the Inter-regnum of the Judges (before mentioned) becauſe there was no ſingle authority or King in Iſrael, it was ſaid *Every man did that which was right in his own eyes*. It could not be meant of ſingle perſons: for as they belonged to ſome Tribe or other, ſo were they unde the authority of the Fathers thereof; but of the plurality of governors, and their equality amongſt themſelves: vvhereby the leaders (not their whole tribes following them) did what ſeemed good in their own eyes, vvithout any controle or coercive povver above them. And Anarchy is vvhere ſuch equal authorities are, as while ſome condemn others may acquit: ſo that, at the end, it will be, as with the people of *Laiſh* in their inter-regnum, *Wherein was no Magiſtrate that ſhould put them to ſhame for any thing*. And is onely avoidable, by entruſting one governor with unrepealable power of puniſhment and protection. For as in a family, whoſe head is wanting or otherwiſe diſabled, although the wife, children, or ſome more eminent perſon may (as they can raiſe ſtrength by faction and aſſociation) exerciſe authority over the reſt, yet, becauſe this cannot be called the right government, that family is in the true ſtate of Anarchy; as being deſtitute of its head: as is alſo that ſtate or Kingdome, vvhich hath the like want.

And laſtly, Anarchy is worſe after the abandoning or removal of this unity in government, then is the approach or preparation to it: as a relapſe is worſe in our natural bodies, then a ſtate of recovery. And ſo it is alſo where the factions are fevver, then vvhere they are more: as appears by the former example, vvhen all Iſrael vvas on the one ſide, and all *Benjamin* on the other. For, as all Anarchy is diſunion or diviſion of the whole body politicke, ſo is the diviſion of it into two parts moſt dangerous: becauſe, being therein wholy in contrary parties intereſſed, they will want a third (as a me-

dium) to unite them. Whereas, in petty and more diviſions and factions, there cannot be ſo ſtrong contrarieties and eager engagements of emnity: becauſe, as two cannot be contrary to one, nor parties diſagreeing amongſt themſelves will not ſo probably unite againſt a third which doth but ſo too, there may be hope that others may eſcape as being but lookers on, and equally well willers, or averſe to both.

All this paſt diſcourſe I foreknow cannot but extremly offend many, whom intereſt or ignorance have hitherto blinded with the ſpecious ſhews and formalities of that freedom which theſe imitations of government make ſuch boaſt of. So readily it falls into every mans fancy, that ſince he is hereby impowered to be acting and conſenting to all that ſhall be done, his ſhare of advantage will be great. Not conſidering, that he can no wayes be advantaged without his fellows loſs; and then, where is general freedome? Not thinking that as thus, under ſhew of liberty, he aimes at power to act his liking upon others, ſo he yeilds others the like advantage againſt himſelf: Inſomuch, as he can neither chuſe to act according to every ones command, nor but to ſuffer at every ones diſpoſe. But however, I, that was to treat of policy and government in its divine and natural foundation, and not according to humane authority and example, cannot be blamed (as I formerly ſaid) for leaving theſe out of the number; when I found them not warranted thereby. For in government (as government) I finde one muſt govern another; but here, every one is aiming to be governing himſelf: which, if it be not Anarchy (as being but the firſt natural condition) I know not what is, nor where to finde any ſuch thing. Neither could I, as I conceive, be true to my deſign of ſetling publike peace, without ſecluſion of theſe forms. For the very conceit of their juſtice and lawfulneſs, and the hope to attain and be ſheltered under them, is the moſt uſual and ready cauſe of civil diſturbance and inſurrections, and of ſubjects aſſociations againſt their Prince. And many (without doubt) are of the ſame mind; who yet, in a kinde of flattering modeſty, as loath to condemn the practiſe of ſo many, that do or ſay otherwiſe, are unwilling to expreſs themſelves in ſo plain a truth.

Nor could theſe forms have bin ſo readily fancyed by ſo many men, eminent both for goodneſs and Learning, had not the miſchiefs and abſurdities thence ariſing been haſtily clouded in each ones conceit, by the hope he had that in theſe general meetings himſelf ſhould ſtill prevaile by thoſe reaſonable propoſitions he had to make, tending evidently to the Publike good and his own honor: and that therefore, in order to both, he had juſt reaſon to cry them up. Forgetting all that while, how likely it was he might be miſtaken in his propoſals himſelf, or elſe might be unapprehended by his auditors: how that others might, in theſe aſſemblies, prevaile aſwel as himſelf, and thoſe of the worſer ſort aſwell as the others. But, moſt of all forgetting, how, by the obtaining this his conceit and ſuppoſition of any one mans prevalence, he ſhould quite overthrow the other ſuppoſition of a community in government. For, ſince many cannot ſpeak at once, if ſome one mans advice do not take place, there can be no adminiſtration or government at all; if one man conſtantly do ſo, then is that perſon a true Monarch, becauſe the moſt abſolute Monarch can aske no more then to have his councel followed. And indeed, as Anarchies are no farther capable of councel or execution in their governments then as they are Monarchical, ſo they, coming to be occaſionally led by

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their popular orators and heads, are but unfixed Monarchies: being thereupon ſo much more ill, as more unfixed. For, while they decline the ſubjection and guidance of one mans will, they are thereby enthralled to the luſt of all.

There is alſo a great occaſion taken for caſting off Monarchy, from that ready apprehenſion each one hath, that where the Soveraignty is taken from one and put into many, he hath great probability of being one of that number; and the more eſpecially, in regard of that high degree of deſert and ability every man is in his own opinion endued with above others. Not conſidering, how, through the like partial reſpect and expectations of others, he might fail hereof: and then ſhould he come to have many maſters inſtead of one. Nay, not conſidering, how afterwards the many croſſings of his will to be received from his fellows in Office, would, as coming from equals, or ſuch to whom he held himſelf ſuperiour in birth or merit, be more irkſome then from ſuperiors already acknowledged. But there being a farther and longer diſcourſe required to foreſee thoſe evils that would follow to each one from this parity in command, then there is to apprehend the pleaſure and benefit to ariſe from the command and power it ſelf, and becauſe again poſitives ſway us beyond privatives, it is no wonder if men, in their thirſt after Polarchical governments, come to be affected as men with lotteries: wherein, although we do, or might beforehand know the certain loſs that muſt generally befall the Caſters, yet ſhall we alwayes finde multitudes venturing that way: as being ſo haſtily carryed on by the imagination of his preſent ſhare of thoſe prizes which may befall him, that he conſiders not (withall) thoſe many chances that may fall out otherwiſe.

There is another great inducement for entertainment of theſe Anarchies, for that vulgarly men are led to conceive that the Commonweal doth ſignifie the ſame with the Polarchs themſelves that do therein bear ſway: and this, becauſe theſe Stateſ-men are wont to act all their deſigns in the Commonwealths name. But, if men would well conſider it, theſe tearms of *Commonwealh*, and *Publike* good are but bare political notions, not living creatures, capable of addreſs or intereſt: and that they are not otherwiſe manageable, or to be repreſented or collected into a ſum or total, then as in relation to the perſons therein intruſted: ſo that, as they ſhall have their intereſts more or leſs united amongſt themſelves, and are more or leſs comprehenſive of the whole, ſo will the good of the Commonwealth be more or leſs convertible with theirs. And therefore, ſince the Polarchs cannot act but as ſeparate perſons, differing in intereſt from one another (for when they do make a major vote it is but what fear or hope did firſt make them agree to in order to their diſtinct intereſts) therefore their good can neither be reciprocal amongſt themſelves, nor can the good of the Commonweal be convertible with them all in general.

As for example, ſuppoſe the whole riches or ſtock of any place to be ten hundred thouſand pound; and that the preſent Polarchs may in their ſeveral proprieties contain the half thereof, it muſt fall out, that, although in that reſpect they ſhall know the loſs or good of the whole will involve that of their particulars, yet, it happening that in all Publike debates ſome part of the whole is more concerned then another, they muſt conſequently be induced to favour that part moſt wherein their particulars are moſt involved: and they will generally chuſe, rather to have their half encreaſed by one third part out

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of their ſubjects wealth, then to have their ſubjects wealth to be generally encreaſed one third part more then it was by any foraign acquiſition whereof themſelves have no ſhare. And this, becauſe they being but ſeparate perſons, cannot have whole intereſt: In which regard alſo, each one amongſt them, will again be ready to joyn in faction againſt others of his fellows; & rather deſire to have his own private ſtock of riches or honor to be encreaſed one third part out of theirs, then to aſſent to any thing that may double that of all the reſt of his fellows; or of the whole people, without encreaſe of his own. From which it plainly appears that men are but deluded with this notion of a *Commonwealth*: as thinking there can be under Polarchy of any ſort ſuch an unity of intereſt or agreement as really to make but one Commonwealth. Whereas, in truth, there are to be found in all places and countries governed under the name of Republikes or Commonwealths, as many Commonwealths and Republiks as there are parties and factions: whilſt each of them is taking to it ſelf the name of the whole, and purſuing their more diſtinct intereſts under that notion.

Which things can never happen unto an unlimited Monarch; whoſe honor and riches being in the whole, and inſeparably ſubſiſting by, and increaſing and diminiſhing with that of his people in general, it muſt follow that his care will be led to reſpect the whole good; as having his and that convertible: in ſuch ſort, that he cannot loſe any part of his whole kingdom, but he will himſelf be a proportionable loſer. Whereas the Polarchs proprieties and intereſts being no higher in the whole, then in reference to their part, they cannot but reſpect this their part in the firſt place, and the whole but in order thereunto.

But the trueſt ground for Scholaſtical mens entertaining this opinion, is that they have derived it, as alſo that other opinion of paction from the Grecian Philoſophers: who, being all of them born and bred in Republikes, it is no wonder if we finde them, in ſelf-regard, ſo ready to commend ſomething theſe forms: as not daring to gainſay the practice of their own country. From whom therefore we receiving in a manner all our Philoſophy and opinions, and this amongſt the reſt, it is no marvail if from thence, and the general hope of ſhare of power hence ariſing (as formerly noted) we are ſo inclinable to the defence thereof. Yet truely, unto any that conſiders with what prejudice the Greek and Roman Authors were to be ſuppoſed to write in theſe things, the preferment of Monarchy, even by ſome of the chief of them, is an argument undeniably concluding that the ſufferance of the other was from neceſſity, and not choice. For, although they durſt not reprove it as a fault in that kind of government, yet (doubtleſs) the many ſad examples of thoſe ungrateful and fatal rewards and uſages, by them continually practiſed towards ſuch of their own Citizens and ſubjects as have been moſt eminent in any kind of vertue, or moſt deſerving or ſerviceable to their country, could not but, in conſcience and reaſon, make them reſolve that it muſt naturally ariſe from that form of adminiſtration. For their form of policy ſubſiſting by, and openly aiming at parity and equality in honor and power (whilſt each one in it was yet arrogating to himſelf) they muſt neceſſarily ſtomack any pre-eminence that ſhall be given to any one above themſelves: as juſtly fearing, he might thereupon take advantage of making himſelf their Maſter. Who (again) if (out of cautionary compliance) he ſhall never ſo lowly makes his acknowledgements and ſubmiſſion to the whole Senate, yet if he do not ſo

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alſo to ſuch particular men as be leaders, and ſuch as do ſpeak for and uphold him, he will ſtill be ſubject to envy and ruine: Nay, if he do it not to ſuch alſo as do not appear for him, he will be hazarded by their revenge alſo. So that, in truth, vertue and merit have herein no longer ſecurity, then the party can protect himſelf by ſecret bribery of their Factious leaders, and by popular and baſe flattery and compliance: which can yet ſerve his turn but for a time. His ſureſt courſe to prevent their malice & ill, being to advance himſelf above their power, and to make uſe of thoſe forces to defend himſelf againſt them, with which he hath ſo often defended them againſt others. And, except it be by this courſe, I know not that any one famous ſervant to any Polarchy hath been recorded to ſcape cenſure and puniſhment for his reward: the ſureſt way not to ſuffer like *Scipio*, being to act like *Cæſar*.

But to this kind of Scholy ſome are ſo ignorantly inclined, as finding the tearms and notions of government uſually imployed about theſe deviſed forms, and that in their beſt ſenſe, they come to think them no where due and proper but there: For ſo, they think that true policy is (from its name and derivation) to import, not the government of a kingdome by a King, but of a City, and that by Citizens in equal authority. Not well conſidering, that in ancient times each territory or kingdom took its uſual name from its City, as that did again from its moſt eminent King or founder: and that, as each City had its King, and was Monarchical onely, ſo the notion of Citizen ſignified but the ſame with another ſubject; and not power and rule. Nay, it ſhould ſeem to infer greater ſubjection; as to thoſe, who, by their habitation were more civilized by Laws and obedience, then to thoſe in villages, called therefore Pagans.

The like miſapprehenſion ariſeth from the notions of *people* and *Magiſtrates*; which have different values in Republikes, over they have in Monarchies.

But however, theſe Greeks (before mentioned) having caſt off Kings, and the acknowledgement of all power above themſelves, they muſt next found it on themſelves; that is, in the community or people from whom alſo they muſt ſuppoſe even Kings to ariſe. Hereupon the title of Anarchy came to want diſinition and exiſtence. For to ſay it was in the Community, was to overthrow that main end for which this notion of a community was invented: namely, to pact and conſent for conferring of power. For how can men in that condition be general or free pacters or conſenters? If they ſay men are not to be ſuppoſed born unanimous, like Aunts of a litter, but rather (as formerly diſcourſed) like *Cadmus*-brood by Poets feined to that purpoſe (in their different appetites) purſuing one another in a confuſion of every one againſt every one, and that from thence they come to be a community, then they make a community and agreement to ariſe from that which is quite contrary: for how ſhall theſe diſagreers be brought to voluntary and equal Parity and Paction.

Therefore there is no way but to ſay, Anarchy is abſence of Unity; or the exerciſe of power without it: For it is not only a privation of good, by deſtroying precedent union in the ſingle perſon that did govern, but alſo an infliction of evil, by ſetting up contention in the many heads now ruling.

And therefore, to ſay that Anarchy is then onely, when there is ſuch a condition as that every one ſhould be againſt every one, is to deny that it can be. For how ſhould it come to paſs? Becauſe, as no ſettled government can

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be overthrown but by union of oppoſition, and men cannot live without ſuch relations of kindred and other intereſts as muſt keep them bound in ſome aſſociations, ſo cannot they, as *ab origines* (ſuch as the Greeks to this purpoſe ſuppoſed themſelves) be ſo born or brought together, without all union by former friendſhip and relation, as to be, each one to each one, contra-diſtinguiſhed and equal in all things.

Without due conſideration of which impoſſibility, and of the intervenient degrees between the perfection of unity which true Monarchy will afford, and that confuſion which the extream of Anarchy will yeild, men are uſually led to this miſtake. For, as we may, and juſtly do ſtile that a Monarchy, where the laſt appeal, and ſome other inſeparable marks of Soveraignty do remain in one man, although many prerogatives may be parted with, even ſo, on the contrary, we muſt judge Anarchy to be where the Soveraignty is in more: and if we do not this, there cannot be ſuch a thing as Monarchy, aſwell as no ſuch thing as Anarchy. Becauſe, as diſability and remiſneſs will occaſionally more or leſs make Princes leave and entruſt their power to others, ſo, in like manner, are we to conceive of Anarchy: namely, that although the people (*viritim*) cannot, or do not perſonally act or agree in all adminiſtrations to Soveraignty proper (but that ſome one man at once may be truſted in ſeveral parts thereof; whereby, in reſpect of their approach to Monarch, they are for the preſent ſo far kept from the miſchiefs of abſolute Anarchy) yet ſince the right of government is at liberty claimed to be exerciſed by all, the government muſt be Anarchical too: although, as we ſaid, one Anarchy may be leſs Anarchical then another, in regard of their approach to unity and Monarchical adminiſtration; like as alſo one Monarchy may be leſs ſo then another; even ſo far as theſe Anarchical forms ſhall be mingled therewith.

Nor hath Monarchy gained precedence (as aforeſaid) by the confeſſions of Polarchical writers, but it's open and active enemies, the Polarchs themſelves, by their endeavors to reſemble the real unity thereof in thoſe repreſentations of themſelves by preſidents, ſpeakers, or the like, and by contrivances to unite their votes and opinions in ſuch ſort as to be capable of command and government (by making their many wills ſeem but one) do all of them (by deed and experience) confeſs that they have neither worth nor fitneſs for government in themſelves; and are ſo far only good, or rather ſo far diſtanced from ill, as they can approach that exemplar of union which in Monarchy is eſſential. Again, if we ſhall obſerve them in their fundamentals for laws, and forms of execution of their governments, we ſhall farther finde that as themſelves are uſually but ſome fragments and ſcraps of Monarchies rent off by Rebellion, ſo will the main body of their laws and ſemblance of policy, be found ſuch onely as were by their former Soveraigns and Kings enacted and contrived.

But (to return) if Anarchy muſt be ſuppoſed but the firſt beginnings to the overthrow of eſtabliſhed government, what ſhall we ſay of lawful conqueſt? Or, if it be in civil or inteſtine ſtrifes onely, then, ſince (in theſe) men cannot ſtrive ſingly, but as united in Factions, when ſhall it begin; and when ſhall Anarchy end? Shall it begin from the firſt underminings, or from the firſt overt act, or from which, or what ſort of them? Shall it end when the other government is overthrown, and there be no enemy left to hinder its peaceable ſettlement in an union by it ſelf? How ſhall it be known? and who ſhall

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judge when this government or other oppoſition is wholly ſubdued, or ſo far as is requiſite to its eſtabliſhment in a government by it ſelf? What if this government be thirty or fourty yeers deſtroying? And what if at laſt, it ſtand ſtill on its own ſtrength without farther fear from this oppoſing faction: which (it may be) now hath ſet up for it ſelf alſo: and as a free State (as they call them) entred into aliance or agreement with them? In which and other caſes, ſince the form of government in the faction eſtabliſhed is the ſame in prevailing over one another now, as it was over thoſe that held the government before; that is by force of a major part, why ſhould not the ſame government aſwel be an Anarchy now, as before? And, if there muſt be a ſet time when this prevailing faction ought, and may (though ſtill the ſame people and faction) take on them the title of lawful government, which is it?

If you ſay, when they have made agreement, or utterly ſubdued their former Prince; this I conceive can (at beſt) but acquit them of rebellion, in order to himſelf; becauſe done againſt him: and thereupon, for a Monarchy ſo gained, it will ſerve to make it a juſt government afterwards, becauſe it is ſo in its form. But ſince Anarchy (conſiſting in diviſion) muſt ariſe from the form of government, that is from the divided heads and perſons whereby it is enforced, and not from the divers hands uſed in the managery (for all governments muſt have ſuch) it muſt be confeſſed that Anarchy muſt be diſtinguiſhed as a different thing from rebellion; and remaine in the form of government, and not in the manner or circumſtances of beginning or uſing it: or elſe, ſuch a thing as Anarchy cannot be at all.

I know the common diviſion of government was formerly into Monarchy, Ariſtocracy, and Democracy; and their deviations, Tyranny, Oligarchy, and Anarchy: ſo making ſix ſorts. But, as it is ſince found that there is but three ſorts, by including their deviations, as Tyranny into Monarcy, Oligarchy into Ariſtocracy, and Anarchy into Democracy, ſo I, concluding but one onely right government (*viz.* of Monarchy) have reckonnd both the other under the common deviation of Anarchy: eſteeming it all one, whither a leſſer or greater number of people preſide therein, which only thing doth difference Ariſtocracy from Democracy.

And as for that fancy of co-ordination, it may be reckoned an Oligarchy, conſiſting of ſo many Governors and Governments as the co-ordinates are: and as Monarchy is limited above, or under this ſuppoſed equality in co-ordination, ſo far is it more or leſs uncapable of its chief end, peace and protection. For, as all Parity muſt breed confuſion, ſo diſſention alſo: and the more Parity in governors the more diſſention. Which, as it may rationally be foreknown to ariſe from the very nature of that Government it ſelf, ſo will it by inſtance moſt lively appear in that government of family: wherein, notwithſtanding there is greateſt intereſt and obligations towards concordance and mutual aſſiſtance, there are yet more obſervable diſputes and differences ariſing between man and wife (even to the bringing the whole family in diviſions and ſidings) then between him and children, or between him and ſervants; who come not ſo neer to him in pretence of equality of power. For as they, pretending to leſs power, are therefore probably leſs ſubject to be ſenſible of the loſs, ſo is he leſs ſubject to be covetous of the gain of that little.

Therefore it may be concluded, that the greater the power of the co-ordinate is, the more ſubject is that place to Faction and Rebellion: which we will next ſpeak of.

CHAP. II.

Of Faction and its Original, and uſual Supports.

AS we have already ſhewed the neceſſity of ſelf-ſeeking in Nature, ſo now we are to ſhew, that ſince Nature cannot be altered, how in Polity her courſe may be ſteered to publike good: ſo that men ſtill retaining their ſenſe of good and bad, ſeparate and diſtinct to themſelves, they might therewith, and thereby alſo, be more provoked to the good of others. Therefore, after the vulger manner, to dream of publike ſpirited perſons or publike ſouls (meaning ſuch as have no private intereſt) is not onely untrue, but, could it be, it would, inſtead of benefit, be the ruine of that whole State. For, through the diſtracted endeavors of ſo many voluntary publike undertakers, the whole would periſh by degrees: and while each particular failed, for want of due ſelf-regard, the whole would fail by conſequent.

Experience of thoſe many miſchiefs and diſturbances generally ariſing in the world through mens inconſiderate and violent proſecution of their own appetites and wills, without due regard to the ſufferings of others, hath brought it into the ſerious doubt of many, whether this Philautia be lawful to be proſecuted or no: and while ſome (as finding it natural) have neceſſarily thought it warrantable, yet have they onely thought it an allowable rule to be made the beginner, but not the ender of our enterpriſes. As though the end and deſign of each action, muſt not, in all voluntary and intelligent Agents, be before any attempt thereof. Or, as if any reaſonable creature, could, out of ſelf-regard begin any thing, which, in the iſſue, he did foreſee would prove otherwiſe.

But it hath not been well conſidered, that thoſe very Rules of *Do as thou wouldſt be done unto*, and, *Love thy neighbour as thy ſelf*, (on which their conceit is grounded) do of themſelves imply and warrant each mans ſeparate good to be both firſt and laſt preferred before that of any other. Nay, theſe Rules being chiefly intended to avoid partiality in ſuch dealings and diſtributions as concern other parties, and ſo to be uſed by ſuch as are to execute the Office of Judges and Umpires, doe in that caſe onely (as hereafter ſhall be ſhewed) appoint both the Judge on the one hand, and the two contending parties on the other, to ſquare his ſentence upon them, and they their obedience unto him, as fancying themſelves reciprocally intereſſed. In which caſe, themſelves not being immediate parties, every act of partiality is injuſtice: they having no rule to love one man better then another. Whereas, on the other ſide, if any man be party with another, all things he doth to the advantage of another againſt his own, is not onely unnatural and fooliſh, but unjuſt and ſinful alſo.

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What if we ſhall ſay farther, that in all dealings between one man and another, no man can be otherwiſe ſinful, then as he is to himſelf fooliſh and neglectfull of his own good? It is not hard for men to conceive in the general, that wickedneſs and folly fall one into another; and that no man can prejudice himſelf, but he muſt thereby ſin: nor ſin, but he muſt thereby prejudice himſelf. All the miſtake being for want of conſideration, that when any doth, by warrant from above, ſenſe of Honor, or dictate of his Conſcience, prefer the benefiting of another to the enjoyment of ſome preſent content of his own, that, even in this caſe, it was ſelf conſideration of procuring reward or avoiding puniſhment to himſelf, that was the end of this good deed he did to them. In which regard, ſo far as he had not preſent ſelf deſign (namely delight in the act it ſelf) but was conſiderative of an end, even ſo far that end muſt have ſelf-deſign upon the whole iſſue in every voluntary Agent, as it is ſuch; however they may differ from one another in degree of Wiſdom and Prudence: that is, either inability to apprehend and believe how theſe courſes are available to his good, or prudence in the managery or application of them accordingly. Wiſdom in theſe caſes grounding herſelf upon her ſure Rule of compariſon; Better forego a preſent leſs pleaſure to my ſelf, by doing it to another, then by not doing good to another as I am commanded, to incur that puniſhment, and loſe that greater reward which is to ſucceed to my ſelf in place thereof.

Therefore, as in Natures polity in the Government of the World, there is pleaſure annexed to ſuch enjoyments as are moſt beneficial, to direct and incite us what to do in purſuit of our ſingle preſervations, (and ſo of the whole ſpecies) and pain on the contrary, to deter from what is hurtful; ſo, in political foundations, (that the whole Kingdom may be preſerved) the duties neceſſary to be performed or avoided by the ſeveral members thereof to that end, are to have ſuch rewards and puniſhments annexed to their Edicts, that each particular member, being naturally led to ſeek pleaſure and avoid pain, may, in the purſuit hereof, (by politick deſignation) follow the good of the Commonwealth alſo.

As for example, ſhould the Commonwealth appoint (as out of duty to the whole, and out of common Charity to one another) that men ſhould, without any ſelf regard, have ſpent their whole time and labours in Tillage or otherwiſe, they would quickly finde the Proverb verified, *That the common Aſs is ill ſadled.* And they would finde, that ſince men are properly and expreſly onely ſenſible of their own good, that therefore, as this ſtood remitted, their actions would remit alſo. Reaſon therefore quickly taught all Founders of Laws and Rules for ſociable living, that becauſe the whole ſtock of common improvement muſt ariſe from private managery, to annex unto publike employments and duties ſuch private advantages and rewards as might encourage their undertakings.

And therefore, thoſe that have gone about to propound the diſ-impropriation of Goods, Wives, *&c.* as thinking upon taking off the notions of *meum* and *tuum*, to take off all Civil War, do not onely (as aforeſaid) undertake what is impoſſible (as ſuppoſing, Man, a Creature of ſo much appetite and leiſure can be without ſomething in that kinde to ſeek) but that which would be hurtful alſo. For although Bees, Ants, and ſuch like creatures, which ſome inconſiderately think imitable, do enjoy a parity, and have their private good and the publike all one, in the ſame direct line for intention and

execution, yet if their different condition from mans be examined, it would be found as reaſonable that man ſhould do otherwiſe, as they ſhould do ſo. For they are born all at once, ſo as being but one litter, and ſeeming but one thing, they do accordingly keep up co-habitation. And as this ſtrict co-habitation keeps them from intermedling with other creatures, whereby to be affected with imitation of their appetites, ſo their own appetite of ſelf-preſervation for neceſſary food, keeps them ſo wholly intent in the proviſion thereof, that they want the ſole occaſion to faction and diſunion, which is idleneſs. And therefore they may be diſcerned always in haſte, and imployed about that very one thing, namely proviſion of food: and that not without need; for the whole yeers expence lies upon a ſhort times gathering. Whereas men, that have ſuch difference of age, company, appetite, judgement, and ſo much leiſure, cannot but be thought to have as different and private ayms. And to think that a man ſhall not have ſelf-aym in all he doth, is to think he ſhall have no aym at all; but to do always one thing, and that out of preſent haſte and neceſſity, as Ants do. But, as we finde all Senſitives, as ſuch, muſt, according to their degree of Knowledge, have ſelf-aym (in ſo much as Beaſts of moſt leiſure have it moſt) ſo man, as the moſt contemplative, long-lived, rational creature, muſt have it moſt.

Which things duely conſidered, and the reſpective and different cares and parts of Prince and Subject, it will eaſily appear what things are, and muſt be the aim of both. For the one, ſeeing that the whole good was his particular good, and thereupon following the natural rule of ſelf-ſeeking, he muſt, as he deſired his own good, ſeek that of the whole people: becauſe, if any part of the publike be decayed or loſt, even ſo much his private is decayed and loſt alſo. For the Prince ſhould be in the body politique as the Brain to the body natural; without ſenſe to it ſelf, and yet be the common ſenſe to all other parts. Then the Subject on the other ſide, as naturally ſeeking pleaſure and avoiding the contrary, is, as regarding his particular herein, ſtirred up by the rewards and puniſhments of the Law, to do, or avoid ſuch things as are agreeable to publike intereſt. By which means, every man ſeeking neceſſarily his own private, and then publike and private benefits being in all relations the ſame and convertible, Polity is eſtabliſhed, and Charity alſo: while our neighbours benefits are eſtabliſhed in our own. And while Prince and people thus move in courſe, according to each ones order, the general welfare is maintained.

But if the harmony and proportions be broken, by any ones invading on the others imployment, miſchief will follow. For if any order or eſtate of the people ſhall forſake their own bounds, and take upon them to judge of publike expedients and miſchiefs, and act accordingly, then, as the publike good will fail for want of care, ſo will their own good fail therewith alſo. And ſo again it is, if the Prince, upon the terror of any diſcontented parties, hath parted with ſome of his Soveraignty or common intereſt to other hands: will not his care, that ſhould be common to all alike, as Subject, come to be leſs to thoſe; becauſe they are leſs Subjects then others?

And then again, if the King himſelf, out of favour to any, ſhall give exemptions or priviledges derogatory to his juſt Prerogative, this will cauſe a partial eye towards them in his time, & (it is like) an angry one towards them afterwards: in both caſes hazarding publike care and Juſtice; becauſe the whole

whole is not looked upon with equal intereſt. But the truth is, Princes errors this way can ſeldom go far: for that the ſucceſſors, finding this indulgence prejudicial, will ſtill recal them into common again. For, as it is probable their Fathers favorites were none of theirs, ſo (you may be ſure) none of the peoples; ſo far as to fear part-takings in deveſting them.

But now, when this politique direction and rule for ſelf-ſeeking is laid aſide, and the rewards and threats to obedience cannot ſo prevail, but that ſome daring ſpirits, of more then ordinary ayms and affections (hoping to have their Ambition, Covetouſneſs, and Revenge ſatisfied better in an extraordinary way then what is by Law appointed) will be acting to publike diſquiet, then it is that Faction is beginning: which is nothing elſe, but *an unlawful aſſociation of Subjects, in oppoſition to their one ſupreme Authority*: which aſſociation is by each one run into, as he findes his own hopes or fears therein attained or ſecured. In which caſe each Faction is in its actings without publike allowance, to be looked on as a private perſon.

The original and riſe of Faction being diſcontent, hence it is that no Government whatſoever can be wholly without it: that is, in aym and deſign, however it may be kept from act and execution, through fear to prevail. And this, not onely, as all Government is in it ſelf to be conſidered as a re traint of our wills, and ſo prompting us to contrivement of eaſe, but inaſmuch as there can be but few perſons ſo conſtantly and entirely favored or befriended by the preſent power of any place, as not to have many things in their ayms and hopes (in order to Revenge or Covetouſneſs) to be got by ſiding and complyance elſewhere, therefore all men whatſoever are to be preſumed more or leſs enclined to Faction, as they are more or leſs diſcontented.

But then becauſe men ſingly, and in ſmall numbers, cannot act, or ſecure themſelves againſt eſtabliſhed polity and the penalties thereof, they muſt next endeavor ſuch ſtrength by aſſociation, as to be thereby enabled to bring on their own aims by complying with the intereſts of others. And although again, there can be no two men found of a like intereſt and aim in all things, yet men, not finding agreement ſo fully as they would, do then ſeek it in the neereſt proportion they can: and ſince they finde none to make companions in all their ayms, they then joyn with ſuch as concur in moſt. And ſo, having gotten (as they believe) aſſociation and ſtrength enough to carry on their deſign, they now begin to ſeparate and divide the Kingdom, by ſeparating themſelves. Theſe that ſide with them they call (for reputation ſake) the people, and the good party: and thoſe that joyn not, enemies to the publike, ill-affected, *&c.* By this means having gotten ſuch ſtrength as to be able to purſue their own intereſts in oppoſition to lawful Authority, they proceed with leſs fear towards the accompliſhment thereof: whether it be that more neer intereſt, the advantage of pleaſure belonging to each ones perſon (commonly included under riches and deſire of property) or that which is more diſtant, as of Wives, Children, Kindred, Friends, *&c.* which may be ranked under the ſenſe of Honor. For ſtill, our purſuit in attaining them is heightned, as we conceive our propriety and intereſt in them to lye.

Now, as the leaders private ends were (as beforeſaid) Ambition, Covetouſneſs, or Revenge; ſo, to joyn intereſt and engage the people, they flatter them with the notions of Liberty, Propriety, and Juſtice; correſponding

ding with their own aims before mentioned. For Liberty anſwers Ambition, both proceeding from Pride, and impatience of Government.

The deſire of increaſe of Propriety, anſwers Covetouſneſs. And popular Juſtice is nothing elſe but Cruelty and Revenge. And now have they engaged all affections too. For Ambition is the extream of Honor, the pleaſure of the Minde. Covetouſneſs includes all the pleaſures that ſenſe can deſire. And Revenge is the utmoſt bound of our malice againſt the things we hate, tending to the ſatisfaction of the irraſcible faculty, as the other did of the concupiſcible. Therefore the Leaders, never defining or telling what civil Liberty, Property, or Juſtice is, or ought to be, they leave it for the people (who have them promiſed as great matters) to think that by Liberty, they mean, not onely freedom from all ſubjection themſelves, "but, becauſe they are told all Power comes from them, and is at their diſ-"poſe, they think they ſhall now have power over others alſo. By Propriety, they are led to think, not onely to have their own eſtates altogether independent, but to be freed of all Taxes and Obligations beſides. For the meaneſt cannot but expect (if he be not directly promiſed) that upon overthrow of the enemy, great encreaſe will then come to his ſhare. And then, as the weakeſt Natures are ever moſt revengeful, and cruel, ſo Subjects can never want objects of this kinde, whom, under ſhew of publike Juſtice, they will always implacably proſecute.

Nor do the Leaders of Factions hide themſelves and meanings on the naming of things onely, but of perſons alſo. For having themſelves caſt off ſubjection, and teaching others to do the like, they uſe not the name of Subject any longer; it is now the people a word which (as uſed in Anarchies) ſignifies inſubjection: and therefore can be never proper but in Anarchy) and ſometimes it is the Commons they repreſent and ſtand for. And then, there is none ſo low, but thinks he is included in one of theſe notions: there is not one of the meaneſt ſervants in a Family, but is in his conceit one of the People, or one of the Commons at leaſt: and anſwerably, he is ready to take the ſide that makes him ſuch fair promiſes. And he may hope alſo, that as the greater includes the leſs, ſo a free-born Subject, as he is, ſhall be freed of Maſter, as well as Prince: for he is ſure that all his bondage hath been from the one, and not from the other. They (poor ſouls) little thought that by People and Commons are meant onely ſuch as the Leaders ſhall chooſe (after they have made themſelves by their helps Maſters of the other party) to ſtand as for the People, or to chooſe, or to be their Repreſentatives. At which time (I hope) being the people themſelves, they will not break their former Promiſes of having no intention but the good of the People. Upon occaſion of which deceits and miſtakes it comes to paſs, that the generality of the people are ever murmuring againſt theſe Governments, and more ready to change again then the Subjects in Monarchies: as now finding that thoſe large promiſes of general Liberty, *&c.* comes to none other end then to be at the continual diſpoſe of their fellows; and that their own ſhare in power or riches, anſwers not that great hopes they had thereof when they depoſed their former Prince.

When this Aſſociation or Faction divides againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Government it is called by a peculiar name of Schiſm: which is ſeldom wanting where the other is. For Religion, being taken of general concern to all,

all, the reaping up of abuſes herein cannot but deeply engage: and, in order to this, the peoples Liberty in interpreting Scripture muſt be aſſerted: and then, having ſet up Levites to ſcholly them to their purpoſe, Conſcience comes to be engaged for them alſo in this pretended Reformation, and as much as much as may be drawn from the other ſide.

But now, as all Faction hath in its aim the overthrow of Government, ſo it is, from its own diviſions again, always a ruine to it ſelf, as it had been to the Kingdom by diviſion before. For the common enemy (as they call them) now ſubdued, which was the cauſe of their uniting, they begin to reflect upon themſelves, both in the diviſion and managery of the power and profits now come into their hands, and alſo of the neerer proſecution of thoſe particular intereſts that brought them into this aſſociation.

Both which occaſions will again neceſſarily break them into ſub-diviſions: and lead them to finde out new aſſociations of ſuch as come yet neereſt to correſpond with them, againſt ſuch as are fartheſt off: and upon like Grounds and Arguments as they had aſſociated againſt others before, they aſſociate againſt one another now.

Nor can this well be otherwiſe, becauſe (as I ſaid) publike good was not the cauſe of their joyning: except a forraign fear yet remain, or do ariſe to keep them united: or except the Leaders be allyed by kindred, or have all of them a common intereſt. The laſt commonly happens, when claim is laid to the Crown and Government. For then, as one mans intereſt made them aſſociate, it will keep them ſo. The other is when the heads are few, and their intereſts ſo agreeing, that more is probably to be got by a great and ſure ſhare now poſſeſſed in the Government, then is adventuring for all. Therefore, the preſent ſucceſſors to Monarchies overthrown by Faction are Ariſtocracies: but theſe many times ſo ſhort-lived, as their Government is not to be ſetled and known. For one, or ſome amongſt them, as courting more the people, will ſtill, by their help, ſet themſelves in the Throne: or if that fail, rather then ſubmit again to his incenſed fellows, he perſwades, and ſets up the peoples general power above them, under ſhew of more liberty: and ſo comes uſually Democracies: which, if they fall not into Monarchy again by the force and choice of their ſouldiery, grow by degrees more Ariſtocratick. For thoſe that call themſelves the people, ſecluding always as many as they can, and taking in none to ſhare with them in power, their number at laſt muſt be few.

Beſides, as Nature in all things, being left to her own working, will by gentle and orderly ſteps tend to that perfection ſhe was forcibly deprived of, ſo it may be obſerved, how by degrees all Governments do of their own nature, and uninterrupted by violence, always lead to that perfection and ſtate of Unity again from which by force onely they were hitherto debarred. And, unto the undeniable proof of the natural right of Monarchical Government, it may be aſſerted, that, as no Government of it ſelf (let alone in the hands of the governors, without the forcible intermedling of the governed) but would ſtill come to be Monarchy, ſo, no government was ever brought from fewer to more, but by the force and terror of the people upon the Governors themſelves: who now (as in the Fable of the Serpent that would be governed by his own Tayl) will be governing themſelves: and ſo make all lawfulneſs of Government (at laſt) vaniſh into forcible obtruſion.

There

There are many other particulars by which Faction useth to make its rise and support; which shall be spoken of in the next chapter of Rebellion, amongst other things which are the originals of that also. For these two are of such like extraction, and so neer a kin, that what is properly the cause to one, is (for the most part) so to the other: Faction being but Rebellion in its birth, and as yet but in devise and contrivance; and Rebellion being but Faction brought into act and execution: even as Polarchy, or Anarchy is but both of them, brought to such maturity and perfection, as to be capable of self-subsistance.

CHAP. III.

Of Rebellion, and its most notable Causes and Pretences.

AS the inordinate thirst of pleasure, and its consequent (Liberty to attain it) is in us all, both natural and unlimited, so, where Rules and Laws of Polity and Government (the onely means of restraint) are not strictly enjoyned or duely obeyed, it commonly falls out, that what should have been a bridle, proves rather a Spur; and the possession of one inordinate lust, doth by it self make way for another: even as the abundance of drink, to the drunkard, is the cause of greater thirst to ensue. Observe we this, First, in that lesser Government of a Family: and you shall finde Children and Servants nowhere so unquiet and discontented, as where the indulgencies of the Parent or Master do most appear. And so it is in Kingdoms also: where Subjects that have soft and mild spirited Princes, and from whose more gentle and easie natures they, having already attained many things of Liberty and Freedom, do come at last to forget how inconsistent these things may be with their duty or publike peace, and to think that their very asking should now be the onely rule for his granting. Whereupon, as it happens that there is most brawling, contention and unquietness in such Families, so, in such Commonweals, Mutinies and Rebellions do ever abound.

And, to keep the Scripture president herein, what other Reason can be given of those many murmurings and insurrections of the Jews: even while under the government of *Moses*: one so far from oppressing their liberty, *that he was the meekest man on the earth*. And when again, they had all things in such plenty as even their very Lust was supplyed with miracles: what followed, but that which was given for quieting them at one time, proved the occasion of their mutiny at another? For so, while *he smote the rock and the water gushed out*: they are still asking, *can he give bread, can he provide flesh for his people?* And when they had this flesh, this *manna*, it was found too light food for their satisfaction: and this very *food of Angels*, was insufficient to stint their boundless desires. Therefore, *while the very meat was in their mouths*, God was forced to cure by severity, those breaches of obedience which abused Mercy and Clemency had made.

Numb. 12. 3.

Psal. 78. 20. Verse 19.

Vers. 25.

Vers. 30, 31.

Look

Look again to them under their Kings, and you ſhall finde none ſo ill uſed as the beſt of them; even *David*, and *Solomon*. In the laſt of whoſe time it is expreſſed, *Judah and all Iſrael were then many as the ſand which is by the ſea in a multitude, eating, and drinking, and making merry.* And again, *Judah and all Iſrael dwelt ſafely, every man under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree, from Dan to Beerſheba all the days of Solomon.* And in whoſe time, as the wiſeſt and moſt peaceful of Kings, that Kingdom had the greateſt eminency and happineſs of any: their perſons free, as expreſly ſaid, *Of the children of Iſrael did Solomon make no bondmen:* and having riches in ſuch abundance amongſt them, *that he made ſilver and gold to be in Jeruſalem as ſtones*, &c. And yet, as in a kinde of wantonneſs and ſurfet, they come to his ſon *Rehoboam* to aſk releaſe of this grievous yoak of *Solomon* his Father. But in truth, we can interpret this their coming to *Sechem* to no other end then to make a Covenant and aſſociation to rebel: and the pretence to make *Rehoboam* King, was but the outſide of their appearance: when they intended to unmake him. For firſt, *Rehoboams* raign was not Elective but in right of his Father and Grandfather, as heretofore noted; and he might as well have reigned in their ſtead without the peoples approbation, as *Iſhboſheth Sauls* ſon did over them in *Davids* time, or as *Nadab* in *Jeroboams* ſtead, over the ſame *Iſraelites*, without any ſuch confirmation.

1 King. 4. 20.

1 King. 4. 25.

1 King. 9. 22. 2 Chron. 1. 15.

So that this Aſſembly was indeed to ſettle *Jeroboams* new Principality, and not to confirm *Rehoboams*. And therefore, ſince they firſt *ſent for him* to come in the head of them, whom they knew to lay claim to the Crown, this action looks purpoſely to aim at a quarrel, and gain a denyal; whereby to get a pretence to rebel. And was indeed the threatned puniſhment of *Solomons* offence againſt God, and not of *Rehoboams* to the people: and ſo ſuffered to be done in purſuance of that end: namely *the puniſhing his offence with the rod of the children of men.* Whereupon this his *refuſing the councel of the old men*, muſt be conſidered as a fit and neceſſary means thereunto. And this may ſeem the reaſon of *Rehoboams* anſwer, importing a denial to the ground of the peoples Petition, and anſwering in that manner, as though experience had fully told him, that ſince too much indulgence and conceſſion had loſt to his Father, he would recover it by rigor and ſeverity.

1 King. 12. 3.

1 King. 11. 11.

2 Sam. 7. 14. 1 King. 12. 8.

But, to affirm that this Rebellion was a puniſhment of *Rehoboams* anſwer onely, were to give God the lye: both for the reaſons already mentioned, and as plainly croſſing his direct Promiſe to *Jeroboam*: ſaying, *I will rent the Kingdom out of the hands of his ſon, and give it unto thee, even ten Tribes.* Plainly arguing a forepaſſed fault to God, and not of oppreſſion to the people: upon which onely Reaſon he is warned to deſiſt. For of that war, what good iſſue could be? To have *Jeroboam* beaten, were to fight againſt God and his purpoſe: and to have *Rehoboam* beaten, were to countenance rebellion in people.

1 King. 11. 35.

But if you look to the fruits of theſe Conceſſions in *David*, you will finde him the fitteſt inſtance for retaliation in both kindes: whether you reſpect him as a gracious Prince, or an indulgent Father: as may appear by ſome inſtances formerly given. The like will all other ſtories do, being but confirmations of this Maxim, *That thoſe people that have largeſt Immunities and Liberties, are ever the moſt ſeditious for more: and that civil war and rebel-*

hath, doth not arise from want of Liberty and Freedom in the Subjects, but from having too much. That is, from Princes intrusting so great a portion of Soveraign power into their hands, under colour of giving them Liberty, as shall encourage and enable them to stand in open opposition and defiance against him and his remaining Authority for more; and, by degrees to demand, or rather command all, if they shall think good.

For as it comes to pass with all such prodigal persons, as well Princes as others, as use or know no other way for gaining love and credit, then by wasting of that whereby it should have had foundation and continuance, they in the end finde, that as (before) their estates was the cause of their Loves, so, this being now gone, the other would fall also. And therefore they should beforehand have considered, that what was the onely mean to their desire, should have been the chiefest object of their care: lest in the end they come to finde, that too great liberality unto private and undeserving beggers, makes them but publique and unpitied beggars themselves.

Even so, when Princes are soothed up with the specious shews of winning love by condescension, and parting with the fundamental rights of Soveraignty, to please and gain the people, they must now expect, that what directed their love to them, while they had it, will be a cause of want of love, being parted with. They must consider, that since the different love and respect of Princes above others, was but in regard of their different power; whereby it also came to pass, that what was beneficially by them done, was therefore more meritorious, as less constrained, abate them then this power of doing so, or otherwise, and how shall the love and thanks to Princes differ from that of other men?

And since Government, as Government, requires the administration and execution of things according to the will of the Governors (which as the pretended government by love respects onely the desires of the loved): how can it then be government? And Princes so governing, that is, by the will of the governed, as he and they are in their wills different, so must one necessarily be the overthrow of another. Wherefore, if fear and reverence be not made use of, but Subjects always courted by loving condiscentions, Experience, as well as Reason, tells us, that his Authority will stand on fickle ground.

Nor do Princes hereby onely offend against interest, but Duty also: to wit, against that prime and incommunicable trust of power from God to them derived, to enable them to govern their subjects according to his Laws. When they, beyond their own Commission to give, or the peoples capacity to receive, shall strive to dis-invest themselves of so inherent a propriety, and by a strange and preposterous way of proceeding, endeavor to invert Nature, Reason, and all kinde of Order and Rule; to their own ruine, by this setting the commanded above the Commander, and making the Subject not subject. Whereof, what other sequel can we expect, but that, as a punishment justly deserved, and most adequate and congruous to such an offence, all Insurrections and Rebellions against them, from hence most naturally should proceed.

So that, when it shall once come to pass, that either fear to enjoyn or command what he knows to be fit, or the hopes for countenance or assistance in what he believes otherwise, shall so far work on the resolution, as to make his

Subjects the objects of his fear and courtſhip, he ſhall finde, that what is hereby, for the preſent gained, will come to him at ſo dear a rate, as, upon the iſſue, to endanger and coſt him his whole eſtate: whereas Nations under abſolute Soveraigns, are, in reſpect of theſe, but ſeldom obſerved to rebel.

For as, when the childe hath once ſo far prevailed over his indulgent Father, as that his wanton appetite cannot be ſatisfied without the enjoyment of what is offenſive to others; nay, not without thoſe very morſels and what elſe belongs to the neceſſary ſuſtentation of the Parent (which muſt now be the only object and remedy of its peeviſhneſs;) it wil be found that as this too great kindneſs was the cauſe this ſtubbornneſs, ſo it will, at laſt, prove a leſſening of reſpect and duty in the childe: and the childe will thereupon alſo, be more truely called the guide of the Father, then the Father of him. And ſeldom have the Conceſſions of Princes any other fruit then to be invitations to new demands; till at laſt, Subjects have ſo wholly freed themſelves from the more milde and tolerable government of one, that, through the greedy purſuit of ſuch natural and univerſal liberty as is with government it ſelf inconſiſtent, they again fall into the perfect ſlavery of Anarchy, where *every man is oppreſſed of his neighbour*: and, inſtead of one, have many Tyrants to diſturb them. The uſual iſſue of all unhappy people, grown wanton with too much Liberty: where the commonneſs, and eaſineſs of former grants, is made the onely rule for deſiring, and obtaining new Petitions: which come at length to be reckoned as acts of duty, not of grace. But to theſe in brief it may be anſwered, if they may not be denyed, why do they petition? if they may, why do they rebel? And having ſo far conſidered Rebellion in its prime cauſe, the diviſion of Soveraignty, we will examine it by its uſual pretences, and give ſome anſwers.

In the mean time, I ſhall deſire ſuch as may conceive theſe laſt paſſed diſcourſes or others elſewhere uſed, to be impertinent for a Treatiſe where Subjects, and not Princes parts are to be ſet forth, to conſider that I intend not here to ſhew Kings what to do, but to ſhew Subjects what to obey. And if this encroachment of Subjects on the Prerogatives of Princes be well conſidered, it will be found no leſs needful to be propounded to their conſiderations in regard of the inconveniences thereof inticing them to Rebellion, then in regard of that proneneſs again which Princes do hereupon take to fall into acts of Tyranny: inſomuch as all tyrannous and ſevere regiment may be obſerved to have ariſen, either to remove, or prevent this danger: tyranny being nothing elſe but ſoveraign revenge or ſeverity, according to the preſumption of injury paſt, or to be feared.

The evil of Anarchy, and benefits of Government have ever been in all mens eys ſo apparent, that none have been hitherto found ſo deſperate, as directly to profeſs to introduce the one by deſtroying the other: but deceived ſometimes themſelves are, and always they ſtrive to deceive others, by ſhew of Liberty and Freedom: either from ſuffering ſome evil, or for attaining ſome forbidden content. "For (ſay they) the more general good and con-"tent is ever to be preferred to the more particular: which is the good of the "whole people to that of the Rulers. For look into Nature, ſhe made them "equal: intending no more the ſatisfaction of one, then another. And the "very end and aim of Society it ſelf, was primarily the good of the gover-"ned, and of the Governors but in order thereunto. That hereupon, all, or

" moſt people ſubject not themſelves to the arbitrary rule of the Prince, but " unto the known and eſtabliſhed Law: by which onely, according to his " oath and compact, he is bound to govern. For could men (ſay they) be " imagined to have parted with their native freedom of Will, and debar " themſelves of the many pleaſures of life, to no other end, but hereby to " advance to a ſtate of felicity ſome one, or more men, unto whom they could " in nothing acknowledge themſelves inferior? No, ſince Kings and Rulers " were ſet up, and had obedience given unto them for the onely good of the " people (for of them is the whole power derived, and they may at pleaſure " ſettle what Government they pleaſe, and as they think fit to reſtrain or en- " large it) therefore, when they ſhall be found to fail of this truſt, and turn " their power to their peoples hurt, they might with good reaſon re-aſſume " their own ſtrength, and imploy it to the attainment of thoſe benefits, which " by the wilfulneſs or fooliſhneſs of the other is croſſed or neglected. And if " in purſuance of this courſe, civil war and ſlaughter do follow; it muſt be " imputed to the ſtubbornneſs of them in Authority: which then muſt be " endured as a cure to the ſtate: when as, by a momentany ſuffering of ſome " mens loſs, the perpetual hazard of all mens ſlavery is avoided: and is no o- " ther, then like tolerating a leſs evil to avoid a greater. And this power of " reſiſtance (ſay they) muſt be in all limited Monarchies; elſe the limita- " tion is nothing: but he remains as abſolute as the other. But becauſe theſe and the like propoſitions, have for the moſt part been bred and countenanced by ſome of the Romiſh and Jeſuited Clergy, we will (by the way) look thereunto: leaving the farther cenſure of their intermedling to another place: and alſo referring the full anſwer and ſatisfaction in other things to the enſuing chapters: wherein, under the titles of Liberty, Slavery, Property, *&c.* ſhall be ſhewed how Faction and Rebellion have unjuſtly laid claim to any juſtification under theſe notion.

A great Argument, and aſſociate of mans frailty it is, that even from our beſt and moſt holy performances, advantages to ſin and impiety have been taken. Ariſing chiefly, from the malice of that wicked one; always ready, (if the ſowing of the Wheat cannot be wholly hindred) by his Agents to cauſe ſuch Tares to ſpring amongſt, and from it, that for their very ſakes, the other might have none, or at leaſt leſs uſe and eſteem. For who would elſe have thought, that that very height of Piety, Religion, and Devotion, that cauſed the firſt nurſing Fathers of the Church, as in honor and duty to God, to beſtow divers great Priviledges and Powers upon the (at that time) well-deſerving Clergy, ſhould, by a ſtrange and inconſiderate ingratitude, prove the readieſt Feathers, with which the ſhafts were made for their own deſtruction? For ſo we finde, when Popes became inheritors onely of the Revenue and Prerogative of the Church, and not at all of their predeceſſors devotion or humility, they firſt begin to ſeat themſelves above Kings, and all that is called God: and thinking they could never bring low enough that power, whoſe due height they had juſt cauſe to fear would be a curb to their pride, they not onely tread on their necks themſelves, but, by their Agents and Factors, they everywhere teach and authoriſe the Princes own Subjects to do the like. " Telling them that all civil power is originally in the people: " and that from them, and their underived majeſty it was, that Kings had " their Soveraignties: which as they might be by them ſtreightened as they

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"ſaw occaſion, ſo were they to judge of his defaults in caſe of tyranny or "oppreſſion. And then, reſerving to themſelves the power of depoſing and ſentencing them, in caſe of hereſie or ſchiſm; and of defining what they were, they had poor Kings (they thought) beneath them low enough: even as far as man is beneath God: Kings being the peoples, but themſelves (as *jure divino*) Gods Deputies.

Theſe things ſeem not ſo to be wondred at, in a time when implicit devotion and ſuperſtition had cauſed ſuch general ignorance, that any thing almoſt would take: but, for a ſort of men, undertaking to reform all errors even according to Gods Word, and profeſſing ſuch great hatred to Popery, as to caſt off ſome harmleſs things, onely becauſe they think them popiſh; for theſe (I ſay) to contradict a thing ſo expreſly taught in Scripture, and (on the contrary) to aſſert a thing onely fraudulently brought in, and by none taught but Jeſuits, can have no other ground, but that they agree in common aim; the aim of ambition and inſubjection. For ſo, as the Pope puts Kings under the people, to advance himſelf in his room, as in Gods ſtead; ſo do Presbyters put him under too, that themſelves, in their conſiſtories, may dethrone, and be above him, as in Chriſts ſtead. By which means, Chriſt being no longer King of Kings, but King of Presbyters, we ſhould (for advancement of our Liberties) have (beſides the domineering conſiſtories) a King and a Pope in every Pariſh. Concerning the ſum of which Doctrine, namely that all power, and that of Kings is from God onely, we have already ſpoken: but becauſe I finde that divers learned men, favorers to neither of theſe ſects, but lovers of Monarchy, did yet hold by conſequent the ſame opinions, it will not be amiſs to ſpeak ſomething hereof: and of the inconveniencies & abſurdities ariſing from that conceit of derivation of power from Paction and conſent: leaving the more particular handling of the Nature and reality of Paction it ſelf to its proper place.

Theſe, though they thought that, notwithſtanding this Conceſſion, they would ſtill evince all active reſiſtance to be unlawful, even becauſe it broke a Paction (made between I know not what King and their people (and ſo I alſo ſometimes thought from the plauſibleneſs of the ſcholly) yet, upon ſtricter enquiry, an error on one hand or other cannot be avoided. That is, either acknowledging that this is a thing uſeleſs, and ſerving the people to no purpoſe, or elſe all thoſe conſequences of Rebellion will naturally flow from it.

For you admitting it the peoples right, they put you to ſhew where you finde that they by any Paction utterly reſigned this right into the Princes hand? as you may affirm ſuch a Paction, ſo they deny. And for conqueſt, they ſay it can no more take away a known right, then any other force. And if it be the peoples right, it is their right as well againſt him as any other. Will you ſuppoſe ſuch a contract when they elect a King; they preſs you to ſhew it: and ſay, they are to be ſuppoſed as all other rational Agents, to have done it for ſome advantage to themſelves: and conſequently, as truſters, may demand accompt from the truſted, and make redreſſes alſo: elſe they have a dry right without a remedy. Therefore they appeal to theſe Pactions alſo, and ſay, That as they are tyed by Oaths of Alleagiance, ſo is the Prince by oath tyed to obſervance of the Law: and that, if he break his Oath, theirs is fallen of conſequence: and then the power and truſt returns. If it happen they onely ſwear, and that to implicite obedience, they then ſay it is a force: and ſo invalid to binde any, ſince (as granted by you) all power is founded on the Will. So that we may plainly

plainly ſee the miſchief of this Scholly, when, as to make government the more eaſie (as in a kinde of flattery) people are told, that although they have originally this power, yet having once deveſted themſelves thereof, what hath been their voluntary reſignation, they have not now power to recal at pleaſure. But let us a little examine theſe grounds, and their inferences.

Their firſt is, *quiſque naſcitur liber*, in which they muſt ſuppoſe that peopeople can be like (like Muſhromes) ſpringing up all at once out of the earth; without all relations one to another: ſo as not onely without Princes or Magiſtrates, but ſons without fathers, wives without husbands, ſervants without maſters, families without heads, and people without paſtors. If not ſo, then is the ſon of every father, as he expects the ſame protection for perſon and eſtate his father had, bound to the ſame obedience his father was. If they decline this power of government in the diffuſive body of the people (out of the ſame reaſon, and the impoſſibility of its convening) and thereupon ſay that the heads of families have onely power to elect and diſpoſe; for that it is to be ſuppoſed all in their families have already reſigned to them all their power: then, this neither is, nor can be done by the heads of all families; ſince women, Church-men, infants, and divers people under ſuch and ſuch qualifications for eſtates come to be left out. So that, when authority comes to be derived from the people, it will be (as heretofore noted) but the contrivement of ſome Faction, uſing ſuch or ſuch reſtrictive qualifications, as they may not be hindred in their aims.

But this done, they have loſt their firſt ground of free-birth: for (I hope) they will not leave children and ſlaves at choice for obedience: and for that obedience that wife and ſervants give, their Factions expreſs not (I ſuppoſe) any ſuch reſignation of will or power from themſelves to the head of the family, as thereby to oblige them to his Factions in the ſtate. "Yea but (they "ſay) none but ſuch perſons as have ſome ſhare in the kingdom, as having "an eſtate of ſome value ſhall have ſhare of power. To this it may be firſt anſwered, how ſhall ſuch a law or appointment be made generally binding, unleſs we firſt allow of a precedent governor amongſt them to eſtabliſh it? Who again, if he were ſettled by former Faction, how come they now to be free? If not by Faction, then is not government grounded on Faction.

But let us proceed in their way of ſuppoſition. A Maſter of a family of a hundred ſervants is but equal to him that hath but three. And again, if the Maſter of a hundred ſervants be impoveriſhed, and not able to maintain his former rank, his affection and ability to ſerve his country muſt be ſuppoſed loſt, and a ſingle man with fourty ſhillings *per ann.* put in before him. And then again, if eſtate enable men to be in the number of people, and ſo, fit to govern, me thinks it ſhould proportionably do it; and ſo, four hundred pound yeerly will make one man two hundred people: and then it will be *Regina pecunia* indeed. Theſe, and the like differencing rules are good to be made and obſerved in Monarchies: where the Monarch himſelf (to the end he may know his ſubjects deſires and grievances) doth, by his writs, give the people of ſuch and ſuch diſtinct places, ranks and qualifications power to elect, and alſo gives and permits the elected to have power to proceed, according to former rules of his progenitors, or new ones of his own, but cannot at all prove derivation of power from below. For if the original power

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be in the whole community, and every one have his native and equal share, how comes it to be never so used? Is it due to all Masters of families? then is it from God, and due by Office: and not by Faction from them.

And if we suppose power to arise from the Master, as Master, then will one Master, as his family is greater, have more power then another.

Estate cannot make it, for the reasons before given. If natural force and strength make it, the stronger will have most.

If wisdome rule it, who shall decide who are wise: and in what measure it is to be stated?

Put it to age, or what you will, it will be as hard to make any certain rate thereof, or to imagine how any should freely consent to be excluded by any relation, as to agree those in the chosen relations, by stint or size of estate, yeers, wisdom, *&c.*

And then, when the community have not the power equal, the others have it by force, or usurpation. And therefore, all power is by Office: and to such Offices as are appointed of God: as Fathers, and Kings. They have it *Jure Divino*: and are restrainable therein only by those above, not by those under them.

And therefore it is a most fond supposition, that because those assemblies of Parliaments, or the like, which are made in Monarchies by such like rules of distinction, and have their acts reputed as afterwards binding, that therefore other inventions should do so too. For in this case they are to consider, first, that there is a superior power constituting these differencing rules, and making up (as before noted) the whole representation in himself. And then, they are to consider, that the different ends of these and the other supposed conventions, will make them extreamly differ in their force of binding. For in the Monarchical conventions men may well be convened under the estimate of riches, because, being summoned to advise and determine concerning publike leavies and the Kingdoms wealth or Commonwealth, they may be thought inclusive of it all: whereas in the supposed convention for disposing mens natural power and right to govern, none can reasonably binde another by vote, in that where all are equal by their own supposition.

But if they (in their supposed way of conferring of power) shall exclude children and servants, and leave none but the Master power to elect, then break they their supposition of equal and native freedom, because the major part is excluded. If they have power to elect, then, being so much the greater number, I hope they will chuse such a government as shall now binde their Master and Father, and not be them.

But let us go on by way of supposition. These selected heads are met to chuse and empower a governor, and to give them all their power, that is, their power of their several families, that so he having power of all families, may consequently have power of the whole kingdom: which done, they intend (belike) to give up house-keeping. If so, he will have a great task indeed. If not, I would know whether they mean to have less power over their families then before? No (they say) they mean to govern them under him. Well, I suppose you can give this power you have over them so far as you had it, and over your self too: but then, unge the power of life and death, and other things necessary for the Prince to have, you

neither

neither had over them nor your ſelf, how can you give what you have not?

Again, ſuppoſe the people the original of power, and farther (to make this power uſeful) ſuppoſe they may recal it to right themſelves when they finde it abuſed, and that thereupon, the liberty to appeal to them muſt ever lye open; why then, this ſerves to defeat the power of their repreſentatives, aſwel as of Princes. For theſe, being ſet up alſo for the peoples good, have no farther power neither then while they act that way: the people muſt ſtill retain power to hinder them from doing otherwiſe; and conſequently, muſt have power to judge whether they do ſo or not. And then, this power muſt extend and exerciſe it ſelf in all cauſes; becauſe their good or ill muſt be therein concerned. And ſo, I pray how ſhall buſineſs go on? muſt the governor ask the governed their conſent before he command? What is this but (as in mockery) to ſay to them, *Do as you liſt or I will make you?* What is this but for people to command, and Magiſtrates to obey?

Again, although that maxime, *Salus populi ſuprema lex*, may be good in popular governments (as ſhall be ſhewed anone) where governing and governed are ſuppoſed alternative and the ſame (becauſe all come to be included) but yet, where there is difference, there the good of both, as making up the whole, muſt be taken into proportionable and joynt conſideration; unleſs they can imagine that, by contract, the King ſhould render himſelf purpoſly miſerable, to make others happy by his infelicity. If ſo, *David* and others, that had promiſes of kingſhip from God by way of reward, had certainly no ſuch benefit. And if this right and duty of reſiſtance were ſo in the people as is alleaged, why, in ſo many thouſand yeers, and in the raign of ſo many unjuſt and evil Kings as are ſet down in the Old and New Teſtament, do we never find Prophet, Apoſtle, or other men inſtructing the people in a duty of ſo great concern. They, if they had liked, might as eaſily have ſaid fight as obey; and reſiſt, as not reſiſt.

As for the Kings obſervation of the Laws and ſeeking the good of the people, I believe no good Kings but will make it their imployment; and, in order to it, no diſcret people but muſt thereupon grant, that it is his part to to know and interpret what this law and good is; for if it be left to be done by any other Party or Faction, not he, but they have now the charge.

For to ſay they will ſubmit in all things juſt and reaſonable and no farther, is to appeal back to themſelves; and is not ſubmiſſion to another: but all things are left to their private determination as before; and juſt and reaſonable muſt be but what they will eſteem ſuch. For (as before ſhewed) men could not make queſtion whether reaſon or equity ſhould take place or no, it was by all agreed it ſhould: but men differing amongſt themſelves on which ſide this right was and both parties confident of their own cauſe, there was no poſſibility to avoid deſtraction and attain peace, but by this voluntary and joynt ſubmiſſion to be herein governed by others.

So that laws of equity, peace, and government, require that all parties ſubmit to their common and appointed judge and ſentence. For as each man ſingly becomes a man by having a proper will and underſtanding; even ſo it comes to paſs, that there can ariſe no difference againſt himſelf, becauſe underſtanding and will do in him alwayes unite. Whereas, if *Thomas* his will were to be guided by *Johns* underſtand, or contrary, and either of them want will or underſtanding, or have them over-born by another, it were in the firſt

place

place to overthrow the perſonal being of men, and in the other to make it uſeleſs. For ſhould, or could my will incline to nothing but what aforaign underſtanding ſaw good, it would then be the will of him that had, and not of him that wanted this underſtanding: and for want of underſtanding, I ſhould want will alſo. Or, ſhould I ſuppoſe there could be an underſtanding that could ſubmit to that of another, this were to deſtroy perſonality by confounding it: and to imagine an impoſſibility: fancing an underſtanding which ſhould be, and not to be at the ſame time. Therefore, when by the help of anothers underſtanding mine is ſo cleared as to ſee reaſon to conſent to what it ſaw not before, and upon it, my will inclined to action, this aſſent of my will is the iſſue of the light now apprehended in mine own underſtanding, and not as it was before in anothers. So in the body politick, to keep the eſſence and union thereof entire, there muſt be the ſame reſidence for underſtanding and councel (at leaſt for the laſt reſult thereof) as is for will and execution.

And therefore, as it would argue high arogance in any ſingle ſubject to preſume his own judgement better then anothers, eſpecially then his ſuperiors, ſo is it but the ſame thing from ſubjects, to commend that councel themſelves follow, before that which their Prince follows. For ſince goodneſs of councel doth not move by being but by being apparent, and ſince this trial and apparency muſt depend on the ability and judgement of him that chuſeth it (none being able to take good councel but he that is in meaſureable to give it) it muſt therefore be granted, that the following of anothers councel after mine own choice, differs little from following mine own.

If it ſhould be argued, that Princes may be carried away by partiallity and private intereſt, and ſo ſome ſhould think that the Councel of ſubjects ſhould in that regard take place, this were to beg the queſtion upon a ſuppoſition againſt all apparant reaſon. For how can any be ſuppoſed to be ſo equally and univerſally intereſſed as the Prince? How will they have this liberty ſtinted, both for perſons and cauſes? And who ſhall be ſuperiour to ſee it on all hands performed? Will they allow ſubjects indefinitely to have power herein as they themſelves ſhall ſee cauſe? they then invert and overthrow government.

If theſe prudent conſiderations cannot prevaile with rational men to ſtop the current of rebelion, yet methinks the conſcientious ties of Religion and the due obſervation of thoſe Goſpel duties of patience, humility, obedience, long-ſuffering, *&c.* might. Chriſtian Subjects ſhould conſider how Princes are of Gods ſetting up and not theirs: ſo that when he that hath their hearts in his hand ſhall ſend them ſuch an one as they deſerve, and in a fatherly way ſhall make them his rods to puniſh their faults, they are not to attempt the throwing theſe rods into the fire themſelves: but to kiſs them, in acknowledgement of ſubmiſſion: and, unleſs they will undertake to meaſure their own ſins, they muſt leave it to the ſame hand to withdraw, that did impoſe. And to this purpoſe, let them well conſider that place of *Job*, *Is it fit to ſay to a King thou art wicked, or to Princes ye are ungodly?* if not to ſay ſo, much leſs *to ſtrike Princes for equity.* Nay, although they be ſuch as appear to us *to hate right*: yet, being our King, and Gods Miniſter, over whom we can have no lawful juriſdiction, we cannot *condemn them* more then he *that is moſt juſt.* For ſo he muſt be eſteemed of us; and left to God for puniſhment: *Who ſhall* (in his own way and time) *break in pieces mighty men without number, and ſet others in their ſtead.* Job 33.18. Prov. 17.26. Ibidem.

CHAP. IV.

Of Liberty.

AS we have heretofore ſhewed the glory of God to be the end of creation, and that this glory was encreaſed from the variety of creatures; inaſmuch as from their augmentation of benefit, one above another, the encreaſe of his praiſe muſt proportionably ariſe: As we have alſo declared mankinde amongſt other creatures greateſt receivers, and moſt capable of return, ſo now, as to the ſame end, we are to conſider men amongſt themſelves, as they ſtand in degrees of honour and power one above another. For as we ſhall finde them generally much elevated above other creatures, ſo alſo, much differenced by their own degrees of perfection. Inſomuch as, whilſt the meaneſt rank of men have great degrees of Divine reſemblance above other creatures below them, ſo have alſo men of higher ſtations, as coming hereby to be called Gods by God himſelf, both an advantage and obligation above thoſe of ordinary condition: to the end, that, as their power and eminence did encreaſe above others below, ſo their gratitude upwards ſhould encreaſe alſo. For as every workman is himſelf expreſſed in his work, and hath his goodneſs, power, and skil made apparent by the general perfection of all he doth, ſo is he yet more eminently herein repreſented, when of the ſame lumpe or kind again, he ſhall cauſe veſſels of different honor and perfection to ariſe.

In order to this, as we finde that thoſe large abilities which men in general have above other creatures do chalenge and eſtabliſh their right of dominion over them, ſo, ſince one man hath as great (almoſt) above another, it is ſuppoſeable thereby to chalenge alſo proportionable ſuperiority amongſt themſelves. Nor fares it ſo with man alone, but it is generally obſervable; that as the Species of creatures have more of perfection one then another, ſo have they alſo more variety of degrees in the individuals thereof, one above another.

In inanimates, that have not wil, their different vertues are without claim or uſe in the exerciſe of power and dominion: yet (comparatively) we may ſee one Loadſtone of greater efficacy then another: ſo as to draw from him, upon even tearms, the ſame maſs of Iron. Look amongſt plants; their different perfections in the ſame kinds are to all apparant; and how alſo one tree or fruit, that is perfecteſt in the ſame kind or plant, over powereth that which is leſs. In ſuch ſort, as when we are to ſet forth Gods power and bounty in the vertues and endowments of ſtones or plants of any kind, it is our cuſtome, and duety, to inſtance it in ſuch as are the moſt rare and perfect particulars of the ſame kind, which may by their worth eminently include the whole.

Beaſts have their degrees of prudence and courage, whereby they come to reſemble men, and be differenced above others of the ſame kind, recompenſed with the dominion over one another alſo.

Look above our ſelves, and although our happineſs cannot yet extend to know

know any thing of the true nature of Angels, yet, ſuppoſing them in that one known relation *of miniſtring ſpirits*, their different degrees and orders in this office of miniſtration, muſt aſſure to us their different gifts and abilities in performance thereof.

And here again we are more particularly to conſider what was before ſpoken; namely, that as creatures are in their kinds more perfect, ſo are the degrees in the ſame kind more various: that from eminence herein, eminence in power might proportionably ariſe. For as to have made any one Species imperfect in it ſelf could not be imagined from the power of ſuch an Author, ſo alſo, not to have made ſome individuals thereof more perfect then others (whereby (as it were) to confeſs that the Authors power by this certain ſtint was come to its higheſt pitch) could not be expected from omnipotency either: no more then it could from his juſtice or goodneſs, not to Communicate more of his power and particular preſence in things thus made perfect. Not that any the loweſt thing hath hereupon cauſe or reaſon to complain; becauſe each one having a ſtock of bleſſing ſuitable to its capacity, and the ſmaller and greater veſſel being both alike full, they muſt, in that reſpect, be alike pleaſed.

Nor could God but hereby be much advantaged in general acknowledgement, whilſt, in their grateful ſenſe of enjoyment, all things reſt contented with the meaſure of their receits. Thus while each ſuperiour order of Angels (in that celeſtial Hierarchy) looks upon thoſe ſucceſſively below, they muſt acknowledge their encreaſed obligations of praiſe: whilſt the loweſt of all, ſtanding yet ſatisfied with continual benefit (and alſo beholding it ſelf ſo far enabled above other creatures) all that it can do will be thought too little to requite ſo large a gratuity.

If men take alſo the ſame courſe, how ſhall thoſe of higher power have reaſon to acknowledge higher praiſe: and the meaneſt Subject, even for his being man, and for that proportion of Religion, Liberty, Protection, *&c.* which he enjoyes above other creatures, have cauſe alſo to bleſs that inexhauſtible fountain of goodneſs?

Whereas, if men and other creatures had been made for vertue or power equal in the individuals of the ſame kind, then, for want of eminent obligation, and examples of vertue and power in the particulars in each kind, Gods goodneſs and power ſhould not have been ſo remarkably ſet forth as now.

Nay, this very Office of Kingſhip will not be loſt by his ſubjection: for its chief duty being protection, this will be alwayes reſiding more or leſs in his power: ſo far as, by ſuch redreſſes of oppreſſion amongſt men or other creatures as ſhall be the occaſional objects of his pity, he ſhall prove himſelf actually a King herein: and alſo ſo much more reſembling God then he, as he ſhall be more ready and propenſe thereto, rateable to his ſmall degree of power.

And the ſame order may creatures below us go, untill they come to inanimates: on which the loweſt of ſenſitives taking its pleaſure and content, as it is thereby provoked to rejoyce (which is in its kinde to thank and praiſe his Maker) ſo, that inanimate or vegetive again, being not ſenſible of any pain or injury, continues in its kinde ſtill obliged as before. For as power can be no where in perfection but in God himſelf, ſo, to make it ſubſiſtent in other things, as approaching him, it muſt be in making them ſo only in compariſon of one another.

And as the original of power is one, ſo the more it is diffuſed, the more weak and unworthy it is. For if all men ſhould have power over all men (after a Democratick ſuppoſition) as all men have power over all other creatures, or as all Lyons or other Species of creatures have power over other Species below them alſo; how would power come to nothing for want of eminence? for being thus levelled, he that ſhould have moſt power, having but what the meaneſt would have had in the degree of ſubordination, and ſo, he that hath leaſt having ſtill but what he hath above other things (for over his fellows he muſt be ſuppoſed to have none) he of the loweſt rank is not increaſed in his obligation, and all the other orders are decreaſed in theirs.

So that then, if there were not the neceſſity of ſubordination as for peace and government ſake, yet, as to perfection, and approach to Divine reſemblance (by bringing the diffuſed power in perfect creatures to unity and exiſtence) it would be needful to men, as with Angels, that from the loweſt order of all it ſhould be gathered to fewer in the next rank; and ſo on to fewer ſtill; till, after the Divine examplar, it were centred in one. Whereby, as man is the perfection and Epitome of all other creatures, and as *Adam* contained all men, ſo ſhould he, or ſome other, if our fall had not croſſed, have ſtood as the more worthy for receit of Divine favor in himſelf, and diſtribution of it to others; with no ſmall advantage to the whole race, even as now we finde it come to paſs by that fountain of mercy, but in a far higher degree, ſince the dignifying of our nature by that one perſon of our Saviour; and ſo, by him, having acceſs, we come to be capable of thoſe benefits which without him could not be expected.

In which reſpect we may finde him ſo often expreſſing himſelf under the notion of the *Son of man*: even as one who having taken on him the *Semen*, or original element of our kinde, ſhould, to our undoubted comfort, thereby make the whole race capable of dignity and bliſs alſo. And this, not only in reſpect of our future condition, as Jeſus; being that fundamental *Corn of wheat* by whoſe Reſurrection and exaltation the ſeveral Individual graines of mankinde *ſhould be drawn unto him*, but alſo, in reſpect of many temporal advantages ariſing to us here, as Chriſt and King.

John 12.24.32

In order to the receit of which temporal advantages, Chriſt himſelf having in the ſeveral parts of his Church his particular deputed Chriſts (by means of them and their repreſenting of him amongſt us) it comes to paſs, that each particular man is again made capable of the benefit of Divine protection: at leaſt ſo far as concerns ſociety and government, as ſhall be more fully declared in the next book.

And therefore we may obſerve, that when God appears in kindneſs it is to one at once; and that he never makes a general manifeſtation of himſelf but in judgement and terror, as to thoſe ſtubborn Iſraelites; who thereupon ſaid *Let God ſpeak no more to us leaſt we die*: Meaning that they would have ſome worthy and eminent perſon, like *Moſes*, to beare their perſon and repreſent them to Godward. The which people again, although, as they were then Gods peculiar Church and people, and had all other nations bleſſed or puniſhed, as they were to them benigne or averſe, yet was that very love and favor God caſt towards them, both at firſt placed, and afterwards continued, from that more eminent love and favor ſetled in their firſt father and original: In ſuch ſort, that, after their rejection of their

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and our Saviour, *a remnant according to the election of grace*, ſhould come ſtill to be *beloved for the Fathers ſakes*, by that God who out of particular kindneſs had once ſtiled himſelf *the God of Abraham*. And ſo we ſhall again finde favors and bleſſings promiſed them, even *for his ſervant Davids ſake*: the King and repreſenter of that Church and people. From all which it will be evident that ſubordination in power is from God: and for the good of the people it is that one is by his providence thus ſet over them: who ſhould as their Repreſentative *ſtand for them to Godward*. Rom. 11. 28. Exod. 18. 19.

But to come neerer, to ſhew what that power or liberty is which is requiſite or proper in political conſtitutions, we muſt conſider each man as having an appetite and end to follow. But then, inaſmuch as before ſhewed, in the attaining and purſuit of theſe our ends we did often croſs and interfere one upon another, it was neceſſary that Laws and Rules of Government ſhould be ſetled to accommodate our actions to Peace and Agreement. For the ſame Liberty we might before juſtly claim as men, and due to us by Nature, we cannot now expect as Subjects linked in politique Societies: becauſe as I then acted for my ſelf onely, I needed no prohibitions from evil, or invitations to good; but now, common concern makes Liberty ſuſpenſible to common approbation. And becauſe this firſt natural Liberty was by our fall forfeited, and would, (if by our corrupted wills put in full uſe) prove our deſtruction, it was neceſſary the ſame ſhould by his power and Laws (and ſuch as he ſhould therewith intruſt for Society and Government ſake) be ſo far reſtrained, as the mutual good and peace of the whole ſhould be advanced; and not the wanton affected Liberty of any part of the State or Kingdom, in prejudice thereof regarded.

And therefore, the true Liberty of Subjects will appear to be in *the removal of all external impediments which croſs his deſires, without regard of more publike utility*. And the two extreams thereof are firſt Slavery: when this Liberty of the Subject is not regarded at all as to his, but to the Rulers benefit: and then licentiouſneſs, which, without reſpect of peace and Government, or the good of others, reacheth at all things without controul.

We may call it a deſire of freedom from external impediments: external (I ſay) becauſe inwardly I cannot be divided againſt my ſelf. And though the Affections and Reaſon may have temporary diſputes, yet when the Will puts forth to the attaining any object, the impediment that hinders my obtaining it muſt be without my ſelf: and I can lay no complaint or reparation elſewhere. Wherefore this deſire being external, and of a thing in the power and poſſeſſion of another (for if it were in my own I ſhould not deny my ſelf, or had reaſon to complain) it will follow, that this obtaining Liberty in me to acquire, will be the loſs of Liberty in him that is diſpoſſeſſed. For if our deſires are (as indeed uſually they are) moſt heightened and fixed to thoſe things which are moſt rare and ſcarce in their kind, and ſuch as through the common endeavor of others have obtained price and eſtimation, will it not come to paſs that my liberty to get from him what is already in his poſſeſſion or expectation, will prove as great a loſs of freedom to him, as it is gain to me?

So that then, Liberty as it is uſually endeavoured and ſought, is but the acquiſition of power to act or obtain ſomething we have a minde unto, which is now in the poſſeſſion or power of another. If then I, laying claim to my natural liberty, and forſaking the determination of my rightful ſuperior, will proceed

proceed to execution of mine own desires without considering those of others what can follow but confusion? For all men having in Nature equal desires and claim, why should mine prevail in mine own case, so far, as, without leave, to inflict on another what I did before complain of as a grievance towards my self?

For instance, when fault is found with the yoak of Government in Church or State, as oppressing the liberty of Conscience or person of the Subjects wrongfully, and men, in order thereunto, seek to dispossess the present executioners, as abusing their power, and to settle it on themselves or such as they have most interest in, or confidence of (which must necessarily and doth always follow) what is this to the advancement of liberty of Subjects in general, or beyond their own particular party? and is to shift, but not to ease the Yoak. What is this but for parties to take upon them to be Judges: and for one part of the Subjects, renouncing the sentence of judgement and determination that was before held as publike and indifferent to all parties, now to usurp power over their fellows and equals?

If they plead it is not another Government they seek, but say, "There ought to be no restraint in such and such things at all: do they not hereby seek to introduce that liberty of Anarchy, and overthrow all possibility of Peace and Agreement? For since strife and competition can never happen but about such things as are desired by others as well as themseves; if then, in this prosecution of these desires on both sides, the common rule of determination be not observed as indifferent, must not one party fall out to be judge over the other? Whereupon, as that one party may, in the conquest, call themselves free, so may the other, being subjected and overcome, call themselves slaves.

From all which we may gather the usual mistake in application of this notion of Liberty, as proper to the governed; when it is proper to the governor onely. For to say the Liberty of a Subject is none other then a contradiction: for wherein he is a Subject, he is not at liberty; and wherein any is at liberty, he is not a Subject. But because no government can be so extensive, as not to remit some things to the choice of the Subject, he may still justly be called a Subject, even in what he is for the present free: because having been therein restrainable by his superior, his freedom and power to act therein by his own Will proceeded from the freedom and power of the other and is thereupon originally and truely the governors power and freedom, and not the others.

For since, to the stating of government, an explicite act or execution is not always required, but a true stating the Corelates of governing and governed (whereby the Governor may act as he shall see occasion) it will follow that freedom in the Subject or Patient, will in order to polity, depend on the freedom of the Governor and Agent: and that as these are more or less obnoxious, so will the governed be more or less free. For as the brain could not impart sense to its own Membrances and Nerves if it were in its own substance in any sort patible, and affected by impression of objects that way subjected unto it, nor could the eye judge of colors if the Christaline humor stood any ways particularly tainted, even so the freedom of Subjects can be but proportionable to that of the person whom they serve: both in order to the singleness and worth of the Commanders, (considered in themselves) and also in regard of the paucity of precepts from them proceeding. Hence

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as God can be onely perfectly free, as being alone and onely in all kindes and degrees unsubjected, so can his *service be onely perfect freedom.* Not that service and obedience (as such) can be freedom: but the singleness and high worth of the Commander, must make the commanded to be comparatively free to all others, even in the execution of the command it self. And so will the abatement of number in the persons commanding do the like, even until it comes to Unity or Monarchy: so as to make the benefit and good of commanding and commanded, to be reciprocal. For considering the commanded as a voluntary Agent, and so having an end proper to follow (and not to be governed like the meer passive instrument) the known good intention and power of the commander will be always so ready a stop to his reluctance, that the performance of the Governors will shall be the same with his own: as knowing his good to be in all things respected.

As these considerations will make the freedom of such as are Subjects to the Monarch onely, to be greater then the freedom of servants: because the Prince hath none but God to obey, whereas the Master hath the Prince, and Magistrates also: so again, will he be more free then the Subjects in Polarchies: who have so many above them, that they can, by their equality, neither have any eminence of freedom or honor amongst themselves, so as to give it to their subjects, nor can have such true reciprocal concern in their subjects good, as upon the like assurance of their sincerity, to make the obedience to their commands the continual object of their Wills, as the Prince may, for that cause, do. And also because, in obeying him, they do, upon the matter, obey God onely, who hath so commanded: and so arive at a state of perfect freedom: that is to say the highest degree of freedom which humane subjection can admit. For liberty (as before noted) cannot consist in bare freedom to will, for then all would have it alike, but in liberty to act which must imply power: and that the party having it, must, as an Agent and Superior, have others again relating to him, as Patients and Inferiors.

So that, degrees of subjection being necessary, men then onely come to think they have lost their liberty when they forget that necessary and sure token of duty and obedience, to wit humility: and, proudly overlooking their equals or inferiors, would still retain that freedom and power they have over those beneath, and be also freed from those above him. Thus an insulting Peer, or proud Wife, if restrained by their Prince or husband, from taking their full liberty, calls their subjection slavery: and do repine and complain thereof (usually) oftner, then the meaner and inferior Subjects, or Servants.

Therefore, we may say that slavery is thirst of Liberty: and is not proportioned to the measure of Liberty wanting, but to what is desired. And, enjoyment of Liberty being in regard of the Will, he that cheerfully obeys twenty commands is freer then he that stomacks any one. And therefore, contentedness can never truely be tearmed slavery.

But they that seem to speak most against extream servitude, say that it wholly abates the courages of men: so that they become unuseful for defence of their Country. A man might answer, that when all Kingdoms should have due subjection, all being valiant alike, none would be cowards. For valour is not proper to Subjects, as Subjects, or to be exercised without leave by one man against another. And if rebellion and stubbornness can onely make valiant, what if we wanted it?

But

But if it be neceſſary to be uſed againſt ſuch, then it is true that meaner and baſer people are not (on the ſuddain) ſo fit for martial affairs as others. But this happens rather for want of education and diſcourſe, whereby to know and apprehend ſence of honor and ſhame. For (doubtleſs) they have their lives in as little eſteem as the other; and ſhould uſually dare do more, as leſs apprehenſive of danger. And wiſe men (as wiſe) muſt be fearful: and therefore (uſually) is the Commander better armed then the common man. But the mean-bred man is moſt ſubject to run, becauſe not ſo apprehenſive of the ſhame. And, if cowardlineſs follow ſubjection, then the very diſcipline of ſouldiery ſhould amaze men moſt; for that it calls for ſtrict obedience and duty; and under ſuch tearms of rigour and ſeverity, that nothing but neceſſity can make the meaneſt ſubject underrake it.

The truth is, though men of ſervile condition be at firſt unſwayed by honor (the cauſe of valor) and alſo for a while (through ignorance) cauſeleſly ſcared, as apprehending hatrails above their true danger, yet experience every day tells us that of theſe are made good, if not the beſt, ſouldiers; at leaſt for foot: for as ſenſe of honor and encouragement encreaſe with them, ſo will valor alſo. Again, they coming from an inferior rank and ſtate of former obedience, are more hardned againſt affliction then the other: and are beyond them alſo in diſcipline and obedience, the main ſupporters of an Army. And, however an Army of volunriers may, through ſuddain heat, avail in ſome preſent enterpriſe, yet an Army can never continue and long ſubſiſt of ſuch kinde of ſouldiers onely.

But let us ſuppoſe valour to follow degrees of honor, and that the Yeoman hath more then the Peaſant, the Gentleman more then the Yeoman, the Knight, the Lord, the Earl, Marqueſs, Duke, each above other; what way ſhall be now taken to encreaſe the proweſs and ſtrength of a Nation? ſhall we enlarge the number of Nobility or Gentry, by taking in and enfranchiſing thoſe below them, to encreaſe ſouldiery? how ſhall they then be free, when they come by this means to be the meaneſt and moſt ſervile themſelvs? Shall we place between the Gentry and Peaſantry, a middle degree of Yeomandry, to make the body of an Army of; and ſo refuſe the Peaſant? Each Country hath its own rules herein. But it is generally to be known, that places of command have voluntaries enow: but Souldiers, as to the Bulk of them, are firſt made from neceſſitous perſons, and then perfected by Diſcipline.

But to come to an iſſue, Freedom and Rebellion, Tyranny and Slavery, are tearms of relation; and are the one, or the other, as they exceed their due limits. The Maſter of the Family, that exceeds in his power beyond the law of God, Nature, and his Prince, is a Tyrant, and his ſervants ſlaves: and ſo is the Prince that rules beyond the Law of God and Nature. And the Prince, or Maſter, that is ſtraightned from rules or Power below them, are Slaves alſo. And again, as the Servants or Subjects that reſiſt againſt ſuch as are lawfully above them are Rebels; ſo, when their ſubmiſſion is no farther, they are free: be their ſervice as ſervile as it will. For the tearms of ſlavery and tyranny expreſs moſt uſually the parties hatred or anger againſt ſuch or ſuch perſons or authorities: and not the truths of the things themſelves.

But, if things be rightly underſtood and conſidered, ſociable Freedome, or the true liberty of Subjects cannot be ſeparated from ſubjection and obedience. In which condition he is more or leſs Free, as his Prince or Commander

mander is more or leſs powerfull. And this, becauſe all Laws of reſtraint having in their intention and aim the hinderance of the actings of ſome few Subjects that would elſe likely break forth to the prejudice of the liberty and free enjoyment of others, it will follow, that as Laws are more or leſs enforced and kept up, and as Princes are more or leſs obeyed, their Subjects will generally be more or leſs free: that is, unreſtrained in their enjoyments. As for example, if the Laws againſt Murther and Theft, (with all their ſubordinate attendants to the diſturbance of Subjects ſafeties or properties) be more or leſs particularly and ſeverely made and executed, ſo will their liberties living under them, be truely more or leſs ſtated alſo: being thereby rid of the Tyranny of one another, which is ever moſt, where the perſons are more.

So that their miſtake is now evident, that are ſo ready to teach Subjects to cal out for poſſeſſion of that, which, as they are Subjects, is no ways proper unto them: inaſmuch as liberty ſuppoſeth power, and not ſubjection. For as none can govern another wherein himſelf is not free, ſo, to ſuppoſe any one free, is to ſuppoſe him a Governor: for ſo potentially he is: wanting onely a relative object of ſubjection to bring this power into act. At which time he that ſtood before as a free man (ſeparately conſidered), is now a Governor, in relation to this his object of ſubjection. And the ſervant or ſubject can be no otherwiſe free, then as left ſo by their ſuperior: even as the Prince is no otherwiſe free, then as left ſo by God. For as power to act, whether naturally, or civily, came from him, ſo are we by ſuch ſuperiors reſtrainable as by juſt derivation of power from him are to this end ſet over us. In which caſe (as before noted) our obedience is truely our liberty: as being but ſubject to God, and in purſuance of our own good, the object and end of liberty. And ſo we ſhall, whilſt complying with the end of the Prince (the good of his ſubjects) purſue therein our own good alſo.

In which conſideration, it will fare with the Prince, in thoſe reſtraints he lays on his ſubjects for their good (by maintenance of publike Peace and Society) as it doth with Parents in thoſe tasks and reſtraints they impoſe on their children, for their better education and benefit hereafter: to wit, that, as children, if left at liberty to be continually ſpending their time in play and ſports, according to their preſent deſires, would inconſiderately make their liberty their ruine, even ſo, ſubjects alſo, if the Prince, in a fatherly care toward them, ſhould not reſtrain them of ſuch liberty to act on one another as might engage them in civil broils, his indulgence would be their deſtruction. And as all men do confeſs, that ſuch Parents as do uſe thoſe reſtraints do beſt perform their offices towards their children, even ſo muſt it be acknowledged of Princes: however it may, and doth uſually fall out, that, as ſuch Parents are by the children themſelves eſteemed unnatural and ſevere, even ſo, ſuch Princes, by heady and licencious Subjects, are many times reckoned as Tyrants: of which we ſhall next diſcourſe.

CHAP. V.

Of Tyranny.

IN great alterations, especially of Government, we are not to expect that the Authors should give other then fair titles to what they themselves do, and as bad to the contrary. Thus the *Athenians*, after *Codrus*, would have no more Kings, because he was so good: and the Romans, imitating them in fondness of liberty, would after *Tarquin* have no more neither, because he was so bad. But the truth is, they were both of them people of impetuous spirits, as their neighbours, as well as their Kings might witness.

But, from the Greeks we have the name of Tyrant, importing primarily a Lord or absolute Commander, and of no farther ill. For they were wont to give this name, even to lawful Kings, if they thought them more Lordly and absolute in their Government then they approved of: but generally to all Kings after their rejection amongst themselves: the more to disgrace that form themselves had cast off.

After whom, by way of imitation, the Romans hated the names of King and Dictator both, upon *Tarquinius* and *Sillas* expulsions. For the ambitious heads in both places so exasperated things in the peoples memories, that, through personal failings, the very Offices and their Titles came to be held odious, as importing oppression and cruelty. But as (hereupon) their dislike of that kinde of Government made them so hasty to fasten this Title to all Princes, so that very use of commonness took away at last from the opprobriousness of the Title: insomuch as, coming in the end to signifie (as at first) but an absolute and severe Prince, or else one that through force or polity had gotten the Soveraignty, it came to pass that thereupon, the Princes themselves to whom it was given, answered thereto, as not reckoning it derogatory. For so *Plato* directs his Epistle, *To Dionysius the Tyrant*: and he answers, *Dionisius the Tyrant to Plato health*. And by this name were *Pittacus* and *Periander*, both Sages of *Greece* called. But process of time hath made that word to be now constantly taken in a much worse sense: as it doth another word also from them received, namely *Barbarian*. Which name, by them formerly given to all not of their own Nation, and then, by reason of their greater learning and civility having more esteem then their neighbors, in time it came also to signifie, not onely such as were not *Greeks*, but such as were rude and uncivilized also: be they of what Nation they would. Even as the Jew, calling all Gentile but his own Nation, and other Nations being at that time idolaters, Gentile and Idolater came to signify the same thing.

But to return to our enquiry; If the name of Tyrant be due to such as enter without the expres election or consent of the major part of the universal people, then was there never any but Tyrants: for no such election ever was had, or could be. If to such as come by the ordinary way of Providence, namely by power of the sword, what shall we think of the *Cesars*, with many other famous Emperors of *Rome:* and of *Philip*, *Alexander*, and others over Greece,

and other nations; that by conqueſt and force of the ſouldiers were holpen to their ſoveraignties; and ſo the major part of the people not freely conſenting: and yet have been in Hiſtories famous without ſuch imputation?

They that ſay conqueſt may give title indeed, but that it is conſent onely that gives right: If by conſent they mean the major part of the whole multitude freely and expreſly voting, they will (as formerly ſaid) never finde any ſo elected: but if by conſent they mean non-oppoſition of his power and command, and ſo think that poſſeſſion (as right of preſcription in other things) ſhould give him herein right alſo, they muſt then finde out ſome reaſon to ſhew, why, ſince the force by which he entred is the ſame with that by which he rules, the facts he did in his entrance ſhould be more unlawful then thoſe he doth afterwards: and the ſubject (if other circumſtances alter it not) not bound to obedience as well then as now. For fear prevails at both times; and it may be in the laſt time more; as having all the Militia in his power. Unleſs we ſhall think that the Prince, in complyance to this opinion ſhall, in complemental imprudence, reſign all his Majeſty and power; and, laying aſide all that God and his own proweſs had already beſtowed, put himſelf (as a man of no greater right then others) to the ſuffrages of thoſe his Subjects whom he hath hitherto ſo much offended by forceable intruſion and Government, whether he ſhall continue their King or no.

But it may be by ſome replyed, that "If he continue his abſoluteneſs, the "people (as exaſperated) may endanger him by ſome violent attempt. True indeed; but then this is moſt probable to grow from his remiſneſs: for, againſt him they fear leaſt (as moſt unlike to puniſh them) and againſt the mildeſt Princes people rebel moſt. And therefore, for farther ſecurity, Princes uſe to impoſe Oaths of Alleageance on ſuch they fear: that where his own terror cannot prevail, Gods may.

But, to come neerer the preſent buſineſs; he that by any means makes himſelf a Soveraign againſt the right of another is an uſurper: and if he, or a lawful Prince, ſhall, through flattery, covetouſneſs, or revenge, have reſpect onely to himſelf or ſome of his own favorites, without equal juſtice to all, according to the Laws of God, Nature, and his Conſcience, he is ſo far a Tyrant as he ſhall then preſs it forcibly to the overthrow of anothers Liberty or Property. For, in ſo doing, he ceaſeth to act in the capacity of a publike perſon: and, taking on him the affections incident to a private man, he doth thereupon become tyrannical and unjuſt.

Nay more, if he, for favor or fear of the ſeeming whole people or any party thereof, ſhall, againſt known Equity or his Conſcience, put to death any one of his Subjects, upon no other conſideration but in complyance to them, or ſhall not protect him to the hazard of his life or eſtate, in caſe of oppreſſion, he is a murtherer to boot: upon the ſame ground that *Pilate* was; who by waſhing of his hands, could not cleer his fault of deſerting the innocent. And of this kinde of Tyranny, ſoft and weak Princes can hardly be free. For they are ever over-ruled by ſeperate orders or perſons of their Subjects: who muſt, in their proſecutions, have partial deſigns. For theſe Princes, being, by their unactive ſpirits, kept from knowledge of the true ſtate and dangers of things, the threats and power of ſuch as they are moſt obnoxious unto prevail with them to believe their private ends, dangers, and wrongs to be his: and thereupon, is his Authority made to become tyrannical; by execution of theſe mens intereſt and revenge upon their fellow Subjects.

But they that are so ready to accuse and cry out against the severe Governments of Princes as tyrannies (because by degrees themselves would be lawless) may consider that Princes can never tyrannize, that is, seek to destroy or severely punish their subjects, as subjects, but as under the notion of their rebels, and such that will not be subjects, he always doth, and may punish. They are to consider, that tyranny can never proceed from a Prince of the same Religion to any height, where stubbornness did not precede as a cause: and which humility might not extinguish, or abate. For as it is not tyranny when a Prince, subjecting a forraign people that war with him, punisheth them, or useth them with severity, no more is it when done against such of his own people as disobey or resist. For they, in that case, taking the event upon their own hazard, have their punishment as enemies, and not as subjects: which may be cruelty, but cannot be Tyranny. For that must onely be the unjust and excessive infliction of a power submitted unto, and not from the degrees of triumph or possession made by a victor.

And those reports of such as *Nero* "To wish all *Rome* one neck, that it "might be cut off at a blow, do become his murtherers to tell, more then us to believe. For I cannot see how a rational man (which none denied him to be) should, at the same time he aims at Empire and Dominion, wish or plot the lessening of it. And, from hence, most evident it is, that Tyranny is (as before noted) but the usual term of political railing, used by such as aim at total insubjection: for otherwise, they would have better agreed in stating of Tyranny, and its marks and degrees, so as Princes might have known and avoided it.

If usually Government it self (at least such wherein themselves were not chief) were not the intended extream they meant to abolish under the odium of Tyranny, I would fain know why we have not found out as odious a name to express the other extream by, that is, the excess of Princes rewards and favors, as well as that of Tyranny to express their punishments? Being onely, because that no man is afraid of being too much rewarded, but rather would have that extream pass as a vertue, that it may always be run into by Princes. And upon this reason again, in the severe carriage of the Master of the Family, we use no such expression of Tyranny, because it might come about to our selves: and yet is the Father and Husband, more subject to contract irreconcileable displeasure against Wife and Children, then the Prince against his subjects. For he may suspect his Wifes honesty, and his childrens extraction; which by no action, complyance, or submission of theirs can be avoided. But the Subject cannot but be beloved in that relation of a Subject: and always in his power it is, to make himself known to be such an one.

And if severity in punishment must make Princes to be Tyrants, who can judge of that, or its excess, or just measure, but he must thereupon be above the Prince? And will not all Government be more or less Tyranny, because there is always more or less severity? If Tyranny be when the Laws of God and Nature are transgressed (as is sometimes defined) we are still to seek how to be bettered by this information; for who shall judge of that above the Prince also, so far as to condemn him of the breach of any positive Law of God, since he is, as chief Magistrate under God, to have their custody and interpretation, or of any injustice in Government, which, as his trust, can be tryed onely by his Conscience? But this definition will inform us that Tyranny is so far from

proceeding from power, that it is alwayes in the want thereof. For Princes are accompted Tyrants as they ſtand Subjects, that is, to the laws of God or Nature. Whence we may infer, *That Tyranny is the act of Oppreſsion forceably committed by one Subject upon another.*

For ſo was the taking *Naboths* Vineyard tyranny: not ſolely becauſe *Ahab* had private reſpect therein, but becauſe he proceeded according to ſentence of authority derived from himſelf, in a particular wherein God had not referred any juriſdiction unto him, but wherein they ſtood both equally ſubject. For that God having, by expreſs command from himſelf, (during the time that ſtate was in a Theocracy) forbidden the alienation of inheritances, and the People being yet bound ſeverally to look to the externall obedience of theſe Laws as they were ſet down by *Moſes*, *Naboth* might well make that anſwer he did, *God forbid I ſhould give the Inheritance of my Fathers unto thee.* Importing, that becauſe God had expreſly forbid ſome, (to whom I am in the firſt place to be ſubject) therefore I cannot alienate or give it unto thee. And that this reply was more grounded on fear of diſpleaſing God, then ſenſe of injury to himſelf, may be alſo concluded by the reaſonableneſs of *Ahabs* offer unto him; namely, of Money or exchange above the worth. But becauſe, in the Jewiſh State, (although Kings were eminently entruſted,) the literall obſervation of the Law was ſtill univerſally obliging, and to be obeyed by each one in particular, in order to the outward way of regiment God then exerciſed: therefore could not any King therein, by his command, free them from guilt in ſuch externall performances as their conſcience told them were againſt Divine precept. Therefore, in theſe caſes, the Jewiſh ſubject had his only way to avoid rebellion on one hand or other, by being ſubject to both: namely, by being actively ſubject to all Gods commands, and paſſively to ſuch as the Prince commanded contrary: as formerly noted. 1 Kings 21. 3.

But although the uſual acceptation of the tearm of Tyranny is in acts of high ſeverity, yet, for mine own part, I believe whilſt the Prince, in his Government or puniſhments, is guided with publike conſideration, he can never deſerve the name of Tyrant. For even that indiſcretion which ſuddain paſſion may cauſe him in any thing to commit, muſt (at leaſt) be excuſed by the goodneſs of his intention. But then, Princes hearts being inſcrutable, who ſhall judge his intentions? Not Subjects certainly. For, beſides that it is againſt their duty, it is unreaſonable, as being parties. And, although an other ſubject (then the preſent ſufferer) do judge, yet is he a party by conſequent too: becauſe he will preſently be applying it, "The caſe may be "mine own. And this ſelf-conſideration works with all Subjects in general to cry out upon all ſtrictneſs in Government, as Tyranny. But however, all men muſt confeſs that the puniſhed cannot judge over the puniſher; that is, of the meaſure of the execution of his lawful Office.

And as for the name of Tyrant, me thinks Chriſtians ſhould rather imitate that modeſty uſed by the Penmen of Gods Word, in not uſing it all, amids the Stories of ſo many that deſerved it, then now to impute to Chriſtian Kings, ſo commonly, the Heathen phraſes of ſuch as never knew the precept, *Thou ſhalt not revile the Gods, nor curſe the Ruler of thy people.* And that (eſpecially) becauſe it is ſo hard a thing to ſay what actions are tyrannicall, and how many of them muſt amount to make that name juſtifiable to any perſon: for one cannot doe it, no more then the doing one juſt deed can make any be called a juſt man. Exod. 22. 28.

CHAP,

CHAP. VI.

Of Slavery.

AMongſt other devices men have for the decrying the reputations of ſuch as oppoſe them in their ambitious deſigns, the chief is to render them odious by faſtening to them the name, and therewith the guilt and ſcorn of that extream unto which they ſeem more neer then themſelves: not regarding herein whether it be a truth or no. So, (for example amongſt other things) they that would make their intended innovations pleaſe and take with the people (who are ever liſtening to all offers of liberty) were wont to call all government differing from their own Tyranny, and all people ſo governed Slaves.

The word (as report goeth) cometh unto us from that extream drudgery & ſervile uſage which the *Venetians* put the *Slavi* or *Slavenii* unto, after they had ſubdued them: and from thence, all baſe and Arbitrary ſervitude comes to be called Slavery. But antiquity, and the beſt Commonwealths and men in them, have, by uſe, made this ſubjection lawful: and the word Family takes its name from *Famulus*, as having ſlaves the greateſt part of its compoſure. *Strict ſlavery we may call a degree of ſervitude, wherein the Life, Liberty, and Property of a man, hath no aſſurance or redreſs beyond the will of the Lord:* for he is owned by him in ſo high a degree of propriety, that the Commonwealth with her Laws, ſeems not to regard or protect him as a member. Whereas the Citizen, or him we call a free Subject, claims a right or aſſurance in all theſe, by the common Rule or Law of his Country: and hath power of appeal in caſe of injuſtice.

But then again, theſe Citizens ſtand in all things as lyable to the diſpoſe of the Law, and him or thoſe that have the Soveraigne interpretation and execution thereof, as the other doth to the diſpoſe of his private Lord: ſo that, when it ſhall be hereby interpreted that the Life, Liberty, or Property of any one is forfeited, there is no remedy, more then to the Slave. Nay, the Lord, in reſpect of his more aſſurance of his Slaves obedience, can never look on him as an enemy: and in regard (again) of his more particular benefit by the life and health of his ſlave, he ſeems likely to take more care hereof, then the publike Lord or Soveraign; who, in regard of his more common and more multiplyed relations, holds (it is likely) each particular not of ſo great loſs and concern. And therefore (comparing their numbers) more Subjects then Slaves have violent deaths: not onely as ſouldiers and luxurious, but as criminals. Foraſmuch as ſlavery, wanting hope of farther Property or Liberty then ſhall ſtand with his Lords liking, wants alſo the two uſual ſpurs to rebellion againſt his Lord, as the other hath againſt his Prince. And the veriеſt ſlave cannot be ſo wholly deprived of his Will and things delightful, but ſometimes to have them: in which caſe, abſence may, like abſtinence in diet, make his reliſh more delightful: whereas the Subjects poſſeſſions, uſually cauſing coveтouſneſs of more, makes him undelightful with what he hath. And then, ſince in all ſtrong and eager covetings, what is paſt is forgotten, and the anxious care

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for enjoyment of what is sought, growing to be more to him that seeks more then to him that seeks less, the slave that, for reward of some past labour, hath a tester given him to drink or buy what he likes, is (no doubt) better rewarded and comforted, then where gain is onely for propriety sake: and to the owner accrews nothing, *but the beholding it with his eys.*

And the true use of Property the slave cannot want: that is, meat and drink, and things necessary. Nor is he equally afraid to lose them with the Citizen. For, whilst his Lord hath it, he must, for his own sake, help him too: but if his Lord be attainted, or suddainly or wholly despoiled, he is free, and may go to another: but the Citizen failing, ruines himself, and usually his Family. But then, it may be said the subjects Trade, by which he lives, consists not of so base Offices as the slaves doth. And yet, there is nothing done by slaves, how base soever, but is done by free-men (as they call them) where they are not: and since these can be hired with money, I see not but Obedience and Duty should make the deed as commendable.

And then, as the Subject may appeal from any injuring him to the Prince, so may the slave from any of the Family to his Lord: and as he is then remedilesse, so is the other. And the slave hath this advantage, that his duty is more easily managed then the other; as it is easier to follow plain verbal directions, then intricate Laws: especially when another must interpret them.

To conclude, as the onely difference between the Lord of a Family and the Lordly Monarch is not in power to command, but in multitude of the commanded; so it will happen, that through impossibility of personal inspection, the Subject avoids the continual eye of his Prince, and thereby he is like one that hath his copy set, that may manage his duty more as he pleaseth: yet the slave, that hath, by continual reproof and direction his hand guided, is more sure to do his work better, and so avoid blame likelier then the other: in whom, liberty may cause pride, and pride contempt, and contempt punishment.

And therefore, we are not to wonder that many have voluntarily gone into slavery: and that some, after experience, and being now free, have (by suffering *their ears to be bored*) chosen it for perpetuity. For certain it is, that the condition of the one is more feeded then the other: and that very degree of liberty the subject hath above him resolves to this, that the slave must do his duty presently, where the other may fail, and be punished. May, in present possession the slave seems more happy; because more contented. For since some liberty must sometimes come to the slave, who expects little, and some restraint (incident to all Government) must come to the Subject, who is still gaping after more freedom; the one must be more content in the little he enjoys, then the other in that great measure he vainly expects.

But having spoken all this to take down the prejudice of such as (not knowing what slavery is) are ready to fasten it on all such as have not (as they believe) equal freedom to themselves; we shall therefore now, determine a slave to be him That is in all things at the arbitrary dispose of a Subject, and so out of common protection. For if any be enthralled to the Prince, I see not but that, as his appeal and protection is equal, his condition of freedom should be so also. As in Families, the life of Wife and Children have sometimes been at the same persons dispose, to wit, to the

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head of the Family, as well as the slave. And therefore as we see there is difference in the Soveraignty of Princes, one in the comparison of another, so is there in degrees of servitude, of one Princes subjects from anothers, and of the same subjects amongst themselves. And if all be slaves where absolute rule is, then are the subjects in Aristocracies and Democracies all slaves: with this aggravation, that, in regard of their many Lords, it is hard to escape either task or punishment.

But I look on slavery as having its foundation in Reason: where the stronger and Conquerer, having power to kill, saves for his own farther service: hereby obliging the other, by way of gratitude, to obedience. But (in after policies especially) it was scarce practised on fellow subjects or natives; but usually on such as were spared in wars: and so *David* and *Solomon* served many they took. Whither this kinde of servitude may be fit to be continued for to save some sorts of condemned mens lives, and make them profitable to the Commonwealth, we will not now dispute: onely, we wish the fault of giving this title where it is not due were left off. For if it must follow Arbitrary Government, then (as before said) all Republikes have it: unless you will esteem it an ease, that some of the people may rule by turns: by which means, as by a kinde of revenge, their discontent will abate.

And the truth is, in Aristocracies and Democracies (such as those of *Greece Carthage*, *Rome*, &c.) slavery is most usual, and most severely exacted. For there, as each one comes to esteem himself a King, having none above him, and yet comes to have so little share of Soveraignty, having it divided amongst so many, it will come more severely to be managed over few, for power is an active quality. But Kings, that have many at their command, cannot be so severe, nor the burthen of one so heavy that is born by many shoulders, as where the same is by fewer persons more distinctly born. Again, subjects in Monarchies are by Laws of superiors in their household authorities stinted, and seldom is any vassalage great in degree, but where an appeal lies not in case of misusage. For in Republikes, where a Faction and number of persons by conspiracy and agreement come to rule over others, each one hath his interest in the case: and the servant must look to be more a slave then elsewhere. For as slavery is the lowest degree of servitude, so is it incident to the lowest degree of Commanders: and the subject in a Republike differs in freedom from the Subject of a Monarch, as a King doth in power or honor from that of a Burgomaster. Therefore, if I had onely respected recrimination, and not truth, I needed not to have made any Apology for slavery: but have turned it, with its odium, upon its true Authors, the Polarchs themselves. But that which these people would have be considered and meant by slavery, is not that servitude they impose themselves on their Subjects, but what is by Princes imposed on theirs: that so, under the noise of slavery, they might cause all Monarchs subjects to become indeed slaves to themselves.

But, farther to answer them that will make arbitrary power such an odious thing, and yet grant it to so many, that will make Government depend on Faction and consent, and yet use force therein themselves; let us a little examine their Justice by these Rules. Suppose those that call themselves the people be (as in *Athens* and *Rome* have been enrolled) usually not the tenth part so many, as the number of Tradesmen, Artificers, freed men, and slaves come too within their own City, besides other Cities and people they ruled over (which it may be in all made more then a hundred to one) how come

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these fewer number to rule over the other, and to make Laws to binde them thus arbitrarily without their consents? where are the Pactions they can shew to warrant their so doing? what, are these the whole people, and yet not the tenth part of them? how comes this name of people to be appropriate to so few, and to impart Soveraignty? Did the major part of subjects grant it? No sure. Do they claim Dominion over their slaves as taken in war? Then they make right of Conquest lawful Dominion. And when they appoint their measure of servitude, and time for continuance, is not this arbitrary? What are these many, and variable Laws for shutting out, and taking into freedom, and the several degrees thereof but Arbitrary Government? How comes mankinde into this thraldom of one another? Nay how comes it that whole Nations are to be subject to this arbitrary disposal of the prevailing people of another City? Was it their fault their Prince fought against them? It may be they were not in the battail: if they were, what must they be punished for being overcome? If fight, or not fight, or well, or ill fighting be the same, is not their enslaving arbitrary?

And hereupon, we shall finde that Republikes are ever most greedy of Empire, and do make greatest use of conquest for the subjection of the liberties of Nations and other Cities: they having so many to share in the spoils. And if we shall agree to their usual definition of freedom, calling him onely a Citizen and free that hath a share and voice in the Government, then all under their obeysance must be reckoned slaves, as indeed they are: the exclusion of Tradesmen, in some Commonweals, the different admission of freed men, and different yeers of emancipation and admission of children to be Citizens, shews all their rule to be arbitrary, and not depending on their pretended Paction or consent.

Nor is the little finger of these Polarchies heavier then the loyns of Kings in point of Liberty onely, but in Property also: the publike Levies and Taxes being always rateably more in them, then in Monarchies that are of like extent for Territorie or number of Subjects. The which must so come to pass, because they can never subsist without Armies: both to force their own vassals to obedience, and also to keep the major part of the whole commonalty and people from having power and opportunity to set up some more eminent person in trust and charge with the Commonwealth in their stead.

And, to conclude, as we defined the *Liberty of a Subject to be when he shall be suffered to enjoy his own delight and good so far as publike utility is not crossed, so slavery is hereof to be deprived without the same regard:* but in neither case, is the reason and measure left to the parties own judgement, but to that which is publike and common.

CHAP. VII.

Of Property.

WE have formerly diſcourſed how pleaſure is the end of all ſenſitives, and that, as man had the moſt variety of perfection herein, ſo ſtood his obligation of gratitude and praiſe higher then of other creatures. And this is not only remarkable, in that every thing one way or other is made delightful, but then farther, becauſe the ſtock of nature (in many kinds) is not of it ſelf ſufficient, and becauſe again, the covetous appetites of others will not many times let things extend to general ſatisfaction, therefore, to preſerve our contents, and thereby invite us to thankfulneſs, we may obſerve that each one hath his pleaſure and delight affixed to what he poſſeſſeth: even ſo, that, be it of what kind it will, the poſſeſſions of others, in the ſame, or other kinde, paſſeth with leſs repining. For as the food we eat, be it never ſo unlike the body it ſelf, or never ſo differing from other ſorts, doth yet, by long retention and the divers concoctions and paſſages of the body, attain at laſt to a perfect degree of aſſimulation, even ſo our ſence, through daily preſence of our own particular enjoyments, doth at laſt imprint them unto the fancy with ſuch ſteady delight, that they come to be valued in a kinde of Identity, or ſecond ſelf.

Anſwerable hereunto, both in end and effect, is that property of properties, or that property that uſually provokes us to ſeek all others, namely that great love of parents towards their children: which, as a thing of greateſt uſe for preſervation of mankinde, and eſteemed of great concern to parents, comes to ſtick ſo cloſe to our affections out of no other conſideration. Inſomuch as, in all creatures, this affection prevailes as acquired to its particular object, and not out of any innate ſympathy in nature. And therefore another yongling, of the ſame or divers kind, if the dam be ignorant of the change, obtains as great love as the true would do: So that Hens (we ſee) and other fowl will hatch and bring up fowl of other and different ſorts to their own: and all, becauſe in eggs they were not eaſily diſtinguiſhable: whereas, after they have taken full notice of their own, a remarkable ſtranger ſhall not be admitted. So, in other beaſts, before their ſenſe have had time to take notice of the ſhape or ſmell of their brood, part of, or all their litter may be changed: eſpecially for others of the ſame kind, where there is no diſparity of ſize, or yeers. As for men, mark ſuch as have their wives in ſuſpition; how they will pick and chooſe among their children, not as any other affection, but as conceit of propriety ſhall lead them. And again, ſuch as have juſt cauſe to ſuſpect, but yet are not at all jealous (under this conceit of propriety) either love all alike, or diſtinguiſh not by any revealing ſympathy. Nay, what mother, at the ſame time of her delivery, might not be cozened with a change; as alſo, while children are at nurſe? Their beſt ſecurity being, that this affectionate eſteem of propriety makes the pooreſt parent of all even loth to yeild thereunto.

And although our particular goods and eſtates, as being reckoned not of

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ſo great concern, nor being ſo long or often in our ſight, comes to have a leſs regard: Yet an eſpecial indulgence we may obſerve caſt towards them: in ſuch ſort, that the true fountain from whom they flow comes many times to be forgotten. For ſo full of pride and vain-glory are all ſorts of men by nature, and ſo heavy a burthen doth the due return of received benefits ſeem to our ungrateful diſpoſitions, that rather then any diminution of content (through the acknowledgement of ſuch receit) ſhall lye upon us, we are ready by all inventions we can make, to ſhift off the plain confeſſion of any dependance whatſoever. And becauſe *It is a more bleſſed thing to give then to receive*, we would in nothing, or at leaſt in due meaſure, acknowledge our ſelves receivers. Act. 20. 35.

The prevailence of this humor appears in all thoſe goods and [illegible] which by the bounty of God, the earth and other elements and creat[illegible] ſo plentifully afford us: For, how ready are we herein to finde out a w[illegible] relinquiſh and forget our common dependance and obligation, and to impa[illegible] and impropriate to our ſelves ſet portions of them, anſwerable to our deſires? From which, as from a ſtock now our own, our wants being ſupplied, our acknowledgement and gratitude comes many times to be forgotten. And this is not onely practiſed by mankind in general againſt the common right of other creatures (as accounting himſelf ſole Maſter and Proprietor of natures common revenue) but alſo by Kingdoms, Societies, and particular perſons, to the detriment of one another.

To meet with this inconvenience, many things are by our All-ſeeing God in his law enjoyned; in acknowledgement of his original and Paramount propriety: for ſo comes a ſeventh of our time, a tenth of our ſubſtance, the firſt of our fruits, liquors, cattel, nay of our own ſons to be his: to keep us in remembrance that we have not in our ſelves any unconditionate propriety, not ſo much as over our own perſons. And, to ſhew that theſe things are of common intereſt (as between men, ſo) between men and beaſts, every ſeventh yeer the land is to reſt and lye ſtill: *That the poor may eat, and what they leave the beaſts of the field may eat.* And this conſideration is expreſly ſet to the letting the land lye fallow in the yeer of Jubilee; namely that *the land is Gods*: and ſo, they being but Stewards or Tennants, no humane right of preſcription can prevail againſt his original right. And, in a word, to keep his right and our gratitude in continual memory, were all thoſe ſacrifices and other feaſts inſtituted: ſerving but as ſo many Indexes and Leſſons, to ſhew *that the earth is the Lords and the fulneſs thereof.* And although we, on whom the dregs of Time are come, are too prone to forget this everlaſting precept *of honouring God with our ſubſtance*, yet, as a continual remembrance of his undoubted propriety, it is our cuſtome and duty (as to pray to him for what we want, ſo) to thank him for all we receive: which thanks, in the receit of our ordinary food, is called grace: as denying all right of our own, and acknowledging all to be his grace and bounty. Exod. 23. 11. Lev. 25. 4, 5, &c Verſe 23. 1 Cor. 10. 26. Prov. 3. 9.

Which being ſo, all Societies and men muſt be looked upon but as Tennant, for ſuch term and condition as the Landlord pleaſeth. So that when this great King, after the manner of going into a far country, ſhall be pleaſed not ſo immediately to operate in worldly affairs and diſpenſations, but truſt the ſeveral talents of his bounty to others, as namely to Kings (from whom he expects account to himſelf onely, as by him onely truſted) we are ſtill to acknowledge Gods propriety in them; and *For this cauſe are to pay*

tribute; for they are Gods Ministers attending continually upon this very
Rom.13:6. *thing*: That is, for to be as Gods unto us, alwel in fastening and assuring our proprieties amongst our selves by his laws (which could not be else distinguished from the common natural claim to one man more then another by any meer humane right) as they are to continue (again) Gods universal claim and propriety, by taking and demanding some part, to keep us in continual memory and acknowledgement of Gods supreme right still, and of this establishment of propriety by loyalty and obedience.

And as for Gods acknowledging his Minister herein for himself, it is well set forth by that speech of *Zelophehads* daughters, pleading that their inheritances should still remaine in propriety to them, because their father had not forfeited them by any rebellion against Gods chief Minister, that is, against *Moses* the then King of Jesurun (or Israel) saying, *Our father died in the wilderness, and was not in the company of them that gathered themselves toge-*
Numb.27.3. *ther against the Lord in the company of Korah: but died in his own sin.* By which, we may plainly perceive that they claim right for continuance of those the proprieties of their family which were by Gods Minister formerly settled, because their family had not made any such forfeiture by Rebellion as to cause them to revert again to the first Proprietor, God, and the Prince.

Which was the reason why, in the case of *Naboths* vineyard (before mentioned) *Jezabel* did advise to have him accused *For blaspheming God and the*
1King.21.10. *King*; that, under colour of these crimes, he might cause that inheritance to return; which could not be otherwise done. And therefore, as Kings are Gods Deputies and Vicegerents to us in representation of his power, so are they to be acknowledged his Deputies amongst us in respect of his undoubted and unquestionable propriety: even by their receit of such proportions back from their subjects, out of those their proprieties by their laws made, as those *Ministers of God attending continually upon this very thing shall see fit*: either for advancement of Gods (the great owners) service, or the good of himself, or others in order thereunto. Which portions, in the New Testament, are usually included under the general names of custome and tribute: because amongst the *Romans*, to whom these taxes and contributions were given, they were the usual appellations for publike leavies.

And this precept of Saint *Paul* for acknowledging the Prince his paramount propriety, under the notion of paying tribute, is answerable to another of our Saviours, including *Cæsars* propriety in all things, under the proper notion of money. For, in deciding that question of the lawfulness of paying tribute, he takes a fure way towards making our proprieties to be *Cæsars*. In that, calling the piece of money *Cæsars*, because it had *Cæsars* image upon it, he concludes him to have the same right to all money as to that peice; for that all money had his image upon it. He doth not say give unto *Cæsar* of your money, but, give him his own, *Or give unto Cæsar the*
Mat.22.21. *things that are Cæsars*: concluding that Gods immediate propriety being for the present entrusted and delegated to these in his stead, we were now to acknowledge them so far, as, by our readiness in yeilding *of tribute to whom*
Rom. 13.7. *tribute, custome to whom custome*, &c. we should thereby, amidst our com-
Ibid. mon duties of giving *to all their dues*, give to God his due also: And, by our readiness in yeilding to his Ministers to this end appointed, testifie our proportion-

portionable readineſs to have done the like to himſelf, in caſe he had demanded it.

And demand it (no doubt) he doth, aſwel from Chriſtians now, as from the Jews formerly: nor hath he loſt his true right, although he be not ſo immediate in his claim. For then, becauſe the law was inſtituted in the time when God himſelf was King (that is, had no ſuch direct Officer under him amongſt the Jews) the acknowledgement of his propriety (as under the notion of tenths and offerings) was claimed in his own name: and God having thereupon diſpoſed of it, takes the wrong done in Tythes and offerings as robberies of himſelf. But although theſe tenths and offerings, as Gods gift to them, inſtituted by that Law which was ſtill to continue, were to remain to the Prieſts and Levites unalterably, without the impeachment of thoſe Kings that ſucceeded (inaſmuch as they had their taxes beſides) yet now amongſt Chriſtians, whom that Law binds not as poſitive, but as natural, thoſe Tythes (where they are collected) are, or ſhould be, paid to Princes in the firſt place, as Gods next Miniſters. And although Princes do, upon juſt grounds, appropriate them to the Clergies maintenance, yet, in acknowledgement of his headſhip and propriety above them alſo, he hath tenths, fifteens, *&c.* reſerved from them again. And this is done to each King under the Goſpel, even as King; that is, as Chriſts Deputy: after the example of *Abraham, Who, on the behalf of the Levites, paid Tythes of all he had.* For as *Melchiſedeck (the King of righteouſneſs and of peace)* was a Type of our Saviour unto whom all kingdoms do belong, ſo do the tenths and tributes, as Gods and Chriſts right, belong to Kings their Deputies now: unto whoſe Office that of High Prieſt is ſubordinately annexed. Whereupon, as Kings are Tenants to God for their whole territories (be they greater or leſs) ſo are the people again Tenants to him; according to their ſeveral allotments and truſts. Upon which ground we may obſerve, that as every Prince hath the whole power and propriety of all within his dominions from God, and he thereupon called King of ſuch or ſuch a Countrey, ſo are all lands held, or to be held, again of the Soveraign after one tenure or other: nor can any alienation (though never ſo independent) exclude his power from making uſe thereof upon publike occaſion: whereby to anſwer his great truſt to God in reſpect of his ſervice, or for general benefit of his people: nor from his own occaſions leading that way alſo. The which was well proved by our Saviours example, who, ſending for another mans Aſs, bad his Diſciples bring him away without other legal ſatisfaction, or anſwer to any for their ſo doing, *Then that the Lord hath need of him.*

Heb. 7.9,10. Verſ. 2.

Luk. 19. 31. 34

Which ſpeech of our Saviours will the more directly prove each Kings indiſputable propriety, if we conſider the time and occaſion whereupon he uſeth it: to wit, that he never uſed it but upon occaſion of expreſſing himſelf in his Kingly right and Office, in his riding in ſtate to Jeruſalem, and there exerciſing kingly power. Plainly declaring that as no private poſſeſſion can diſimpropriate the publike *Lord*, ſo may this grand proprietor redemand the ſame, not only to anſwer the more publike charges of the Commonwealth, but upon occaſion of his own Royal ſupport alſo.

In purſuance of which Original Right and Claim, or *of doing what he will with his own*, as we find God, during the Theocrity, making Laws of reſtraint both for the uſe and bequeſt of mens proprieties, ſo may we obſerve it ſtill to

Deut. 21. 16, 17

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remain of unqueſtionable right to his ſupreme Deputy to do the like by their Laws and Edicts, in the diſpoſal of ſuch part of that kingdoms property which particular ſubjects, by Laws under him, hold in their hands. From whence, we may call property *That ſhare of the Commonwealth which by the Law is held in ſeveralty to the poſſeſſor, free from the diſpoſe of any but the law-maker himſelf.* Which thing, as it is by them done by power from God, becauſe *the earth is the Lords and the fulneſs thereof*, ſo cannot he loſe the hold and claim of general right, but the Subject muſt looſe his right of particular propriety alſo, which is derived from him by vertue thereof.

But, for a plainer example of Gods claiming his propriety, and particularly of power to impoſe tribute in acknowledgment thereof, we may obſerve the ſame fully ſet down in the 31 Chap. of *Numb.* In which, God as their preſent King, impoſing ſuch a leavy and tribute upon the people both of perſons and goods as he ſaw fit, did thereupon become a plain and warrantable preſident for his ſucceeding Deputies to take the like from their ſubjects alſo, even as *his Miniſters attending for this very thing:* that is, to receive Gods due, in acknowledgement of that propriety and protection they (by Gods bleſſing) enjoy under them. In which Chapter, we ſhall finde the tribute owned by God ſix ſeveral times, as *the Lords tribute:* although it were given away to others, even to the Levites, his then immediate Miniſters for receit thereof.

Verſes 28. 37, 38, 39, 40, 41.

And as this maxim, that God and the Prince are proprietors of all things, is in it ſelf moſt true, ſo, if people would rightly conſider it, it is by God upon good ground eſtabliſhed for their benefit: becauſe, as every one is moſt careful of his own, ſo the Prince, looking upon the poſſeſſions of the whole ſubjects and of every one in particular as his, will be more circumſpect to encreaſe and preſerve them, then when they aim to recover or poſſeſs any propriety or power more fully, ſhall ſet him at ſtrife within his own Dominions. For Princes (as ſuch) ſhould have nothing in the diſpoſe of ſubjects exempt from their Power, but Honor. For this he can never have by force, and without their conſents; or the moſt or beſt of them: and therefore he will ſtudy, by Complacency, Juſtice, and meritorious deeds towards them, to be daily acquiring this ſo precious a Jewel. And they will finde, that whilſt he is to make his ſole imployment after the ſearch of this onely, that their common and reſpective benfits will be neceſſarily ſought: whereas, by putting him to ſtruggle for other things which they cannot keep juſtly from him, his care will be neglected, and the miſchief of Civil diſturbance inevitably will follow.

And, when all is done, men are but abuſed by an affectionate conceit of the word: For propriety can never be in that degree they fancy: and if it be not at the diſpoſe of one Prince, it muſt be of more. For ſince Laws are but the will and ſentence of the Lawmakers, and ſince proprieties are alſo but the ſentence of Law, it will follow that proprieties of particulars are but the proprieties of the publike perſon that is in ſoveraignty and power; though not in preſent act, yet ſo, as that ſoveraign may reduce his power to act, as he ſhall ſee fit.

And hence it is, namely to debar Princes from occaſion of ſeeking farther, that ſuch large revenews are allowed in all kinds: that, through their power of interpreting law (the judge of propriety) they need not covet beyond what they have to their own uſe already. For to allow thoſe that have the particular proprieties aright to judge the rule of propriety, is not only partial but to themſelves prejudicial; opening, by that gap to ſoveraignty, an occaſion to perpetual Civil war. For ſince every particular propriety is but parcel

cel of the publike (that is, of the general propriety of that particular kingdom) if that publike have not a perſon of whole & equal intereſt herein, & thereby of whole and equal in the particulars hereof, how can the whole be duly regarded: ſince particular proprietors can have no aim but what is reſpective to themſelves? But let us enquire a little farther into theſe things, & make them plain by inſtance, and conſideration of ſome ſorts of publike good, and of the manner how particular ſubjects come to have their proprieties therein. That ſtock of honor which each kingdom hath, one in reſpect of another, no man doubts but the ſame is at the Prince his diſpoſe onely: that is, who ſhall be more honorable then others: and ſo alſo, for matter of Offices, and of power and command over one another. For if theſe things ſhould not all be appropriated to ſubjects, as from him the general proprietor, how ſhould they proceed with Juſtice, or agree in ſharing them to themſelves? would not each one, to encreaſe his particular propriety, be ſo covetouſly contentious as to deſtroy thereby the ſtock of the whole propriety? But the reaſon why Princes cannot be in the particular propriety of riches ſuch immediate diſpenſors, as in Honors, Offices, &c. but muſt refer them to divers other Magiſtrates to be managed according to his general pleaſure ſignified by Law, is for that land and (the fruit thereof) riches being continually neceſſary for each ſubject in particular to have, the buſineſs of continual allotment thereof would be ſo great, that one perſon could not arbitrarily diſpoſe of it according to the occaſion and proportions of that food, apparel, &c. which ſhould generally, and to each one be neceſſary; and which cannot to any one, at any time be wanting: Whereas Honor, Command, Power, &c. being neceſſary, but to few, doth both afford him ability perſonally to act, and time to conſult in each particular.

So then, wealth, riches, &c. are, from their general uſe and poſſeſſion, to be guided by common rule or law; but honors are ſtill manageable by particular rule, or prerogative law. And indeed, as this neceſſary and general uſe of food, &c. makes that kind or poſſeſſion that is more immediate in acquiring it to be called and take on it the general name of Propriety, ſo is it (in a maner) the whole ſubject of law it ſelf. And therefore, we may ſay the Prince hath no more right to diſimpropriate any one contrary to law, then any man hath to take back from another any thing that by his general appointment was given to him, which is unjuſt, without other circumſtances to authorize it. And therefore it will be conſiderable, whether this gift were abſolute, and without all kind of reſervation or no: or whether the Prince proceed herein according to intereſt and increaſe of his particular propriety, or no? For if private propriety have encroached on that which ſhould have remained as yet publike and common, and that without leave, or if there be any conditionate reſervation of rent, taxes, or of repoſſeſſion at a certain time, or upon ſuch, or ſuch default, or the like; by the ſame general law and rule ſet down, the Prince may with better right (by his Magiſtrates) recover his own, then his ſubjects could diſpoſſeſs him.

And as thus to himſelf and his own uſe, ſo although no reſervation be expreſſed, but where the proprieties ſeem moſt high and abſolute, the Prince (as aforeſaid) may for the publike occaſion make a publike levy as he ſhall think good. For ſince all private proprieties will in themſelves increaſe, and be more, as that publike whereof their parts is more, and doth increaſe, and ſo on the contrary, it will follow (as a thing of great equity) that private pro-

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prietors ſhould contribute to this purpoſe: and that, according to ſuch degree of exigence, as he that is publike proprietor ſhall finde fitting; that is, for the ways for increaſing it by invention of Arts of all ſorts, by foraign invaſion, with Armies, Navies, *&c.* or by maintenance of it, by Religion, publike perſons, buildings, works, foraign traffick, agriculture, or ſuch like, *&c.* To keep it from decay, by the ſame, or like means. For the neceſſity of having theſe things to each ſubject in particular, making it neceſſary that there ſhould be one to judge and take care thereof in general, muſt alſo imply a neceſſity in the means, that is, publike maintenance, aſwel as of the end, which is publike good. But now, although few doubt, that either there ſhould be care or allowance for publike advantage, or to reſiſt publike detriment, there are many do yet actually, and by conſequent, interrupt and deny it: by putting ſuch exceptions and reſtraints on Princes herein, as, whilſt they would diſable him from taking more then is fit, they diſable him from taking what truely is ſo: &(thereby)alſo from doing that good which theyought; as experience too often ſhew us. How Princes ſhould guide themſelvs in their own particular revenues, and collection and managery of publike charges, is a proper diſcourſe for hereafter. In the mean time, I ſhall anſwer in general; that ſince all theſe kinds of truſts, as alſo all others that are in mens managery, will be ſubject to abuſe, therefore if it ſhould happen that the Prince ſhould in theſe things exceed publike regard, the damage and diſhonor is not ſo great to the people to be by him over-reached, as by others of leſs note and concern in the publike. For he, as the publike Miniſter, ought to be by them maintained; and the more his honor, the more theirs: but to be cozened by their fellows, and to have them thereby made rich above them (which in all Republikes muſt come to paſs) will neither gain them thanks nor credit. And again, the more the Prince ſhall gain by frugallity in the managery of thoſe publike imployments and truſts, ſo much leſs need have they to add to his maintenance and Royal ſupport: Which as it is their duty to do as ſubjects, ſo though the ſame ſhould be done in a manner more plentifully then ordinarily, yet could not the whole kingdom be therein a loſer: ſeeing it is ſpent upon its members, and within the bounds thereof. For the Prince himſelf can eat or wear but the ſhare of another man, and what would have been eaten by others if he had not been: and having nothing of the reſt but the *beholding it with his eyes*, it is eaten and enjoyed by their fellow ſubjects: for ſuch even thoſe are that are more particularly waiting on him and called his ſervants.

All which, well conſidered, together with what was formerly ſpoken of, the reaſon and beginning of property (namely common improvement by private managery) as it will (on the one hand) ſhew it to be the duty of Kings that none of thoſe talents ſhould be hid by them, or lye idle in their own uſe without neceſſity, (whereby publike benefit might be hindred) ſo (on the other hand) how heavy will it make the offence of Subjects, that, inſtead of Tenants, ſhall make themſelves ſuch abſolute and unconditionate proprietors, as to withſtand or deny publike occaſions? For if they, after the manner of the husbandmen in the Goſpel, ſhould ſeek to make the inheritance their own, and, by way of aſſociation and Covenant amongſt themſelves, ſeek to kill or diſpoſſeſs the true heir, what think we ſhall the great Lord at his coming ſay to ſuch husbandmen?

Therefore, as private mens judgements muſt ſubmit to publike ſentence, ſo their property to publike uſe: and as all mens proprieties are ſettled by law,

Law, ſo, upon occaſion of preſervation of that Law, they may be diſpoſed of: & that according to the judgement of the King, the Maker, Keeper, and Interpreter of theſe Laws. For the Soveraigns office being to protect his ſubjects liberties & properties againſt all others, he cannot do it againſt himſelf, no more then he can binde his own hands. It cannot be done by another, becauſe on earth he hath none equal, or Superior in his own Dominions. And if it could be, Government would not be: becauſe our perſons and eſtates are the onely objects of Government. And the ſame rule is in a Family that is independent: for, in both, all is to be ſuppoſed at the proper diſpoſal of the Prince and Maſter. And upon the ſame ground that the ſojourner in the Family, and Ambaſſador or ſtranger in the Commonwealth, have their freedom in perſons or eſtates (that is, becauſe unſubjected) thoſe that are ſubjected may be juſtly made lyable. And as theſe Reaſons wil allow him power in general to lay Taxes according to publike occaſions, ſo thereupon alſo, to judge in particular what is the concern of theſe occaſions; and the charges and expence in them required: according whereunto he muſt have power in his Levies.

And they that from the inſtance of *Naboths* Vineyard, would conclude for the ſame abſoluteneſs of Proprieties under the Goſpel, will farther finde themſelves miſtaken: for that unto the Jews their promiſes for reward of obedience ran ſtill in a ſtrain of this kinde, *Bleſſed ſhalt thou be in thy basket, in thy ſtore*, &c. but under the Goſpel, not a Promiſe that way: but rather, *Bleſſed are the poor, woe to the rich*, &c. And as for this reaſon, it was not to be in the Prince his power to puniſh whom God hath rewarded, ſo again theſe eſtabliſhed proprieties belonging neceſſarily to the ſupport and diviſion of the ſeveral Tribes and Families, their alienation from Tribe to Tribe, and Family to Family, was prohibited by him that had promiſed and foretold, that our Saviour according to the fleſh ſhould come of the Tribe of *Judah*, and ſeed of *David*. All which conſiderations were the reaſon to keep that exactneſs of Heraldry and Genealogies amongſt them: leſt the knowledge and proof of both *David* and his Family ſhould have been confounded or loſt. So that, by this means, particular mens proprieties having an end or good looking beyond the good of that Jewiſh Nation, it was the reaſon that neither the Prince, the Repreſentative of that Nation onely, nor the proprietors themſelves, could, without leave from God (the ſole univerſal Proprietor of Jews and Gentiles) have power to ſell and alienate their Proprieties of Land, more then they could change or loſe ther Families or Names.

Deut. 28. 5. &c.

Luke 6. 20, 24.

But, after our Saviors birth *(the heir of all things)* our Proprieties are to be retaken in him on other conditions, and to be held but as of him or his chief Miniſters: not as in abſolute ſeveralty, but in ſuch manner and meaſure as theſe his deputies ſhall finde fitteſt for ſupply of that general want which other our brethren under their charge ſhall require. All which we may obſerve intimated, not onely by our Saviors ſending for the Aſs before mentioned, but in the primitive ſelling their hereditary poſſeſſions. *Of Lands, or houſes, and laying them at the Apoſtles feet.* By which deed, they, in the name and behalf of ſucceeding Chriſtians, did renounce legal unconditionate Propriety: and ſhew themſelves now willing to accept of the diſtributions of Chriſts Miniſters, to be held no otherwiſe from the common enjoyment of others then the common owner ſhall authoriſe. And however the Apoſtles, during the power of heathen Magiſtracy, could not have compelled *Ananias* to have ſubmitted his former title to their diſpoſe, (but that he

Heb. 1. 2.

Act. 4. 34, 35.

might have kept it ſtill his own) yet was their fact that did ſo, left as a commendable preſident for Chriſtian ſubmiſſion to authority upon publike occaſions.

But now, upon all theſe grounds and reaſons before mentioned, it will appear that Polarchies muſt (amongſt other their defects of right Government) be faulty alſo in this matter of Propriety. Firſt, for that they, in their ſeparate and unwarrantable juriſdictions, being not capable to unite and repreſent (as from under God) the whole and intire Propriety of each Country, cannot thereupon be able to diſtribute and ſettle legal and rightful portions to each particular perſon and Family: but each ſeparate perſon and Family herein, undertaking to be poſſeſſors and ſharers by Authority derived from themſelves onely, and not from any above them, muſt thereupon be unjuſt and partial uſurpers. And again, the Polarchs having diſtinct Proprieties (whether you reſpect them as divided amongſt themſelves by Factions, or from one another ſingly, by that particular love which muſt follow the care of each mans Propriety) they can in neither conſideration accompt their Proprieties and the publike to be the ſame and convertible; but muſt be ſuppoſed to proceed both partially and oppreſſively in their Levies. And becauſe the Governors themſelves conſiſt of different intereſts and judgements from one another, they muſt alſo be guided in what they do upon thoſe below, or upon one another reſpectfully to that ſelf-regard: according as they can drive it on by Faction; and not out of general conſideration, as before noted.

And, as this will cauſe them to be partial and unjuſt, and by reaſon of unequal concern laying more on one part of their ſubjects then another, as they ſhall conceive them friends or enemies (under the notion of well-affected or ill-affected) ſo will this their own multitude cauſe them generally to be oppreſſive: in that they, with all their allyes and dependances, ſtriving ſtill to engroſs ſo large a part of the publike ſtock in their private hands, will hereupon be put upon continual plots to make and raiſe Taxes, out of which they may raiſe their own fortunes alſo: which is the reaſon why the Taxes and Levies in Polarchies run ſo high, over they do in Monarchies of proportionable bigneſs.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Law, Justice, Equity, &c.

EXcept God Almighty, who alone is omniscient, and to whom, by creation and omnipresence, the goodness, deserts, intentions, and actions of all creatures, with all their circumstances and relations are truely valued and known, there is not unto any thing else imparted such a sufficiency of comprehension, as to make a perfect and true estimate of the morality of actions, and distinguish between right and wrong, equity and iniquity. For as unto him, the rightful Judge of all things, this ability was only necessary and proper, so, to men and other creatures, to whom subjection did onely belong, it is more fit we should know what, then why to obey. And indeed, the sad price of our fall hath furnished us no farther, then with a seeming knowledge herein: and to no other avail, then to prove us thereby *the more blinde, because we now think we see.*

Examine our abilities in this search, even of those things that concern most each mens particular, and we shall finde, that while custom, education, or the like, prevail as the censures of good and bad, in objects and actions and that this is differing again according to each parties inclination and constitution, the knowledge of good and bad must consequently have no certain or fixed abode. And if thus in what is so nigh unto us and concerning our own more private good, what can be expected in things or actions of more general concern; and wherein more general approbation should concur? Will it not hence follow, that if I have no sufficient ability to judge what is good for my self, I should have much less to do it for another? So that, experience of the different disputes hence arising, not to be satisfied and silenced by every mans own wisdom, brought men everywhere for quietness sake to refer themselves herein to custom and publike allowance: insomuch as now, Justice, Equity, and Right, is whatsoever the lawful Authority of each Country says it to be.

They that think that the rectitude of the Laws of God and Nature should correct and set right the positive constitutions of men, will finde great difficulty truely to number and state what these Laws are. In which doing, and in the interpreting and applying them, so much difference and uncertainty will still arise, that we shall again (many times) want another light, to distinguish the beams of these lights from other lights, and also to shew when they point directly to the business in question, and when not. As for instance, in these Laws known to be received from God himself, how ready are we to balk their litteral interpretation, and judge of the fitness of their execution according as they refer to publike Utility: and that by rules of our own several reasons: and many times again, to trust to their letteral interpretation onely? Nay, all that acknowledge them for rules, practise sometimes one way, & sometimes another. Wherupon, denying that either way is to be wholly followed, it must needs leave it doubtful, whether in our so doing in each particular, we lean not too much to one hand or other. For so, theft by them

punished with restitution, is in other places capital: and on the contrary, Adultery by them punished with death, is by others censured in a less degree.

Look we to the Laws of Nature; if thereby they intend those rules and customs which are universally common to us with beasts, how shall man, which so much differs from them, pick competent rules of good, and fitting both his and their particular? What, shall he live in Herds and Droves, and again destroy Policy and Property to enjoy their communion? And, because we would not have them kill us, must we (with the *Banians*) think it unlawful to kill them? And, in particular, what Law in Nature shall we finde to found marriage upon?

And if we seclude man, to follow some rule proper to his own species, and put him for his practice and imitation to learn what is done by others, you will finde this practical direction still render him as defective in ability to determine what is just and good, and what not, as before: For here, if you take in that practice of mankinde which is most common for a rule, who shall be Judge of that: or shall the fewer and wiser Nations be governed by the more foolish? Shall Idolatry and slavery be thought founded on Nature, because so generally heretofore, and yet practised?

If by Law of Nature you mean the best Reason, who shall judge of that also? Can you think that any Nation, People, Faction or single person, will condemn themselves of imprudence and injustice in what they do?

And since each people hath its peculiar Reasons for what they act or determine, and it may be unknown to any but themselves, how shall they therein be guides to the practice of others, and their Reason be found a reason every way fit for guidance of such as must necessarily differ from them? But experience being so ready to testifie both these differences and their irreconcilableness, amidst that partial respect each people casteth to its own customs, I shall not need to instance therein: but shall here somewhat examine that rule which men have more generally concluded to be so infallibly and universally binding, as to suffice for application and direction in all particulars; namely the rule of *Do or thou wouldst be done unto.*

This rule must in it self be acknowledged as a direction most fit and full for the steering us in our deportments and abearances one towards another; being accompanied with such other helps and qualifications as hereafter shall be spoken of: but if taken alone, and at liberty made use of, according to each ones separate judgement, it will put us upon the same uncertainty (almost) we had before, For it makes the will and choice of each man the direction for good and equity: so that what I would be content another should do to me, I may do to him. And then, considering how weak and differing the judgements and wills of men are, right and wrong must have the same chance. So that he that is a fool and cannot tell what is for his own avail, may yet have hereby liberty to prejudice and impose on me. And again, he that through vitious inclination and custom cannot distinguish of good or bad, just or unjust, will have the same advantage over me too. As for example, one that is brought up, or otherwise agrees in opinion with such as allow a Community of wives or other things, may he not by this rule make use of my wife, being himself before willing, I should not do the like to his?

They that seem to make this Rule more pointing and expres, by enlarging it,

it, say that because I would not have any thing done to me against my liking, I should not therefore act on another against his. And then, according to this rule; they say the taking away a mans wife against his liking is a plain wrong: (and a sin I hope it is, although all private parties should consent) By this turning of the rule, they conclude indeed against the first inconvenience, but avoid not the uncertainty of the direction, but onely alter it. For whereas before, I might act according to my own will and opinion of right and wrong, now is not the Will and Opinion of the Agent, but of the Patient made Judge: and I am to suspend execution till the consent thereof be had and known. And then, what help to the discovery of right or wrong; since every mans Will and judgement (as before) is still made Judge? And besides, by its limitation, it will put a stand to all business. For if I must not act until I know anothers liking, I shall then, it is to be presumed, not act his liking but in what may be first apprehended to my own advantage: nor he so from me. And then, in case of stubbornness, how shall business be done, and who shall judge when the denyal is just, or unjust; for nothing in the rule can do it? Again, what right hath the Will of another to be a stint and direction to mine? as though my Will could not tell mine own desires, and were not as infallible in judging right and wrong as anothers. And take it which way you please, instead of giving the rules of directions for mens Wills to follow in the choice of good and bad, mens wills are made directive to it. And although it be a rule certain and infallible (as aforesaid) in its self, as to the general stating of us just or unjust before God (who judgeth by the heart and general inclination as hereafter shall more appear) yet in respect of us, and the imbecility and partiality of our Reasons in using and applying it, it comes to be but contingent and fallible in particular managery: as not having direction and plainness enough, to shew in each action whether we have done well or no.

As for example, I that am to contract with another for House or Land, or any Commodity I want, am I to give the seller the price he asketh, because, supposing my self the seller of any thing, I should be willing the buyer should give me the price which I should then demand? or shall the seller be bound to let the buyer have it at the price he offers, because when himself is to buy of another, he would have it at the price he bids? If you suppose neither of these prices to take place, how shall Contracts go on? If either of them, how will you avoid the inconveniencies of partiality, arising through each mans judging for himself; but make it onely unnatural; whilst they must thus wholly be prosecuting each others good, and be in danger, whilst they are thus neglecting their own wants and desires, which they do know, to be, as in a kinde of Complement, reciprocally prejudicing each other, in obtruding to supply those wants and desires which they know not: unless we shall suppose all mens judgements, wants, and desires equal? Or shall we suppose that course to be taken which can make this rule alone most pointing, namely that we should neither so wholly consider our selves without others, nor others without our selves, as to be forgetful of either: but that, both parties are to be taken into equal consideration. The Question will be, whether the buyer or seller shall be the judge and determiner herein? and next upon what manner of evidence shall he proceed towards the discovery of the others wants and desires, so as to secure himself that upon a just conference thereof with his own, he hath judged impartially: and so avoided sin, by observing the rule?

The

The seller, it may be, through good husbandry or good fortune got his commodity very cheap; it may be it cost him dear at first, or is grown so to him through casuality or neglect: what now shall he do? Shall he sell proportionably cheap or deer to the rate the thing stands him in, he must then prejudice himself or another: shall he, as he knows the buyers poverty or riches, or as he findes the thing more fit and useful for him then others, encrease or abate accordingly his price? How shall he know these things? and how shall he be a competent judge? And if you make the buyer Judge, upon like considerations, how shall he know the others condition also?

Now, as for matter of Government, this rule will of it self alone be so far from estating men regular and obedient therein, that it will take off all kinde of subjection at all. For since the Prince or Magistrate would not be willing that I should have command over him, how can he justly have command over me? If we give the superior leave to apply the rule otherwise and say forasmuch as he himself wronged and in distress, would be glad to be relieved by the power of another, therefore ought he also to preserve and encrease his power that he may in the like kinde be serviceable to others: then, supposing the present possession of power in the Superior a just bar against the inferiors assumption of the rule, and desiring power and superiority to be doing the like to his superior, or others, we are fallen upon a right rule against revolt and insubjection towards the present higher Powers: and so we will next see how this rule can alone steer us under Government.

If it point at equal and Arithmetical Justice and proceeding, making the good and liking of Kings and beggers alike valuable and controleable at the arbitrary discretion of each other, then, by overthrowing distinction and proportion, it overthrows Government and Society. Or take it to point Geometrically and respectively, and so determining that beggers should do unto Kings as they would if themselves were Kings be done unto, and so on the contrary, how will they come to fancy (through so different educations) the same inclination to vertue, or ability to judge thereof? and since experience tells us, how hard it is for us to manage aright those callings we were bred in, what hope of ability or skill in those so far removed? For though *David*, as proper to his Office of King, could rightly judge amongst subjects, saying, *the man that hath done this shall dye the death, & shal make restitution fourfold*, yet when he comes to be told *thou art the man*, he thinks not fit to execute murther on himself: *but submits to God*, as having onely power of punishment over him.

2 Sam. 12.5,6. Verse 7. Psalm. 51.4.

And from this uncertainty and diversity of appliation, it was that men first entertained polity, and more positive and expres rules of decision. But here again the same hazard overtakes us. For since these rules and directions are to be expressed by words, as the current Tokens of mens mindes, and words have not onely different interpretations themselves, but men also differ in the manner of expressing them, how shall it be known what the words themselves import, or whether poetical or Rhetorical improprieties have not so far abused us, as not to know whether litterally taken they are to express the Authors minde or no? To remedy which, there is no way to Peace but to admit a positive Authority for interpretation of this Authors minde, as we did before for yeilding thereunto.

So that when all is done, the result of right and wrong is but the sentence of Law, and the sentence of Law the sentence of the present supreme Judge.

That

That is, either the direct ſentence of God himſelf, in what is undoubtedly ſet down by him; or the ſentence of the Prince, interpreting and judging in his ſtead, in all things here amongſt us: unto whom the application and managery of this general rule was intruſted. For he, having in him, as univerſal Repreſentative, the univerſal will included, can be onely in all particulars directly ſaid to do as he would be done unto, and to love his neighbour as himſelf: becauſe having a common and like intereſt in, and with them, and ſubſiſting by their good and benefit, it muſt conſequently be always by him meaſured as his own: that is, equally and impartially ſo, becauſe totally his. Whereas I, in doing as I would be done unto, or doing but as any other private perſon would have me, the dealing muſt be unjuſt becauſe partial: one Will and Underſtanding being onely judge of what was of concern to both. And though both ſhould conſent, yet the rule might be broken, and commonly is: becauſe few things can be of ſuch ſeparate concern, as wherein directly, or by conſequent or example, others beſides themſelves were not intereſſed: and ſo, not having full conſent, the rule of Do as thou wouldſt be done unto is broken by both of them.

For our Wills, in choice of good and bad, following each ones ſeparate Underſtanding, and that again depending on, and varying according to the ſeveral obſervations which each one hath made of what is moſt conſtant and uſual, it will follow that the nature and ſenſe of right and good, muſt in our judgements be as variable as thoſe inductions out of which we concluded it were. And this, becauſe we are not here put into the world to be Standards of good and bad our ſelves, but to eſtimate and conclude it, either out of that tacite verdict which the harmony of effects and operations in the courſe of Nature informs us of (whereby conſtancy proves at once both God the Author, and the Act good) or elſe implicitely to yeild to a poſitive command of God, determining good by his direct Precepts to us himſelf: and in caſe Gods own directions appears not, by referring us to Princes for what he leaves, and to Maſters or Fathers for what they both leave undetermined: Leſt elſe, our different Judgements and Affections, cauſing differing proſecutions in the attainment of more leſs and private good, they ſhould lead us to loſe our greateſt earthly good, which is Peace and Agreement.

And therefore, as all Government was at firſt Arbitrary, ſo it is not probable, until God himſelf by *Moſes* had given ſet Rules for mens ſociable living, any other compoſed or ſetled Rule was eſtabliſhed for knowledge of good and right, then what proceeded from the Dictates of this Prince or head of the Family. For each Father had it as well in his power as duty, (like *Abraham*) *to command his children and houſhold to keep the way of the Lord, and to do Judgement and Juſtice.* And then alſo, innocency of Education, and natural ſimplicity in the uſe of pleaſure; as it kept them from much covering, ſo from many of thoſe ſtrifes and injuries which our luxuries now produce. And for reconciling thoſe differences that ſhould yet happen, they had the ready determination of the Father before mentioned. Gen. 18. 19.

Nor ſtood they in ſuch need of poſitive Edicts to keep them ſteady in caſe of change, becauſe, through length of age, he might live to ſee many Families, and as it were whole Territories peopled out of his own loyns. Then was he probably brother, or neer of kin to the great Father of the next Territory: and ſo, kept from forreign injury. Whereupon, what by knowledge of

of their duety, and what by force of Education, and remembrance of these rules and precepts themselves formerly learned, the fathers of the several inferior Tribes and families had means of sociable entercourse and neighborhood. And, where maxims drawn from natural Law and equity were not so plain a guide, there, usual customs and practise was their supply: and where custom was dubious, parental authority was definitive, and bore sway.

And as that course of life is alwayes most pleasant to which we have been most enured, so it seemed also to them most reasonable, to continue those rules that publike consent, long use, and tacite agreement, had now made to have the force of Law. And, in a manner, all laws (especially such as are called common) are but the customes and usages of our country. Therefore, with them question was never made, whether customs should be kept or not, but whether any such custom were; or whether it did make for the side of Plaintiff or Defendant? And the old definitive sentence being now dead, the dispersed and divided families found Law, in it self, no more available to Peace and Unity, then the Light of Nature had been before. For when Custom or Law was alleadged, what and if the other side denyed it, or gave it a contrary interpretation? In this case, no way to Peace, but to rely on some sentence beyond appeal, for the decision and interpretation of these Laws. For, to imagine a Government so meerly arbitrary, as where there is no kinde of Law, Custom, or Rule of Government agreed unto or practised, is against Reason: becaus, even the prudence of Governors must, for their own ease sake, lead them to permit this course. And, it being for themselves impossible to entervene in all the emergencies of their subjects, it will be expedient to commend and enjoyn unto them, the observation of all such old usages as to them seem most expedient: which thence coming to be Laws, we may call *Law a rule of deportment enforced by a Superior:* and hath with us according to its several aims, several names.

That which directs us to future bliss, divine Law. That which concerns us as men, and directs to the attaining the felicities of our kinde, we may call natures Law, or the rule of Reason. That which concerns men linkt in society, National, or Civil Law: which is nothing else but a publike direction for mens sociable abearances one towards another. For as Peace, Union, and ceasing of strife, is the main end of polity and Government, so is this end, not onely to be attained by the decisive power when controversies are on foot, but by the directive power also: that prevents, as far may be, their birth and growth.

And for our failing or following this rule, it is not the law it self that can or doth determine: although the Judge, in his decision, take direction from thence, by way of president, how to proceed. They that think law hath in it self a power to decide controversies, let them consider that there are no where so many, as where laws do most abound. For men are there oftenest found enquiring the meaning of them: which (with us) is called going to Law. A thing which none would do, for the loss thereby received in case he be overthrown, if he had before hand known that the Law would have made against him: but each side through private passion and partiallity thinking it make for him, it would be considered, if there were not a definitive sentence in the interpretation of law, of how little availe to peace Law would be in it self.

So that, Laws now appearing to be made chiefly for the governed, that there-

thereby they might have directions how to attain or avoid the benefit or punishment of sociable duties, we shall therefore finde them still promulged and addressed to the people. But as for Governors, having the oversight of the whole publike good unto them committed, these rules are either by them framed, or by God and Nature set down as to be enforced and enjoyned to that end: and all other secluded the interpretation or application of them.

To which end, namely to shew that the sentence of the Judge is still made the Standard and Rule of judgement, we are to interpret those words of *Solomon*, *A King that sitteth on the Throne of judgement scattereth away all evil with his eye*: that is, which way soever his definition of judgement doth lean, evil and injustice is departed from thence: and cannot be imputed thereunto, more then injustice to one that is just. For so doth he also explain it, *to punish the just is not good, nor to strike Princes for Equity*. Prov.20.8. Prov.17.26.

But the contexts of these two places do most plainly confirm Justice to be positive upon Authority, and not depending on the various judgement of private mens opinions: and this is done by adding the Precept of right Ballances and Weights presently after. Which things are commonly taken as the emblems of Justice. For so it is said, *A just weight and ballance are the Lords, all the weights of the bag are his work*. By which words, God owning the original of the measure of Justice to be from himself, (which we know he doth no otherwise execute and manage then by that divine sentence he put into the *Kings mouth*) it must follow, that as the proportion of Justice in all things is rated by those Standards which are by his Authority appointed, so also, as his Authority is uncontroleable in setting the Standard for the Pound, the Bushel, and the like, his Authority in stating and deciding other controversies and things must be uncontroleable also: even for that all things done by a different Standard of Justice are for the same cause unjust. For as there can be but one Standard (as by the context of the other place appeareth, saying, *Divers weights and divers measures are both of them alike abomination to the Lord*) it is in effect to conclude as aforesaid, that at the first definition of the size of the Pound, Bushel, *&c.* were from Authority, even so, the measure of Justice in all things else must rest on his determination: and that, the difference from that is inequity, because departing from the rule so appointed; and not, as out of inherent justice in the things themselves. For had Authority appointed any other different weight or measure, which is now disallowable, to have been the true Standard, then had the other, that is now the rule of Justice against it, been the faulty one to it; even as those faulty ones are now so to this which is by Authority set down. Prov.16.11. Verse 10. Prov.20.10.

For except there be such a positive and standing way and rule for establishment and defining righteousnes and judgement, as by a King *sitting in the Throne of judgement, who can say* (as in the next verse follows) *I have made my heart clean, I am pure from my sin*: because, if his appointment and allowance of such callings and ways of comerce make not our gainings upon one another lawful farther then the rule Do as thou wouldst be done unto hath first been reciprocally examined and assented unto by the particular dealers, then are all dealings unlawful: forasmuch as intent of separate advantage is still in each ones design, and the others benefit or suffering never openly Prov.20.8. Verse 9.

and impartially considered therewith: of which more anon.

Whereupon we must say, that since Laws are necessary in Government, and since a publike definitive sentence in their interpretation is necessary to Peace; and since in the Cases and Questions of misgovernment, the breach of Laws is as well denyed on the part of the Governors, as affirmed on the part of the governed, it is against all Reason and Rule of Equity, for any body or order of the people to usurp this inseparable and prime mark of Soveraignty: and become judge to their fellows, and to judge those that should have been their Judges also.

And if it be granted Princes to have power to make Laws, it must be presumed that themselves should best know their own meanings. And, a thing against reason it must seem, first to affirm that Rulers or Princes are to govern according to Law, and yet deny them the power of knowing and interpreting them. What, would they have him follow a rule he understands not, how shall it be a rule then? Therefore, when men think it necessary for Kings to be sworn to govern according to Law, they must conclude they have liberty of interpretation allowed them; or his oath is null and useless.

And so we must conclude, that since all positive Laws are to be founded on those of God and Nature (for Law-makers can have no Laws but these above them) and since the meaning and measuring of these are disputable (as hath been hitherto shewed) Reason and Duty do enjoyn us to submit to the known and undenyable precept of obedience, rather then (after the sin of breach hereof) we should be but at the same uncertainty of interpretation as before: with this aggravation, that in the first case our excuse for failing is easie, but in this last, it is no better then pride.

But they that yet think there are within the compass of natural Reason such general rules and maxims of Justice and Equity as to enable men to judge of right and wrong in things done by Superiors, let them tell me why *Ely* (of whom we finde nothing of ill mentioned besides) should be so severely punished for his sons faults whom he did reprove: and why *Samuel* should escape, that shewed greater indulgence to his that were as bad? If, in these and other like instances they will say (as they must) that *the judge of all the word doth right*; in respect of his equal and paramount propriety in persons and things, they must then confess, that his deputy therein which shall be amongst us, must be holden as uncontrolable judge of right in his jurisdiction also. So that, for *David* to take away half *Mephibosheths* Land, who was loyal, and give it to *Ziba* his servant whom he knew had both abused his Master and him, and that without any legal form of process, must yet be acknowledged as rightly done by that supreme Officer, who being substituted in *Elohims* prime right of *Mishpat* amongst us, cannot therein be controled or censured by any else. And if any will yet say, that these former instances might have been found right even by the rules of common Equity, had we been knowing of all the circumstances of them, they do thereby also confess, that since the Judge hath his secret reasons proper to himself to judge by, so can there be no definitive proportion of Equity but what is from his sentence proceeding: until there can be some way found to search into Gods secret Counsels, or *the heart of the King which is unsearchable*. For, as it is the glory of God *to conceal a thing* (that is to keep his judge-

1 Sam. 3. 13. 1 Sam. 8. 3.

2 Sam. 19. 29.

1 Sam. 8. 11. &c.

ments

ments from common apprehenſion) ſo *it is the honor of Kings to ſearch out a matter*: and, by vertue of his deputation from God, to give always a *divine ſentence*, whereby not to err in *judgement*: that is, not ſo to err, as not to be the rule of Juſtice to thoſe below, although it may be erroneous and unjuſt in it ſelf: in relation to that full and high intereſt and juriſdiction which God hath above him. And therefore that wiſe King makes *Underſtanding, Wiſdom, Inſtruction, Juſtice, Judgement and Equity*, depending on obedience and attention to God and our lawful ſuperiors; when he ſays, *the fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wiſdom; but fools deſpiſe wiſdom and Inſtruction*; that is, all that are diſobedient and conceitedly wiſe are fools: and when he next ſays, *My ſon hear the inſtruction of thy Father, and forſake not the Law of thy Mother*: that is, learn Religion, Law, Equity, *&c.* from thy ghoſtly and civil ſuperiors. Prov. 25. 2, 3. Prov. 16. 10. Prov. 1. 1, 2, 3, &c. Verſe 7. Verſe 8.

Whereupon we may farther ſay, that *juſtice and Equity*, ſo far as it concerns a Commonwealth, *is to be that way and courſe which is moſt advantageous to publike utility*; and that *Law is the rule ſet down by thoſe that have chief Authority and truſt therein*. And therefore is that maxim avowed as the ground of Law and Equity in a popular State, *Salus populi ſuprema lex*: For the directeſt courſe to that end is the greateſt Equity: and thoſe that have the charge of the end, have alſo the charge of the means, in aſſigning that which is moſt juſt and fit. And therefore in this caſe, we muſt reckon the ſociety, as it is united for common good, as one perſon: So that then, as Nature teacheth all men to benefit themſelves, ſo doth polity direct the publike. But then again, as each man in wronging another doth wrong himſelf, ſo ſocieties, when they practice injuſtice, oppreſſion, &c. do in regard of Gods puniſhments feared to follow thereupon, wrong themſelves alſo: and do (as we before obſerved of particular men) prefer a leſs and momentany benefit, to a more high and laſting one.

Upon which ground there is another maxim avowed in Monarchy, that *the King can do no wrong*. Not denying he may do himſelf and others harm: but ſo long as we do (according to our duties) ſubmit to that he doth command, he can do no wrong. For he can of himſelf have no private reſpect, but muſt judge all alike as out of common regard: except where, and when ſome perſons or order of the people, taking on them his Office of judging equity, and, in partiality to themſelves, thinking and ſeeking more then is already allotted, make it a wrong to the other ſide, by having the cauſe decided by a private and partial judgement: for, take away Juſtice in the fountain, you may vainly ſeek it in the ſtreams. And thereupon, *Solomon* prays to God to give him *an underſtanding heart: to judge the people, and to diſcern between good and bad*. 1 King. 3. 9.

And ſuch as are not openly denying ſupreme Authority to be obeyed, and would yet by conſequent overthrow it, by allowing inferiors a liberty to judg and act beyond, or otherwiſe then is enjoyned, let them conſider the anſwer that God gives to his chief Magiſtrate that would undertake to know the way and means of honoring and ſerving God better then himſelf, and would make that ſolemn eſtabliſhed Law of Sacrifice, defeat his preſent command which was but extemporary; namely that *Obedience is better then ſacrifice, and to hearken better then the fat of Rams*. For I verily believe that no ſubordinate Magiſtrate or ſubject can have a fairer plea for diſobeying his King commanding in Gods ſtead, then *Saul* might have had here 1 Sam. 15. 22.

for refuſing *Samuel*. For if it had been at all lawful for inferiors to judge of fitneſs and morality, or to ſet a former command or Law againſt a latter, what more juſt and reaſonable then, firſt to preſerve innocent creatures, whoſe deſtruction (on one hand) could have been a benefit to none, when as (on the other ſide) they (being thus imployed) ſhould have ſo expreſly advanced Gods way of ſervice conſtituted ſo ſolemnly already. And we might thereunto add (that which ſome would make of higheſt value in judging good and bad) that the importunity and requeſt of the people ran that way alſo.

And as our prying into the reaſon of Gods Laws, and not obeying his direct Precepts, was our Original fault, and a ſin in the government of nature, as ſhewing a miſtruſt of Gods wiſdom or care of us, ſo, in obedience to civil Laws, to ſeek out another equity then they import, is not to be ſubject to Law, but to controle it. And as God ſaid to *Adam*, *Who told thee that thou waſt naked, haſt thou eaten the fruit I commanded thee that thou ſhouldſt not eat?* So Princes may ſay to ſubjects, that without authority undertake to judge of publike good and bad, Juſtice and injuſtice, how come you to know theſe things except you have tranſgreſſed the bounds I ſet you? Have you not proper ſtations of your owu to walk in? Why meddle you with mine? *For if thou judge the law, thou art not a doer of the law, but a Judge.*

Gen. 3. 11.

James 4. 11.

So that then, all obedience to Laws muſt be implicite: that is, to Gods Laws, as his, and Civil Laws, as the Princes. For if in either ſort, I obey but what upon examination I finde reaſonable, I take the Law-makers part upon me: and obey not him, but my ſelf. For Law and Juſtice being the inſtruments whereby Governors Act upon the Governed, they muſt be at the choice and guidance of the workman and agent; and not of the work or patient, as heretofore noted.

Law (then) is Councel impoſed: Juſtice is equity executed. In Laws, the Subjects are to act: in Juſtice the Prince, or Magiſtrate for him. In Laws he ſhews how much of his Will Subjects ſhall do; in Juſtice how much he will do himſelf. So that Law may be called Equity taught, and Juſtice Equity practiſed: and is when the Judges own Councels are acted by himſelf; whether in purſuance of Law, or not. For Juſtice and Equity may be without ſtanding Law, as in the leſs government of a family, but not Law without them, that is the Authority of the Prince.

Now for Juſtice it ſelf, it proceeding from Equity, as being the ſentence of the Judge upon the judged, it may be blinde as to execution; becauſe that part concerns Miniſterial Officers, but cannot as to the ſentence and Judge: for taking, ſeeing, for underſtanding, his eyes muſt be only open, as to ſtating of Equity.

Diſintereſt, nor equal intereſt alone, cannot make men competent Judges: becauſe they may be ſo qualified, and yet ſtrangers and unknowing of the cauſe. And therefore Judges muſt (beſides knowledge) have Concern, equal Concern, and whole Concern: and the like we muſt ſay of Power. For if all the matter and perſons contending be not at his diſpoſe, to what purpoſe his ſentence? Nay, if his propriety be not the higheſt, and his power higheſt, he will in judgement proceed but faintly, for want of compleat intereſt and courage. For though the Concern and Power of the Judge may be equal in, and over both, or all the ſubject perſons, yet if be not ſupreme,

preme, he must so far want the perfection of a Judge, as he wants interest to make him concerned to judge at all, and power to execute his sentence.

And more persons then one, or not having authority from one, cannot be competent Judges over others: for they must have unequal concern through unequal passions and interests; and must, through unequal power also (as being of different strength or courage) proceed differently and partially in their sentence. For whilst the same Plea or Cause is estimated by divers ballances according to that divers judgement and interest abiding in those divers persons in the seat of Justice, their sentence can never be uniform to the interest of the persons and the cause they judge, however they may be in their sentence outwardly agreeing amongst themselves; as in order to fear, or other interests of their own.

Nor can two or more persons judge their own causes, because of the same reasons: and also for that in this equality, none can have whole interest or power.

But to make these things plainer by instance. When any two parties that are at difference shall have their cause decided by any of the ordinary Judges appointed to that purpose, the failing of that Judge therein, so far as to make him culpable, must happen upon the grounds before noted. For if he have not concern enough, so as to think his duty, honor, and benefit to be founded and established by the practice of his imployment of a Judge, he will then wholly neglect it, or proceed so coldly therein, as for want of through examination of the full evidence of the truth of things on both sides, his judgement can be no otherwise then accidentally true and upright. And this inconvenience will not only be subject to mislead him in his first sentence and decision of causes, but farther also, in case that bribery, friendship, *&c.* have caused partial judgement, through want of entire and equal concern, it is the usual hindrance to all re-examination that should arise from equity by way of appeal: insomuch as, untill the oppressed party can find a way how to make the redress of his grivance appear of more availe and concern to the party appealed unto, then it is to him in the state it now stands, he can never rationally expect reparation, or furtherance from him therein.

From all which it must come to pass, that none but God Almighty can be held as the onely universal, ready, and upright Judge: so far as to be the onely true object of appeal. Because, as he hath onely omniscience sufficient to know all circumstances that are nectssary to the stating of Equity in each cause, so hath he alwayes such whole and high interest and concern in the good of his creatures, as to make him always ready to hear all complaints: Whereas all other subordinate Judges must, as they stand in degree below him, and so differenced in respect of concern, differ in their readiness to entertain appeals and make redress.

By which means, the Monarch, who hath highest interest, power, and trust delegated from God, and hath his honor and interest of more concern in performance of Acts of Justice then any other (even in such degree that he cannot find any reward else so valuable to divert him) must be presumed thereupon the readiest to hear and amend, when any thing in this kind shall be offered. And if the ordinary grievances of the poor or meaner sort, be not by him taken into consideration, like the more remarkable appeals from great

great ones, it proceeds ſtill from the ſame cauſe of want of concern, not in him, who, if he be an entire Monarch, and no wayes made obnoxious or defective in propriety, would hear poor and rich alike, as equally ſubjects; but for want of concern in other perſons of ranke and eminence, that ſhould preſent it and ſtate it unto him. Which is a thing ſo difficult to be done, as experience tells us, that it is the great obſtacle of all redreſs: namely for want of concern to make another take ſo much pains as throughly to examine the ſtate of the grievance, and ſo apply himſelf towards redreſs.

For we ſhall finde all private men to be ſtill ſo full of their own buſineſs, as not to be ſufficiently enclined to make any other of ſuch equal concern, as to remit the preſent care thereof, to intend his, beyond reſpect to themſelves. And although the ſenſe of pitty and Juſtice be in all men naturally, yet the difficulty will ſtill lye, How, for want of concern, to make him attentive in ſuch length of diſcourſe as muſt be requiſite to make my cauſe appear ſo. Upon which ground it is, that Fees are given to Advocates, Councellors, *&c.* by thoſe that are appellants and ſuters: hereby engaging them to take their Clients buſineſs into concern, and make it their own.

Men have hitherto thought Juſtice in the abſtract to be before it in the concrete: as though truth, or the affections or adjuncts of things could have been before the things themſelves. But as Divine Juſtice is but the proceſſion of that equity which reſideth in God the ſupreme Judge of all (whereby the affairs of all creatures are diſpoſed and ordered according to the known meaſure and equality which their reſpective merits in relation to the good and Oeconomy of the whole doth require) ſo neither was humane Juſtice before the adminiſtrators thereof: no more then poſitive Law was before the Law-maker: who, by that did publikly determine what was fitteſt to be done in the Vierge of his juriſdiction alſo. Therefore, men making Juſtice to be *juris ſtatio*, or dependant on the ſentence or determination of the Law, could not chooſe but to have conſidered (onward) that that *jus* or law, muſt again have dependance on the Law-maker, or him that hath *juris-dictio*, had not a kind of conſpiracy in the flattery of private mens abilities towards the judging right and wrong, made them determine Juſtice meaſurable by Law, and Law by themſelves: that ſo (onward) publike Juſtice might be ſubmitted to private ſenſe of equity: whereby at laſt all ſhould reſolve into opinion.

In which regard, it is no wonder that ſubjects in general, do, in order to obtain their fancyed degree of liberty, agree amongſt themſelves upon ſuch maximes as they conceive reſtrictive of the exerciſe of their Princes power over them; upon the ſame ground as ſervants uſe to do towards that of their maſters. For ſo experience tells us of thoſe meaſures of good and bad maſters which are by ſervants uſually entertained amongſt themſelvs, in order to deny all maſters and their actions to be good, farther then they are reſpective to, or carried on towards their intereſts or approbations. Thus the maſter that is moſt profuſe for diet, apparel, *&c.* is called the beſt and moſt kind, by his own, and by all other ſervants too. Whereas that maſter that meaſures theſe things by his own conveniencies of eſtate, *&c.* and makes reſtraint accordingly, is called Churle and miſerable. And ſo again, ſuch maſters as permit liberty and licentiouſneſs, have the ſervants joynt applauſe

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as juſt and kinde unto them: whereas ſuch as reſtrain and puniſh them for faults, are by them called cruel and unjuſt. For how ſhould it be expected they ſhould like to be ſtraightned or puniſhed for what they had formerly approved?

Nor can men under ſervitude of any kind, ſeparate themſelves ſo far from their intereſts in relation that way (that is in deſiring freedom) as to take the intereſt of the correlate into equal concern with their own: and not rather ſtill to chooſe and fix upon ſuch reaſons and maximes as ſhall moſt confine the will of their governor to be ſubmitted to theirs: and, in order thereunto, to fancy (as we ſee it come to paſs) that there are general rules and laws whereby juſtice and right are as meaſurable by inferiors as others: yea even whilſt they are inferiors.

But ſuppoſe there is in every man implanted the maximes and grounds of general Juſtice, as God to be worſhiped, parents and ſuperiors to be honoured, every man to have his own, or the like, yet ſince they were in ſeveral men, variouſly concluded from ſeveral inductions and obſervations in the courſe of humane affairs (for they encreaſe and differ in men as yeers and ability do) it muſt come to paſs, that when they come to refer back and are to be applyed to particular occaſions, they muſt be both different, and falible alſo: as not determining how to worſhip God, or wherein to obey ſuſuperiors, or what every mans due is. Upon which grounds, it is no wonder that *Aſtræa* was fained to leave the world about the ſame time when Laws began moſt to abound; and men undertook to fancy, that that obedience to the Laws which was conſtitutive of Magiſtrates and ſubjects juſtice towards one another, was alſo to be definitive and bounding of juſtice in the original.

But, if we make not juſtice to be reſiding in that ſentence and determination of equity which each rightful ſuperiour impoſeth, then hath it indeed no certain aboad amongſt men: Or, if they bound it by any other poſitive Law then what is to be by him interpreted and enforced, then they not onely take away all juſtice from the golden age of the world, which was therefore chiefly called ſo becauſe the publike perſon to whoſe ſence of equity things were intruſted did particularly judge in emergencies, and ſo more exactly meaſure cauſes then can be now by ſtanding rules and laws, but they alſo (for the preſent) take it from fathers, maſters of families, and the like: where right and juſtice is depending on their arbitrary and accaſional directions.

And therefore, as Divine Juſtice, or the general rule of equity in government of the world, is dependent on the Divine Edict and determination of God, who hath the government hereof; and as the rule of juſtice of the family is dependant on him that hath that charge alſo, ſo is the ſame to be granted in each kingdom: even to be the deciſion of him that hath Legiſlative power, and truſt to determine of things towards the ſtating political peace or happineſs.

To which purpoſe ſome have conceived the word *jus* to be the abrievation of *Jovis os*; which we may call the *Divine ſentence in the lips of the King*: making it the poſitive decree of the ſoveraign power. For although this Syntereſis (or inward aſſent to the general maxims of equity) be uſefully in all men, becauſe they muſt more or leſs have dominion, yet for inferiors or equals, as ſuch, at any time to uſe them upon their own authority,

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cannot make the execution take the name of Justice; however the sentence may be in it self equal, or proportionable to the equity of the cause.

And indeed, that common definition of this vertue, of *giving every one his own*, would have caused men necessarily to conclude this the proper vertue of the person in supreme power and propriety; (for how else shall he have right to distribute) had not (as before noted) private covetousness and arrogance of judgement, made men conclude it not to be justice, except under that notion of his own, each man had such distribution, as should not onely be directed by positive Law, but by it according to their interpretation also. As though there could be private propriety against the publike, or that the Prince, the Master of a Family, or other publike superior, were to regard the good and propriety of the contenders, or any other separate private persons, without regard to the whole propriety and good: and not rather make his distributions of the publike stock of honor, riches, *&c.* to private persons with respective care to the whole.

In which respect, we may again call publike Justice *The exercise of authority proceeding from each rightful superior, as his sense of equity in particular distributions shall lead them, with regard to publike advantage.* So that, he judging according to sense of equity, as between two, both the parties contending are to be taken as one: and decission is to be so made between them, that the other more worthy party, the Commonwealth, be Geometrically considered. And this, although the whole present people be present contenders in the two parties: yet is the succeeding community or their own future inconveniencies to be considered. From whence we may conclude a just man and a governor to be convertible: as also is the notion of Justice with that of government; having both issue from his authority and determination. Saving that under the notion of government (as more general) we usually comprehend both equity and justice: that is both the directive and coercive parts: but by Justice, we commonly conceive but the bare vindicative part to be acted, separate from the Legislative.

If in this his sentence, he bear such particular eye to the parties in competition as to forget or neglect common interest, he is unjust to God his superior; as failing in his general trust: however, to his inferiors he must alwayes, upon the same reason, be acknowledged just.

We are also accustomed to apprehend the notion of justice to have (in reference to the persons subjected) a more particular regard then that of government: namely when then the Justiciar shall more expresly respect the comparative fitness or interest of any two separate parties: at which time, the governor being more remarkable by an explicite determination, it may thence be called particular government, as government it self may be called general and implicite Justice: both of them being stated and defined by the due exercise and receit of that power which caused their relations, that is of the governor or Justiciar as agent, upon the governed or justified as patient. In which case, the Agent and patient standing reciprocally constituting each other, according to their relations, to impose and receive, it follows that where the governor is not endued with his proper power to impose on the governed, according to his vertue of Agency, and the governed, on the other hand, endued with the vertue of receit and patibility, there cannot be

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government. But, in proportion, as the inferior invades the power of Agency, or is inſuſceptible of the others Agency, ſo far the political harmony and order is broken and inverted, and approach is made unto Anarchy.

And many times alſo we difference Juſtice from Government by its object: as making it converſant about the Government of our proprieties, and apprehending the notion of the Government to have moſt particular regard to the Subjects perſonall liberties: and this way that definition of giving every man his own, and of the diviſion of Juſtice into diſtributive and commutative may ſeem to look.

Philoſophers, in their uſual Scholy, deſiring to make it a vulgar and common vertue, for their own applauſe ſake amongſt their Scholars, have fought to define and defference it from other vertues by its object or effect, without aſſigning unto it a proper ſubject (by inherence whereunto, it might, like all other abſtracted notions, ſtand formally differenced,) have thereupon made it to import as large as vertue it ſelf: of which they would have it underſtood to be a kind. For ſo in our apprehenſions, a juſt mans imports as large a commendation as a good man, or a vertuous man.

But it is to be conſidered, as before noted, that this vertue can no otherwiſe be ſuppoſed common to all men, or every man, then as that man may at the ſame time be ſuppoſed a full ſuperior or proprietor, in the diſtributions or commutations he is to make and that thereupon, it is not a vertue proper to him as a man, but as ſuch a man: that is, as relating to him in his preſent power and ſuperiority in what he is to diſtribute, and his full propriety in the thing he doth exchange. And from thence it will ſtill follow, that as this occaſſonal relation of ſuperiority did make the notion of Juſtice aſſignable as aforeſaid, ſo, to make it capable of a conſtant ſpecifical difference, there is no way but to affix it to him that is by Office a conſtant ſuperior.

For they ſhould have conſidered, that although this vertue cannot be without the others, namely without prudence preceding, and temperance and fortitude accompanying its execution, yet it having its objects wholly foraign, and reſpecting ſuch perſons onely as ſtand relating to other men in ſuperiority, and not as each man hath power and government over himſelf (as the other vertues do) it muſt thereupon have its different definition accordingly.

As for example, Temperance, that wholly relates to each one as having juriſdiction in himſelf for Government of his own appetites and affections, muſt therefore belong to all men, becauſe all men have ſuch things to govern: and can have foraign juriſdiction onely as accompaning the Juſtice of a ſuperior. And ſo muſt prudence and fortitude, that partly relate to others good and partly to our own guidance, be communicable to all men likewiſe, becauſe of the daily and general uſe of both, for the benefit of others, and their own ſeparate good. Whereas Juſtice, that hath its object wholly in the good of others, and doth thereupon ſuppoſe the party qualified with abillity proportionable, muſt be appropriate to ſuch onely as have by their relations power to act accordingly.

And then it will come to paſs, that although Juſtcie may have perfection of degrees, and be more or leſs a vertue as this governor is more or leſs prudent, temperate, or magnanimous, yet muſt the notion of Juſtice be alwayes aſſigned to the actings of ſuperiors upon inferiors, as ſuch, notwithſtanding occaſional deviations.

For as to be a reaſonable creature remaines the definition of all men, as men, yea though they be moſt fooliſh, ſo cannot the violent actions of ſome, deprive men in ſupreme authority from having the notion of Juſtice appropriate to that ſort of men onely. And this, becauſe a man in ſupreme Authority being the ſubject wherein Juſtice can onely reſide, even as mankind in general is the ſubject of reaſon, It is not therefore the pravity of ſome Monarch, or other occaſional deviations in ſome Acts, can deprive them of the definition of juſt, more then the unreaſonableneſs orimprudence of ſome men, or of ſome actions of any man, can take from them or him that definition of a reaſonable creature. For the queſtion being not concerning the perfection of the predicate, but of its propriety of inherence, therefore, as mankinde is amongſt ſublunary creatures the proper ſubject of reaſon, becauſe none elſe can ſo truly or perfectly have it, ſo doth juſtice remain proper to men in ſupreme authority: although they may be in degree much inferior, or defective one to another.

And this truth we ſhall finde aſſerted by one that was incomparably wiſer and more knowing in theſe things then any of the Philoſophers, even by *Solomon* himſelf: *Alſo to puniſh the Juſt is not good, nor to ſtrike Princes for equity.* In which words the juſt man and the ſuperior ſtand plainly convertible: as alſo they do in that ſaying of Saint *John*, *My little children let no man deceive you, he that doth righteouſneſs is righteous, even as he is righteous*: that is, ſince God the fountain of Juſtice gave them power to be doers, they are in their deeds alwayes juſt in relation to thoſe below them: of all which more hereafter.

Prov. 17. 26.

1 John 3. 7.

And therefore, laſtly, as the abuſe of this prerogative and advantage of reaſon, prevailes not with God to take it from mankinde, becauſe of that general good which the uſe of it doth ordinarily afford, (both in mens deportments toward one another, and other creatures alſo) no more are the accidental abuſes in the ſeat of Juſtice, of availe to take off, and defeat that continual benefit ariſing to mankinde by the generall exerciſe thereof. For in theſe caſes, wiſdom grounding her ſelf upon an infallible rule of compariſon, raiſes this her maxim, *Better to ſuffer a miſchief then an inconvenience*; better that the common benefit of Juſtice ſhould be kept up, notwithſtanding its occaſional miſchiefs, then the avoiding of thoſe occaſional miſchiefs, ſhould defeat the common benefit of Juſtice.

And indeed, the two extreams of this vertue might have denoted the proper ſubject thereof, had men had as great readineſs to have acknowledged their Princes vertues, as to mark their vices. For as unto none but men of power it can be a fault to neglect Juſtice, or extend it to tyranny or rigor, ſo can the vertue it ſelf be formally agreeing to none, but ſuch neither.

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So that then, we may plainly finde that they that have hitherto defined Justice to be a vertue giving every one his own, by their not setting down certain rules to judge what these proprieties were, and how to be known, and not determining the persons that shall have this power of distribution, they have made justice, that was ordained to be the great instrument of publike peace and quiet, to be the occasion of Civil war.

They that think they have come neerer the mark, by determining Justice to be *Juris statio*, meaning the sentence of Law, they have thereby indeed found out a good remedy to bridle the exorbitance of Magistrates, and also to direct them in each particular execution of their charge; but then, since justice is not a contemplative vertue, as depending upon the knowledge of the Law, but upon the due execution thereof, it will still follow, that as *Juris statio* doth depend on *Juris dictio*, and the execution of the Law is not otherwise justice then as the person executing the same hath above others power therein derived from that person that is Law-maker, even so also, justice it self must be acknowledged more or less such to inferiors, as it is more or less in its execution approaching and derived from its originall.

Whereupon we must say that when the tearm of Justice is given to inferiors, as denoting their upright dealing in the discharge of any trust, it is then (as before noted) confounded with the vertue of honesty: for honesty is the proper commendation of any in that case, even as denoting trust and inferiority. Whereas, to do justice, or justly, supposeth a power to impose and distribute. But when we do suppose any inferior person (as such) to be capable of justice, so far as he hath been equal to the rule and proportion of his trust, we do thereby grant justice not to be any wayes originally in him, but to be properly onely assignable where the rule is; that is, to the party that holds the ballances, as being possessed of power: And therefore is Justice painted with a sword in the right hand, and scales in the left, as betokening that the estimation and decision of causes and controversies is the proper office of him that is in the supreme seat of authority and power, who is to be conceived the Trustor, and not on the judgement or censure of such as are inferior, or trusted.

And this, because the Trusted's justice or equal dealing being to be measured by the Trustor or superior, he can no otherwise be just then by him justified: which is not to be actively or formally just, but proportionably so. For although he might have been upright or honest in his return, as having herein done to the utmost of his ability or conscience, yet cannot he be therefore truely called just: because the superior in his trust, might have had other ends or intentions in the assignment of the trust, then hath been, or could be by him adequately returned: in which case, falling short of the rule, he failes in point of Justice also.

And to manifest these things more clearly, namely that the Justice of superiors is not dependent on the judgement and sentence of men below, and that againe, our own conscience cannot justifie alone, we shall finde Saint *Paul* saying *With me it is a very small thing to be judged of you, or mans judgement: yea I judge not mine own self, for I know nothing by my self, yet am I not thereby justified, but he that justifieth me is the Lord.* 1 Cor. 4. 3, 4

From whence we may truly infer, that no man can be just before God in this life: not onely, because not fully knowing his will, but also in respect of inability, in coming short thereof, even when we are most conscientious. And so again, taking injustice to import negatively (that is, absence of justice) we may call all inferiors more or less unjust: and that also, whilst to their utmost they are most honest. Even as on the contrary, we may say all inferiors are more or less just, as more or less justified. Upon which ground, the Publican, a neglecter of the Law, *went away rather justified then the Pharisee*, a most exact keeper thereof. In which regard, justification being according to supremacy in power, it follows that any man may be called just, when justified before God the fountain of all rule and power, although to his Prince or Parents he may in some particulars fall short of his truest like as, upon the same rule again, the justification of the Prince may include justice to any subject, notwithstanding his failing in any inferior charge.

Luk. 8. 14.

So that now, the attribute of Justice being formally proper opely to supreme power, hence it comes that the acts of no superior but God can be universally and strictly called just. For Princes being, as his chief Magistrates, in some things restrained, and to be directed by his Laws, they can in those things be no farther esteemed just in execution, then as they are observant of them: Whereas in other things, by God referred to them as to his next entrusted Deputies, the stating of right or law must be dependant again on their sentence. In which case, as those Magistrates by them entrusted with execution of their Laws, must have above other subjects power to interpret, and act according to their own sense of equity and right, which is to be obeyed as justice by all others, even so again, the actions of Princes, as Gods supreme Magistrates, must, as in duty to God, be submitted unto by subjects in general.

And we must farther also say, that as Gods universal power and interest makes his actions to be alwayes equal and just, even because they are his; even so (in proportion) Princes must be held in their actions more or less just, as they are more or less powerful or whole proprietors in what they judge. And farther, that as no man can be the proper and formal subject of justice but he that stands in relation a superior, so none unjust, but as he stands by relation an inferior: even as failing of, or exceeding in, the execution of that trust of power and propriety received from such as were herein above him. And, from the premises, we may farther say, that as the true stating and observance of the relations of governing and governed makes government, and the execution of this government makes justice, so, in Republicks, where these relations are not fixed and certain, but that the governed as Agents do sometimes act on the governing as patients, there Justice must be proportionably wanting or uncertain.

Out of all hitherto spoken it will (I hope) appear to be each mans duty now, as he would be freed of the guilt of doing ill, aswell as that of stubborness and disobedience, not to take upon him to judge of the morality of laws and institutions, above, or without the leave of his superior. For as sin in the wil must proceed from error in the understanding, if I respite my particular inquisitiveness, and suffer my self to be guided by the general perswasion that right and wrong are better known to these I am bound to obey then to my self, the result of my actions, whether they did what was good

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or no, must yet be safer to me that perform them by implicite obedience, then they can be otherwise. For if they be right and good, the merit of that obedience by which they were done will encrease their good : and if otherwise, it will abate it, as being therein my just excuse. For the less will I had therein, the less sin I must also have: as shall be more fully discoursed of when we treat of Religion.

And bootless it is, to say that obedience to humane authority is to be given in things indifferent: For if the doing or not doing be indifferent for legality or benefit in my conceit, I yeild to authority, not as out of duty as such, but as doing what I should have done to any ordinary request. Or if, besides the sense of duty, I go to set my self a rule how far, and how far not, my own reason and conscience is to submit; so far as I take on me to judge of the equity of the precept and the measure of my obedience, so far the vertue and merit of obedience must cease.

So that now, to conclude this discourse of Law and Justice, we are to esteem them the proper right and honor of him that hath the soveraignty; who, being to judge his subjects and fight their battailes, is to have this prime and inseparable mark of his office preserved inviolable. For, unless we will be again content to be let loose to our first natural liberty of having no certain proprieties, but make dominion again fleeting, and dependant on the issue of each mans occasional strength, to hold or acquire, and, in pursuance thereof, to his own censure of right and wrong to possess, there is no remedy but we must submit in matters of judgement and sense of legality and morality, to the same person we now publikely submit our bodily force: unless we should fondly think, that it were fit men should be put by rules of true policy in such a wretched condition, as to be left free to judge of right and wrong, that, to their greater torment, they may be by force deprived. Or, unless we shall farther suppose, that use of force and resistance was in these cases remitted also; and so, absurdly make each subject a superior, by being his own judge and Magistrate.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Publike good, Common good, or Commonweal.

WHat hath been hitherto ſpoken of the neceſſity of ſelf-ſeeking, as to the preſervation of that whole ſpecies which muſt conſiſt of thoſe particulars, muſt, upon like reaſon, be now conſidered in the juſtification of what each Kingdom doth for its ſeparate good apart, without equal regard to the good of one another. For although the good of the whole race of mankinde be in common reaſon preferable to that of any Kingdom, yet ſince neither men themſelves, nor all Countries in general, can be ſo reduced or aſſociated under one entire government and care as to *Call any man father or maſter on earth*, it muſt therefore fall out that this general good, ſubſiſting by, and ariſing according to that of particulars, the neceſſity of each kingdoms having ſeparate propriety and intereſt, and of an underſtanding and will proper to it ſelf, will to it be the ſame (I mean to the preſervation of each kingdom) as the having proprieties diſtinct to the particular ſubjects of the ſame kingdom, is to the ſaubſiſtance and advancement of the general propriety of the whole kingdome: or as having diſtinct underſtanding and will, is neceſſary to conſtitute each ſingle perſon. And as God, who is, and can onely be the univerſal Monarch of all mankinde, doth ſo faſten mans ſpecifical being and preſervation, by pleaſurable objects accompanying his generation and food, or the contrary on things contrary (in ſuch ſort as we are thereby preſerved from danger of total decay) ſo are particular parcels hereof left to the particular guidance of ſtewards and officers of his own appointing: who, having their diſtinct allotments for improvement, are through the natural ſenſe of honor and greatneſs provoked to look to the encreaſing thereof as their proper duties: and that, although, in their exchange or uſury of theſe talents, other kingdoms be proportionable or greater loſers.

From all which, gathering how each kingdome is to be juſtified in proſecuting their own good apart, we are next to conſider what this good is. In this caſe alſo, we muſt, as conceiving theſe notions of *Kingdom* or *Commonwealth* to include a diſtinct multitude of mankind there aſſociated by union of a common head, attribute unto them the ſame end we did unto men in general before: namely the proſecution of pleaſure, although under another name, to wit that of plenty: which doth ſuppoſe and imply *that ſtock or ſtore of things pleaſurable, which each kingdome is to have for the uſe and benefit thereof*. But becauſe the care and charge for acquiſition and preſervation of the particulars that ſerve to promote and make up this plenty or pleaſure doth belong to the Prince, we ſhall not here ſpeak thereof.

In the mean time, conſidering all political happineſs united, and that under the general notion of pleaſure, we muſt ſay, that as other pleaſures

of

of privat persons, so the different pleasures of one Kingdome or Commonwealth above another, is in vigor and sincerity of fruition, or in continuance and extent thereof. For if a people should be pleased with appearing contents, or with riches and its appurtenances onely: as ease, dainty fair, fine cloaths, houses, or the like, these, as they came short of what might have been added in the same kinds, and as they stood unaccompanied of other political benefits, as Religion, Fertility, Arts, Militia, *&c.* and as again they wanted certainty for continuing in their possession or esteem, they wanted also of degree for compleating their political happiness.

Nay farther, collecting the happiness of each Kingdom into a total, it is not onely needful that all and every member thereof be, so far as may be, made sensible thereof, but, because goodness and benefit is more or less, as it is extended, each Kingdom is also more or less happy, as it hath more or fewer to participate thereof. For as the happiness of a whole Kingdome must (collectively considered) be greater then the happiness of any single person or order in the same, so must the happiness of one Kingdom increase above that of another in proportion, as the persons by them made happy do differ in number. And therefore we must also say, that by *Happiness of a Kingdom, we understand that whole stock of pleasures and benefits of all sorts wherewith each Kingdom is furnished: and withal, the fit application and distribution thereof, according to the general capacities and numbers of the subjects.*

As for example, if one party of the kingdom, being too strong to be awed by the supreme power, do enrich themselves by the spoile and plunder of other subjects, it is not their taking upon them the shew of the whole people or Commonwealth, that can make their particular gain the gain of the whole kingdom: but it is rather really the loss: whilst, besides what is truely spoiled by fire, rapine, other mischiefs accompanying Civil war so many men as must be imployed for souldiers, are kept not only from agriculture, manifacture, and other necessary imployments for publike encrease, but also to live luxuriously upon the labor of others: to their disheartening, and decay of the Publike stock; as famine, the consequent of Civil war, doth well declare. But all this, is little to the most considerable loss of so many mens lives: which, as man is more valuable then any thing else, is the greatest loss can befal any Kingdom: not onely as in its self, but as it is wholly inseparable. No, when we see the ploughman, the shepherd, the spinster, or the like, to be intent in their labors and providing food and clothing for us. These we may truely call Commonwealths-men: forasmuch as they do by their occupations make real improvement without the loss of others. Whereas he that through publike disturbance, hath seated himself as high in Office and Power as his ambitious heart can desire, cannot at all be called a Commonwealths-man in what he hath done: nor in what he shal do in this his imployment and power, otherwise then as directed and warranted by his Soveraign. Even because in all distributions and disposals made by any Magistrate of any of the Kingdoms stock already gained, a consequential loss must light on them that were before possessed: when as they that make an encrease from nature or art, as they do thereby empoverish none, so are they alwayes to be held publikely beneficial, whilst they manage their proper imployments.

And

And as publike good may be thus damnified by private actings of subjects one upon another by force, so may it by commerce also. For if some persons or degrees of subjects, do encrease their happiness or riches onely by consequent affliction or poverty of others, none can call this an addition of happiness to the Commonwealth or Kingdome in general. But if this be effected by lawful and usual wayes of contract, commerce, and traffick of subjects amongst themselves, then (at the worst) what one looseth another gets: and so the whole Kingdom neither gets nor loses in the general, or whole stock thereof. But, if this way of acquiring from one another be without publike leave, then, by destruction and neglect of so much of that Kingdomes stock and improvement, as great loss must follow to the whole thereupon. For since to the whole Kingdom there can be no improvement but what is acquired either from nature, or husbandry, or invention of Arts; or from other kingdoms; as by Merchants, Arms, or the like, so can nothing be lost to the whole but by neglect of these, through diversion of endeavor, or by actual destruction of what hath been so gained.

We may therefore well compare those distributions and partitions of honors, lands, *&c.* made amongst subjects by the Prince, unto that dole of bread, or the like, which, upon pre-regard had to each parties wants, is distinctly and orderly given according to the direction of authority; and so nothing comes to be lost. Whereas we may compare that way of partition which subjects do factiously and partially take one them to make amongst themselves, to a kind of scrambling: wherein, while each party or person is confusedly endeavouring to engross to himself, without considering the wants of others, a great part comes to be spoiled in the contest, and by neglect: besides that danger of quarrelling, which must follow thereupon.

Upon consideration of all which, it will appear, that as the publike or whole good of the kingdom is not to be estimated by every private possession, but by all in general; so can it have no competent judge of its reality and extent, but that publik person that hath universal share therein: And so (farther,) that none but he that hath common interest in all the persons of his subjects, can be well able impartially to minde their universal contents, and provide against the covetous engrossements of publike and common benefits. And this, not only for deviding the present stocks of riches, honors, offices, & arms, amongst subjects, but also in differencing and setting the true value and proportions of each of them according to publike benefits, one in comparison of another. Else may his subjects place all their delight in riches, and so neglect Religion and Gods service: or, growing thereby secure, neglect the means of their preservation, and acknowledge of arms. Or they may set their mindes wholly on honour: so as, through emulation, to fall into faction and civil war. For, as in our natural bodies, although the humors themselves be necessary for our preservation, yet if they exceed in quantity, so as to defeat and interupt one anothers workings, or be not in that proportion as the state of that body requires, they then destroy the body: so, in politick bodies, although the having of all politicke benefits be useful therein, yet may the unequal and immoderate possession of some so them, destroy (without good care) the enjoyment and good of the whole.

And therefore fore, as the proper will and appetite of each person is in him supreme and uncontrolable Judge against all other foraign wills, and also over the private and single appetites of his own particular members, so is the

will

will of the publike person, in the same kingdom, uncontrolable judge of that kingdoms benefit: both against the publike judgement of other kingdoms, and also against the judgement of any of its own private members: or else there will (at last) be no such thing as publike good at all.

For when one Faction doth prevail on another, or one Community or Corporation upon another, so far as to encrease in riches or other necessary appurtenances of pleasure; since what is by one order of Subjects gained is in the same proportion lost to another order, the gain of the Kingdom can be no otherwise conceited to encrease in the whole, then as these tradings and gainings one upon another had licence and direction from publike Reason: even therein foreseeing how that Kingdoms publike stock might be therein encreased by forraign supply, or kept undiminished by avoiding home neglect. In the first case prevailing by way of acquisition and gain, in the other by way of parsimony and thrift.

No, it is not the assuming to themselves the name and notion of the Commonwealth, and so, by reason of their present supreme and uncontroleable power, commanding without general agreement or leave of the common head, that can make the actings of any prevailing party or faction to be rightly and justly called the Government of that Commonwealth: much less can it be conceiveable, how the particular gain of this powerful ruling Faction, and that separate and distinct encrease which is thereby raised to themselves and their party, by the consequential loss of a greater number of the people and inhabitants of the same place (by them kept in subjection) can in any true sence, be called the gain of the Commonwealth: let their pretensions of acting for, and in name of the Commonwealth or people, be as fair and plausible as they will.

CHAP. X.

Of Faction and Commerce.

VNder God Almighty who alone is Omnipotent, and in himself All-sufficient, there is no sensitive Agent but stands in need of security and advantage to be obtained elsewhere: and which (according to the sence and knowledge thereof) doth not, to the utmost of its power, finde out means of trust, for avoiding the objects of its fear, or attaining those of its hopes. Thus, the Lion hath his Teeth and Tallons as his confidence to defend himself, and also to obtain his prey. The Fox trusts to his craft for both. But generally, all Beasts, Fishes, and Birds, seek to shun their present fears, by the nimbleness of their Legs, Fins, and Wings: their food being usually so ready, to all that live not on prey, that little provision or care need to be taken.

In men, the weapons offensive and defensive are chiefly their reason; for as their fears and hopes encrease above other creatures, both through the knowledge of what truely is, or may be hurtful or good unto them (which beasts do

do not) or through the variety of those objects of harm or delight (which beasts have not) so they have accordingly made larger provision for their securities and advantages.

For supply of our continual wants, so far as they refer to Nature or Godward, we, like other creatures, have no cause of fear or mistrust, that the
Gen. 8. 22. *Covenant of Seed-time or Harvest, Summer and Winter, day and night*, with the continuation of other influences and affordments of the creatures, should ever quite fail; because in him that appointed them, as there is no
Jam. 4. 17. self-want to divert, so *there is no variableness or shadow of change*. Whereas, in those supplies that are necessary for our use, and yet are in the power of others that have like use with ourselves, the acquiring or possession of them cannot reasonably be expected without a voluntary and free resignation.

To suppose it voluntary, is first to suppose it reasonable in the opinion of the party from whom the curtesie is expected. And reasonable it cannot be, till some thing equivalent, in the eye of the proprietor, be granted in satisfaction and lieu thereof: whither it be in equal goods, or curtesie, or onely in thanks, as a free gift. In which latter case onely, no pledge or contract useth to pass: though, to a generous minde, it be the straightest obligation that may be. But, in the other cases, the kinds of return or requital, with the weight, measure, number, or other estimation thereof is always agreed upon.

For although it might be alleadged, "That since in Nature there is no "Propriety, why should not he that had store of Corn, Cattel, *&c.* share "with him that wants, who is both his equal and hath like interest. And "what more noble then in this case freely to give. All which is true: but since these are things which each one cannot want, who shall have power to see this distribution made, or force one man to drudge for another? And since it is not to be presumed that he which plows and soweth, will be so far delighted in that expence and labour, as to do it for such as from whom (it may be) not so much as thanks is to be expected; therefore there will be danger, that either he that expected bread from him will want it, or else, bestowing his whole labor in getting bread for himself and others, he should, for want of time to imploy in other things, want all other food, and apparel also.

And therefore, as the setling of Propriety encreased tillage and other sorts of husbandry (which otherwise would have lain still) so Trade and Commerce make Propriety useful, to the improvement both of the goods of Nature and Art. For hereby the Husbandman, the Grasier, the Shoomaker, the Tayler, *&c.* have mutually to supply each others wants: and he that hath more food then he needs, may exchange the overplus for apparel or what else he wants. And so, whilst mens abilities are not diverted, but wholly imployed in one Trade, each one (to the common improvement) will grow of greater excellency therein.

And thereby also, mens several gifts and endowments come to be alternatively and publikely useful and beneficial. For the strong and able bodied man, who (perhaps) hath not equal judgement to him that is weak, is fittest for execution and labour in those things which the invention of the other hath by his Art and Study made more easie: each ability finding an imployment proper. And although, at the first, while Families were

great

great, they were like little Commonweales or Cities in themſelves, and ſo might, through their many hands, and unity of Command and applycation, be in all things well furniſhed, according to ſuch proportion as their ſimplicity then required; yet leſs Families, being now collected in narrow bounds within Cities and Commonweals, as they could not otherwiſe ſubſiſt, ſo they are hereby ſerved with greater eaſe and variety.

But, neceſſity, the mother of invention, ſaw yet a defect. For he that imployed himſelf in ſhoe-making, *&c.* might want food or other neceſſaries, at ſuch a time as they in whoſe hands theſe things were had no need of his ſhoes: but it may be of ſuch other things as were not in his power. In this caſe there was no way, but to agree to ſome one or few things, that ſhould ſerve as common values and exchanges for all others: which at firſt (it is like) was of Leather, Iron, or what was generally moſt uſeful. But this not ſerving to all wants and occaſions, and through its plenty being ſubject to deceit, mettals of greateſt ſcarcity come to be politickly brought in, and ſtampt by Authority, to give it denomination and value: So that, where anciently eſtates were reckoned by cattel or goods, it is now computed by mony.

But let us go on to diſcover what is juſt and not in matters of Commerce, (ſuppoſing men as under rules of Religion): A man comes to buy or bargain with another for any thing he wants, what gain ſhall we allow the ſeller? ſhall it be twenty in the hundred, a double, or treble value: or elſe what can he get? Where ſhall Conſcience ſtint it ſelf? Shall the Law appoint the proportion? Why ſo? Is not the ſeller a Subject as well as the buyer? And if then the Law rate and ſtint not all commodities and dealings, it is partial: if it do, to what uſe; ſince the gain might as well have gone round; by my enhanſing proportionably my commodities to him or others, as now our loſſes do, as being all of us low rated? But what if the buyer have not commodities, for all men cannot be ſtored alike? Why then commonly you diſcourage Trade: and ſo, through a general dearth of things, prejudice all men. Therefore authority interpoſeth but in few caſes with ſucceſs: and, in my judgement, in the ſilence of Authority, they are under no rule but of their own Conſciences: namely of the rule of *Doe as thou wouldeſt be done unto.* For the buyer and ſeller, truſting to their own judgements and skill in their bargains, may advantage themſelves as they ſhall ſee good. For where is no truſt to be underſtood, there is no cozenage: otherwiſe all Trades would be unlawful. For if you meaſure unlawfulneſs by proportion of gain, the leaſt again is unlawful alſo.

But for this partial reſpect ſo generally sheyed towards the buyer againſt the ſeller, there is the ſame reaſon to be given as was formerly for theſe many declamations againſt the atbitrary power of Princes, and for the many inventions of bounding their ſingle powers more then the powers of the many ſuperiors in Ariſtocracies and Democracies: namely, that as Subjects and parties are onely writers of thoſe things, ſo few writers of Moral or Political duties are Tradeſmen or ſellers, but all buyers: and ſo, for their own intereſt ſake, having not regard to the equal juſtice of the thing it ſelf, would have them bounded, and not themſelves.

And as it thus fareth at the Market or Tradeſmans ſhop (namely that the buyer is at the ſellers choice for the proportion of mony or other exchange to be given him in ſatisfaction for what he takes) the like it is with Officers, Artificers, or other perſons, from whom any thing belonging to their offices or labor of minde is deſired. To wit, that, where the rate of their pains and imployment is not ſtinted by a ſuperior, there, he, being an equal ſubject with the other that hath need of his imployment, is not, like his ſlave or drudge, to be made to ſerve him without ſuch requital as himſelf ſhall judge reaſonable.

And ſo alſo it is in the caſe of that great publike officer the King: for, he having none on earth above him, who ſhall ſet any ſtint upon him: ſo far that if any will make uſe of his protection, he ſhall not again have liberty to encreaſe the rate thereof, according to occaſion: as Merchants do of their wares, or other Officers or Artificers do of their skill? And upon the ſame reaſon that he may make rich and great men pay him greater Rates and Taxes for their protections, as having greater ſhares therein, why may he not generally upon occaſion, encreaſe or diminiſh theſe Rates from all or any of his Subjects, as he findes this his office of protecting them to be more or leſs dangerous to himſelf, as well as difficult and expenſive? For where God (his ſuperior) hath not bounded him, I ſee not why he ſhould be rated by any others: much leſs by the parties themſelves, for that great hazard of his perſon he undergoes, in that ſecurity of perſon and eſtate which he gives unto them.

Let us look neerer to this in Pactions, where performance on both ſides is not preſent, as in contracts before mentioned, but that both are future, or one party muſt perform before another. This Paction, and the ſecurity thereupon will be found void, without a common Authority to hold the obliged party to performance: For elſe the firſt cannot in reaſon begin. Therefore, ſince all truſt doth require due return and diſcharge, men, for their mutual ſecurities herein, do not relye upon the ſingle aſſurances of one anothers bare promiſes, but either engage witneſſes therein, or truſt to ſome ſuch deed under hand & ſeal, as may be available to call in publike juſtice to their aſſiſtance, in caſe that breach of Covenant ſhould be offered. In which caſe, as neither ſide hath right to determine for it ſelf, ſo can they not refuſe the appeal and umperage of the ſuperior Authority therewith intruſted. For ſo, in all Commonweals there is Law, and, by a juſt ſubordination, there is a Superior for deciſion of all things; till we come therein to the ſupreme of all: beyond whom, no appeal on earth is to be had. For that, if I ſhould appeal from the Prince to any on earth, I change the Government: placing the ſoveraignty where the laſt appeal is. And becauſe in theſe things we muſt come to ſome pawſe, therefore if we place a ſupreme above a ſupreme, we make all controverſies undecideable: and loſe our ſelves as in a circle of giddyneſs.

So then, the difference between a Contract and a Pact is, that, the one being a preſent exchange of Property, the alternative poſſeſſion gives and ſecures their rights, without ſuppoſition of ſuperior civil power to the new proprietors, as firmly as it did to the old. Whereas in Pactions, the poſſeſſion of the new property being not yet had, he that performs laſt hath for his future poſſeſſion no aſſurance but what ariſeth from a power ſuperior and common to them both: Into whoſe hands the whole Propriety muſt thereupon be

be ſuppoſed to be put; (as is uſually done by deed in his name atteſted by witneſs) and that, according to the degree that this third power ſtands therein preſently concerned and powerful, the truſting party hath his ſecurity. And therefore, to make Pactions and Contracts the ſame in Reaſon and Equity, the ſuperior muſt have whole Propriety in the thing pacted for, and equal and ſupreme power over the pacting parties: or elſe they contract for contingencies inſtead of certainties.

But then they agree, that either party, being a voluntary Agent, may gain on the other to his utmoſt. For in caſe the ſuperior perſon do mittigate or alter, he doth it as in relation to his own common and ſupreme Propriety: becauſe in thoſe Pacts which he perſonally and expreſly doth not ratifie, but onely by general rules, he may vary as he ſhall finde thoſe general rules miſtaken or wreſted: otherwiſe you both ingage and diſ-impropriate him againſt his conſent. For ſince each ſuperior, being to be ſuppoſed with many in ſubordinate relation under him, cannot perſonally and particularly preſide in all bargains, but muſt for direction of his pleaſure in theſe things give and make Laws, it ſtands with no reaſon that for his good intention herein (that is for diſpatch of the buſineſs of others) he ſhould be by them diſadvantaged himſelf.

Now, imagining a Paction between King and people (as is by ſome done,) this difference will ariſe between the ties and ſecurities which ſubiects make one with another, and thoſe they make with their King. Firſt, Subjects bargains are expreſſed, and that uſually under hand and ſeal before witneſs: and then have they a perſon, and way of deciſion ready to reconcile their differences. Whereas, between Prince and people, nothing like Paction appears: but is onely ſuppoſed. Again, the Prince having onely God above him, the Subjects have no appeal but thither; who onely is King of Kings: for how ſhould the Subjects judge, they are parties, and beneath the Prince? How ſhall the Law judge; for that muſt be under its maker alſo?

Again, in Pactions one is performing before another: between Prince and people it is not known which is to begin, or which is to end: for their ties are continual, and reciprocal: the Prince is continually to protect them, and they continually to obey him. Is he ſworn to keep the Laws and do Juſtice; they are ſworn and obliged to obey the Laws, and him in execution of them. Therefore when Monarchs take oaths for maintenance of the Laws made, or for doing of Juſtice or other things, having none but God to judge hereof above him, he can be to him onely accomptable, as to a ſuperior, for any breach: and if he be, he is no Soveraign. And if oaths do but what humane Law or Polity can do or ſecure without them, the atteſtation of Gods name and preſence is but taking his Name in vain: the obligation of an oath being in value as far above Law, as God is above the Prince. And when the oath of Allegeance paſſeth from Subjects to Princes, it is for farther ſecuring him againſt oppoſition and revolt: becauſe if ſence of duty to God do not, it is not poſſible for the fear of one man to keep all in ſubjection.

They that imagine Kingly Government is grounded on Paction with people, as deriving from them his power over them, will appear in a farther miſtake herein, from conſideration of the nature of Paction it ſelf: which we ſhall a little more particularly examine. For firſt, they ſuppoſing that the community is at that time aſſociated by mutual Paction ſo as to act in the

the capacity of one perſon, do fail, in that neither expreſs Articles to that purpoſe could ever be made or produced, nor could there be any witneſs, nor a third preſent obliging ſuperior party ſuppoſed. For, witneſs there can be none, but ſuch as are parties: and third common obliging and powerful party there cannot be, but God. For if another on earth, he is their Prince already: and it is he, not they, muſt give conſent. So that God not being preſent, as to manifeſtation of expreſs conſent in what they do, otherwiſe then by his Will already known by his Laws; the people having none but themſelves (equal parties) to judge how far their Pactions are conſonant to theſe Laws, muſt, as wanting preſent power to hold them obliged to one another, want alſo power to grant any thing one to another. And therefore, they failing to think that ſuch a body can be at all, or that a body without a head can perform the Offices of Diſcourſe, Will, and Underſtanding, which is to the making Pactions requiſite, we will next ſee what likeneſs of Paction there is in any thing that appears between Prince and people, ſuppoſing them as pactors; which ſome do fancie for making ſubjects ſubmiſſion (as they think) lawful, becauſe voluntary.

In this, the firſt great difficulty will be, how to bring the people into a capacity of appearance for making this ſtipulation. For if by their mutual and reciprocal Pactions amongſt one another, they have but, (as is uſually ſuppoſed to make them one body) transferred each others power, they are as far from being one body as before: becauſe, as they were before ſeparate in having their own diſtinct perſonal powers, ſo are ſtill as diſtinct in poſſeſſion of the powers of each other. For, if *John* have given his power to *Thomas*, it muſt be (I ſuppoſe) that *Thomas* ſhould alſo give his own power to *Willsam*: And then, as *William* may be ſuppoſed to have a treble power (that is his own and the two reſigned) ſo at laſt, by his transferring theſe reſigned powers onward, they will come into one hand. But this will be a long work, and much trouble there will be with whom to begin, and in what order to follow therein; and who ſhall be the ſupreme obliging party, to ſee performance of theſe many Pactions.

But if they be ſuppoſed to pact all at once, how ſhall we in this confuſion be able to finde out and diſtinguiſh the pacting perſons from one another; and the third obliging party and witneſſes from both? "For if *John* ſay "to *Thomas*, I give you all my right in governing my ſelf, upon condition "that you give the ſame and all yours to ſuch and ſuch, and this we mutual- "ly oblige our ſelves by oaths to do, Then, taking theſe pactors by pairs, here will be a long work again, and to no purpoſe: unleſs the third perſon to be impowered with all power, do ſeverally ſtipulate with theſe pares: and then he will have as many Kingdomes as pairs of Subjects.

And to ſuppoſe each party pacting with the whole community, and ſaying "I give all my power to this Community, that they again may give it unto "ſuch a man; Then muſt each man ſingly come to do ſo. Which done, each man will come but to have the ſame power he had at the firſt: foraſmuch as every one being a member of the Community, hath alſo his equal ſhare therein ſtill. And therefore each one, as ſharer in the power of the Community, muſt anew conſent, or we are never the neerer of having a political perſon to Pact with; or of having made any Community or Corporation. And as this cannot be without a preſent ſuperior Authority for ſo doing neither,

ther, (by force of whose Law the same must be done) so will it much more follow, that as they could not by Paction have become a Community without some Superior Law and Power; so, beyond the leave of that Superior Law or Power, cannot they, as a Community, act any thing of force: much less can they set a Superior above what is Superior to them already.

Again, it would be considered what they pact for in these their supposed Pactions with Princes, because all rational creatures must have an aym. In this case we must still continue supposing (for matter of Fact will never appear): either then they pact for their right to govern others, or for their right to govern themselves: If the latter, it must be meant onely so far as their separate deportments come to be publikely useful; for still I suppose each one must have power to manage his proper business. Then, Question being what shall be publike, what not, the supposed Paction must be invalid: because, expressing it not, it saves not, nor remedies not one pacting party from the power of the other: that is, the Subject from the Superior, to whom it belongs to have power to judge in all, or else he can judge in none. If it be meant of the first (that is, of his share of government of others) then must each person singly pact: to the end that the Community (including all) may have joynt right to govern. But then, how can they give what they have not? For since (as formerly shewed) none have by Nature, and as men, rule over one another, but what is derived the natural way from constraint, how shall force or fear be reconciled with the supposed voluntary Paction?

Again, if precedent Paction must be supposed to make Government lawful; how shall we do for establishment of Democracies? Do the people of such a place Covenant with themselves, both to transfer to themselves, and retain to themselves the government of such a place? Do they thus derive power from one to another, to no other purpose then to do every one as they like still, and to be just as much, and no more powerful, then before? Here is a mad work indeed. Or if it be not done, then by their Argument these Governments are but Anarchies, which is true indeed.

But if we should (to avoid some of the passed absurdities) suppose no Paction to pass between Prince and people; then, (grounding Justice and injury on the observation or violation of Pactions) we make them uncapable (by that supposition) of doing Justice to, or receiving injury from his Subjects: and so destroy Government, for want of mutual obligation and sense of duty.

Lastly, these considerations will much puzzle us on what to ground the duty of those in the Family towards the Master. If he need not derive his Authority from Paction, but as due by Office, then is power by Office, and founded on Gods Precepts: not on consent below. If children and servants must pact with one another to impower their Father or Master, then must he get them and rule them in all at once: or else, upon the birth and admission of every new childe and servant, they must all pact anew, for fear that these new ones, for want of being Covenanters, should be injured when any thing is by their Father or Master done against their liking. And then, what shall we say of the Wifes subjection? Must the husband have many Wives, that one may pact with another to empower him? Can he not also have

Fatherly

Fatherly or Maſterly power while he hath but one childe or one ſervant for the like reaſon? At what yeers muſt Children be ſuppoſed able to paſt? And by what Authority muſt the Father command in the mean time?

Some, that firſt founded Government and power on this ſuppoſed way of pacting, have reckoned amongſt ſociable creatures Bees, Piſmires, *&c.* which being bred all at once, do remain as it were but one liter: And again, they being of equality for wit, Courage, Size, Strength, *&c.* muſt have, according to their agreement in theſe things and ſhortneſs of life, their particular ſenſe of good undiſtinguiſhed from that which is common: and are therefore onely inſtances, amongſt ſenſitive Agents, for an independent Community, as heretofore ſhewed. But how ſhall theſe things be fancied amongſt men? What are our ſuppoſed Factions no more then theirs? It is like indeed. But how ſhall we contrive men to be ſo contemporary: or in ſuch equality of Birth, Appetite, *&c.* to reſemble them?

Suppoſe a Collony of men agree to go to a new Plantation, their agreement to future Government will have example and reaſon from former ſenſe and Education in Governments whereupon to found it ſelf. And although, with them, force prevailes not for the preſent eſtabliſhing one man above another, yet riches or craft will: ſo as, by the unequal power thereof, to deſtroy that ſuppoſed equal Paction; upon their coming to this new Colony, and alſo in receiving others to them: towards whom, if they proceed not by open force, yet in their new Agreements (as formerly amongſt themſelves) they prevail on one another by opinion of Power and Force: which muſt conſequently overthrow ſuppoſition of equal Community. For the ſhare of Power cannot be equal amongſt ſuch as have it in degree one more then another: and where then is their formal conſenting to ſet up others in power above them, ſince it aroſe but from the conſiderations they could not avoid it? And men may make ſuppoſitions this way while they pleaſe, yet it is in truth no more poſſible for men in a perfect ſtate of freedom to conſent to any degree of ſubjection, then to conſent to endure any other evil. For when men (in this new Collony or in any other condition) do ſubmit to another, as in diſcretion, and out of choice of two evils to chooſe the leſs, it is but the ſame thing as to ſubmit to a conquering Monarch. In which caſe, as the feared evil is more plain, ſo will it more prudentially juſtifie their ſubmiſſion.

The benefit and deſign of this prudential choice of ſubjection, is livelily ſet down by *Jacob* in *Iſſacars* bleſſing: *viz. He ſaw that reſt was good, and the Land that it was pleaſant, and bowed his ſhoulder to bear, and became a ſervant to tribute.* That is, he finding that it was not ſo probable that he ſhould gain perfect Freedom or Dominion by reſiſtance, as it was apparent that he ſhould thereby hazard and loſe the benefits ariſing by ſubjection, he therefore of two evils choſe the leſs: and ſince he could not avoid the choice of ſubjection it ſelf, he diſcreetly choſe that kinde of ſubmiſſion therein as ſhould render him moſt happy. Gen. 49. 15.

And this kinde of prudential Freedom is not onely all that humane condition is capable of in matters of ſubjection, but in all things elſe. For

For absolute freedom, that is, not to be liable to inconvenencies in the entertainment of the objects of choice (so far as that which shall be in it self most pleasing, shall not upon other consequential and unavoidable inconveniences be often subject to be past by) is a prerogative of him that is omnipotent onely: as having his power in all things equal to his will: and not of mankind; who, as bounded by the Laws of God, Nature and other his superiors, hath his power alwayes so stinted by his own imbecillity and the will of others, that the objects of his liking can be none other free to him, then as quallified and accompanied with such continual difficulties and hazards, as must render it inconsideration thereof, the object of deliberation whether to take or leave, and not of absolute freedom whether to take or leave that particular object, simply and in it self alone considered. If sense of tast or honor prompt us to the enjoyment of any particular food or place of preferment, these objects in themselves desirable, do through those abatements of dangers and inconveniencies arising in their acquisition or possession, become so far still the object of deliberation, that we many times decline as evil, the prosecution of what we apprehend or know to be good: and whether we choose or leave, our freedom is not higher then of two evils to choose the less: that is, the evil of want of the object we desire, or the evil of presence of it with its inconveniencies. Our liberty being never higher nor lower in any thing then absence of constraint in taking or leaving. Nay more, he that in the highest objects of his delight is not bounded by laws of superiors (as not being under government) yet since these usually are by others desireable aswel as himself, he will have the consideration of feared prejudice of his equals, still make it the object of deliberation: whereas the same liberty of choice and deliberation, cannot be so taken off by the highest and most severe law and penalty set down by authority, but that there will still be absence from constraint and place left for deliberation, and consequently for volition either way. For as God alone is onely altogether unsubjected to the will of others, so inanimates and creatures below us, that wholly want will of their own, can be onely wholly subjected to the will of others.

And therefore, to return to farther examination of the Princes power as grounded on the consent of the community and particularly by oaths, we say, that if things be duely searcht, the Princes oath is only voluntary and subjects to be enforced by Law of the Country, or Law of nature, in prudence to his security. And oaths proceed not from muttual trust, but distrust. If either of them break these oaths, they are so far only punishable by God. For the Prince punisheth his Rebellious subjects, not as perjured, but as they are offenders; and subject to the laws: And therefore those that take not these oaths are for such offences equally punishable herein to those that do. And the truth is, that without these oaths, both King and People stood obliged to all reciprocal duties belonging to their offices: And if oaths should be taken to disable them in due performance of their offices, or enjoyn them to unlawful or unfit actions beyond their respective relative duties, they are invalid.

But although these Oaths cannot amount to a Paction, yet is their use good. For first, the solemn manner and place of delivery (being at the alter) cannot but deeply imprint in Kings their duty to God, to whom, and his Laws they are to be obedient, aswell as the meanest subject: then, by

promising to govern according to Law, Justice, or the like, they are put in minde, that since their office is chiefly for their subjects good, they are to apply these rules to that purpose: at least so far as they see them thereto available. And so again, subjects by these oaths come to know that God, aswell as the law enjoyns them obedience.

In Aristocraties and Democraties, the capitulation is supposed between the whole state and each member: but in a Monarch, between the whole community and the Monarch. Subjects in Polarchies have no Oaths from the collective body, nor do the particular members of the state give any to the whole, as the subjects in Monarchies do to the Prince. And this, because each member in the state, as having a share in the state, and the state being not the whole state or soveraignty without him, he is neither in reason obliged to do it to them, nor much less they to him. For as in the first case (his share being something) it were absurd to demand of himself, security for himself, so in the second, to give security where none is taken seems unreasonable. So that the maine security which Polarchies have against the revolt of the people is in their own forces and numbers: making so great a share of them, that, with themselves and dependants, they are commonly the greater party of such as have arms. And therefore subjects can never ease themselves of the oppression of Polarchies without foraign help, or of some of the States against the rest: or else, when war hath so far wasted these heads themselves and their forces, as the subjects may have strength enough to revolt. But the single persons of Monarchs, being disabled to prevail altogether by force, must relye also upon Oaths: and such obligations as may prevaile more by love then fear.

Now, to come to the example of Kings Covenanting with their people, it is oftenest urged in *David*. Who, as first of his family, and one that God intended to have firmely settled in that office, was thereupon to have the more solemn and notified entrance: And, for the peoples stronger obligation to acknowledge and serve him, he was to receive his annointings again as by their appointment and consent; and they also, to that purpose, to promise him obedience and service. For surely, none can think it was in *Judahs* or *Israels* power, whether or no he should have been their King: being before annointed by Gods direction, without consent of either of them.

So that their former King being now dead, we must suppose that in Justice they could do no otherwise: secondly nor in prudence, he being of such merit in himself, and having besides, *A great host like the host of God.* Although his own considerations, as also his gifts, made the Elders of *Judah* first endue him, yet I finde no expression of the peoples doing it: or that the people or Elders made any Covenant with him. And as for *Israel*, the Covenant spoken of must be understood in pursuance of that made with *Abner*: who, as in the chief command, had made *Ishbosheth*, *Sauls* son, King before: to whose face he threatens to give the kingdom to *David*. And therefore, when in pursuance thereof, he makes a league with *David to bring all Israel to him*, it is to be understood of a league with *Abner* first made: for after the league between them *Abner* now calleth *David*, *Lord and King*: and saith, *He will gather all Israel to David to make a league with him, that he might raign over all that his heart desired.* Here is indeed obedience and subjection promised on the peoples part when they should make this league with him, but what was the engagement from this or any

1 Chro. 12.22.

2 Sam. 3.9.

Verse 12.

Verse 21. Ibid.

other King to ſubjects, by way of Covenant, I finde not.

But to proceed on this enquiry concerning *Davids* Covenanting, that which was probably *Abners* aime (beſides his thirſt of treacherous revenge was) indemnity for his paſt act againſt *David*: and therefore he durſt not come till he had ſent meſſengers on his own behalf. Which *David* accepts upon condition that *he ſhould bring his wife Michal with him*: or elſe no forgiveneſs: expreſſed in that phraſe of anger, *Thou ſhalt not ſee my face except*, &c. Verſ. 13. And likely it is *Abner* was taken into favor alſo: which might appear by *Davids* feaſting him, and *Ioabs* envious killing him, and by *Davids* mourning for him afterwards. And therefore his Covenanting with Iſrael afterwards can be interpreted (as before noted) but a promiſe of indempnity from him, according to, and in purſuance of the promiſe formerly made to *Abner*: who had before undertook and prevailed, *To bring Iſrael and Benjamin to him*. Verſ. 19. So that, after *Abners* death and their Kings, it was much more reaſon they ſhould come to *David* for this Covenant then he to them. And it is to be noted, that they ſend to him, he comes not to them: as he did formerly to *Iudah*, with whom it was more likely he ſhould have made a Covenant, if it had been neceſſary that kingly right and power had depended on Paction and conſent of people. Therefore this Covenant could not imply equal ſtipulation or reſignation of any royal power: becauſe then, *Iudah* had more reaſon to have preſſed it, as having more power to ſtand on their tearms with *David*. For they, being not in like trouble and confuſion, might have alſo joyned with Iſrael againſt him: nor was his ſtrength then ſo great and formidable, as afterwards.

But their not doing it (as not having offended by reſiſting *David* as *Iſrael* had done ſeven yeers together) makes it evident that this covenant imported nothing but an act of oblivion, or the like: and that it was not at *Davids* ſuite, as ſummoning them to ſettle him in his throne, but at theirs, to be ſettled by him in their liberties, which were probably to be the ſame that their brethren of *Iudah* already had: And therefore they ſay unto him, *We are thy bone and thy fleſh*: becauſe thoſe of *Iudah* might elſe preſume to much as *being his kin*: acknowledging alſo to him (before they ſpeak of Covenant) that God had appointed and ſaid unto him *Thou ſhalt be ruler over my people Iſrael*. And their annointing is not aſcribed to freedom in them to have refuſed, but it is ſaid, *They annointed David King over Iſrael, according to the word of the Lord by Samuel*: that is, acknowledged him King as God had appointed.

2 Sam. 5. 1. Chap. 19. 42. 1 Chron. 11. 3. Verſ. 3.

And to ſhew that this League or Covenant imported but ſome promiſes of grace, or the like from the King to the people, and did not imply equal ſtipulation, we may obſerve that he is alwayes ſet down as the free author and agent hereof: and that both to *Abner* and the people it is thrice called his League. In anſwer to which promiſe of indemnity or the like, we find that when the League is ſet down to be made from the people to *David*, it is added (to denote their promiſe of fealty on the other ſide) *that thou mayeſt raign over all that thy ſoul deſireth*. Upon which ground alſo, when *Ioaſh* is to be acknowledged King (being ſo young that he could not promiſe to the people ſo as to be binding) the Covenant goes in the peoples name, as their Covenant.

2 Sam. 3. 21.

And this covenanting with *David* could not truely be ſuppoſed to import any greater freedom to *Iſrael* then formerly they had under the govern-

ment of *Saul* and his son; for this had been to have given *David* leſs Soveraignity then *Saul*: and to have made *Iſrael* more free then *Iudah*. Which (if ſo) makes againſt the whole drift of the argument: namely that Princes howe their power by Paction from their ſubjects, when the example proves rather he thereby loſeth it: and ſo comes at laſt to confeſs that Kings have all Civil power by God given as of right to their office, and that as Gods Vicegerent, he may grant, by Oath and promiſe, to his ſubjects ſuch exemptions and immunities as he ſhall think good: not derogating from his honor, or diſabling him in his publike truſt. Which promiſes, when they come to be publikely and ſolemnly made, as at Coronations or the like, are uſually taken for Pactions: and the ſubjects thought givers, even in what they are but receivers.

But this matter of Covenanting between King and people, will be beſt conceived, as to the intention thereof (which as before noted was chiefly to acknowledge and confirme ſubjection and obedience to a new queſtionable Prince) by that Covenant which *Ieboida* the high Prieſt cauſed to be made with young *Ioaſh*: where, at the time of his making, it is ſaid, *And all*
2 Chron. 23.3. *the Congregation made a Covenant with the King in the houſe of God*, and, to ſhew what the Covenant was, it follows, *He ſaid unto them behold the Kings*
Ibid. *ſon ſhall raign as the Lord hath ſaid of the ſons of David.* Then *Ieboida* appoints them particular ſervices to do for the King: but for making any promiſe on the Kings part to the people, not a word there, nor no where elſe. Again, this covenanting in *the houſe of God* muſt imply their ſolemn Oaths of fealty and obedience: the which are expreſly ſet down as implicitly and unconditionately given him. *And the ſeaventh yeer Ieboida ſent and fet*
the rulers over hundreds with the Captaines and the guards, and brought them
unto him into the houſe of the Lord, and made a Covenant with them; and
2 Kings 11. 4. *took an Oath of them in the houſe of the Lord, and ſhewed them the Kings ſon.* The people here ſwearing, and that to a King of ſeven yeers old (that therefore could not be ſuppoſed to capitulate with them,) and their doing it in the houſe of the Lord, clearly interprets what was meant by renewing *Sauls* kingdom *before the Lord in Gilgall*, and of *Davids* covenantings formerly mentioned: namely, by Oaths ſolemnly taken, to eſtabliſh obedience to a new race more ſtrongly in the people: and not to crave their authority for impowring his Office.

In like manner are we to underſtand, 2 *Chron.* 23. 16. where it is ſaid, *And Ieboida made a Covenant between him and between all the people, and*
between the King: that is, he promiſed obedience to the King, both in his own and the peoples behalf, *that they ſhould be the Lords people*: and walk as obedient children to his Miniſter. Which laſt words do denote to us, that he ſtirs the cuſtome of thoſe people, at theſe conventions to make promiſe of obedience to God alſo: the ſtate of Theocrity ſtill continuing, whilſt God had a Prophet amongſt them. Which will yet be more likely to be the ſenſe thereof, if we compare it with a paralel text and expreſſion uſed at the making of *Solomon* King. Where *David*, as Gods chief Miniſter, commands the people to make their acknowledgement to God (as here the chief Prieſt doth in the Kings minority) ſaying, *Now bleſs the Lord your God*, after which it follows, *And all the Congregation bleſſed the Lord God of their fathers, and*
1 Chron. 23.20 *bowed down their heads and worſhipped the Lord and the King.* In which words we muſt not think the King is idolatrouſly joyned with God in matter

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of Divine worship, but as having obedience promised to him also, after they had promised it to God. From which we may also infer, that this covenanting was no more needful to Kingly power, then it was to make gods: But since upon these solemn occasions they were to be assembled to make acknowledgement of these his deputies, it was fit the Author and Fountain of all should be acknowledged in the first place.

Nay this young *Iosh*, though (as other Kings) said to be made by the people, yet was it not to be understood as if his right had depended on their consent. For he was to raign as in right of inheritance from his father *David*: who had also all his right and authority from God: and the people had no more rightful power to reject those individual persons, then they had power to refuse the keeping of Gods other commands; for all power (as heretofore noted) must come from above: that is from God to Kings, and from God or Kings to people: and not from inferiors to superiors. For none can, as from themselves alone, make others more powerful then themselves, more then they can make themselves other, or more then themselves.

And when God himself is often mentioned in holy writ as covenanting with people, he is never to be understood as if done for increasing his authority by this means: but, whether he express the return of general obedience to his laws (which thereupon come to be called Covenant also) or not, he is in both respects so far from acknowledging any derivative power from them to accrew by their consents, that, on the other side, what they receive is of free-grace and goodness from him. For though this obedience, as due for the receit of more extraordinary and remarkable favors, come to claim a greater willingness, as carrying a token of more high obligation (through such expressions of goodness) to certain people and persons, yet (as God) he had right to the same obedience and measure of gratitude, from those and all other his creatures: and must be presumed, as herein only applying himself to help our backwardness in this due return, by this repetition of extraordinary mercies. For however it be in peoples power to be more or less willing in obedience and gratitude, yet the duty thereof can never cease: nor the duty of willingness herein neither: whether God be more particularly beneficient or no. Even so (in measure) it is with Kings, and parents also: who cannot be in any thing empowered from below, but must also, in the expressions of such Covenants and leagues, not to be thought as equal Pactors. But so far as they, and those under them, can be according to their relations mutual Covenanters, it can be in no wise understood of such things as were formally constitutive of them in these relations: as for the inferior to give power of government, or the superior to give the other power of obedience. For this had been to have supposed them to have been before stated towards each other in a contrary respect: as the superior to have been an inferior, and the inferior a superior: and that they were now but exchangers. It is indeed many times practised, for superiors to promise protection, justice, and such like things as are proper for them that have power, and for inferiors (on the other side) to promise fidelity, obedience, and the like. And these things have their use because they both, as voluntary agents, might be by this means reciprocally the better minded of the discharge of their mutual obligations. But since the same things had been due from each to other, had they not been expressed, they cannot therefore be

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reasonably thought constitutive of that separate power and vertue whereby the relatives act.

Hereupon, as Gods particular benefits promised unto men are sometimes called Covenants, so mens solemn promises of obedience to God are called Covenants also: but whether we vow to him, or he promiseth to us, yet, as long as there is not at the same time any mutual express consent of both parties for acceptance of conditions, I see not how they can properly be counted stipulations or Pactions; in any sense to be applied to the intended purpose. Nor do I also know, how to admit the like phrase of what passeth between Prince and people: where the conditions of breach are not set down; but are onely implicite promises: and that commonly but on one side.

And if we look to Scripture phrase, we shall finde Covenant and promise to import the same thing: as in that promise to *Noah* of not drowning the world any more: God calls it *making his covenant* (not onely) *with Noah and his seed*, but *with fowl, cattel, and every beast of the earth.* Here the name of Covenant is seven times mentioned; sure it could not import any stipulation: for we find nothing expressly required back from them: nor could irrational creatures be capable of bargaining in this kind. And as the Rainbow was a sign of this Covenant or general promise, so was circumcision a sign of that particular Covenant or promise to *Abraham*, for performance in due time of the promised land and promised seed: they were not stipulations; as if the parties were equal: or as if God wanted, or men had something in their powers, which otherwise then by voluntary bargains could not be granted.

Gen. 9. 10.

So that whether Gods gracious promises to men, or mens promises of obedience to God come to be stiled Covenants, It is not to be thought that God and man can come to such terms of equality as thus to stipulate: or as though God must entreat first: And therefore both are never promising reciprocally at the same time. But however that these Covenants or promises of obedience from us served not to estate God in a right of power over us, yet they have great availe to minde us (under this notion) more strictly of our duty and obedience to him: as also have these signes of Unction, coronation, *&c*, towards the settling our obedience to Princes.

All which (well considered) may instruct us what to think of those condiscending phrases used by *David* and others in Scripture, when they would by this adulatory means win their subjects, or some eminent persons amongst them to some extraordinary performance: as when the Arke is to be brought back, or the revolted Israelites to be won to obedience by *Abner* or *Amasa*. In which, and such like cases, when subjects have by force taken upon them to be more powerful then they should, it is no wonder that Princes must, as in discretion, be forced to appear so much less then they ought. But yet, even in this condition, they can (for all that) be no more truely said to derive the power of their office from Paction, although they should in those cases pact with their subjects, then the father or master can be said to derive their authorities from those of their household. For these, for the like ends, may likewise entreat where they might rightfully command: even in case they should be by stubborn or Rebellious children or servants awed, or kept in durance: and so forced, for their release or security sake, or for fear of their running from them and betraying them, to use the fairest speeches they can, and also to make such promises as the other will

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demand. For in these cases, the power of their office being indivisible, and so they having the same right from God to all as any; this forceable deprivation can yeild to subjects, sons, or servants, no higher propriety in what they thus bereave them of, then the robber hath to what he takes from the owner: who may have as good reason as subjects, children, or servants, to say hereupon, that he gave the owner what is left; even because he took not all away, aswell as the other.

And therefore, the name of Paction cannot be proper where all the thing promised or mentioned is only in the rightful power of one, and where none is superior to that one, as in cases between God and man. And therefore is God *said to swear by himself as having none greater.* For he, as superior to all both in power and concern, is both judge and party so far, that he hath not only power to judge of his own performance, because none above him, or knowing thereof but himself, but also of the obedience and willingness of people, because he is the only supreme judge thereof too; though not as Covenanter, yet as God. So that when *Saul, David, Abraham, Samuel,* &c. have been in our sense deprived of those promises that seem made to them and their seed for ever, we are herein to consider, that as God could not give away his power more then deny himself, so not cease to be judge of his own meaning in making the Covenant, or of their or his performance. Even so also (in proportion) it befalleth Kings: who having none but God above them, they cannot be obliged by Paction from their people, further then either conscience and sense of honour shall lead: and as God in his attestations is said *to swear by himself as having none greater,* so is their Royall words the highest assurance that subjects can have. And therefore, though Kings as promisers and Covenanters be bound as men, yet as Kings, they have only power on earth to be Judges of their own or the peoples performance. For though Kings extreamly differ from God in degree of superiority, yet (as superiors) they have both the same reason for exercise thereof. And (on the behalf of both of them) it must seem a thing aswell unreasonable as ungrateful, for inferiors and receivers to make the good deeds of those above them in power and office, to serve as a meane of their deprivation. Heb. 3. 16.

Nor can that Paction but be invallid, where superior and inferior treating, as such should, Covenant to destroy those relations, whilst they yet pretend thereby to estate and settle them. So if a man in his wooing, promise the wife freedom of restraint or command other then what shall be to her liking, or to have power to execute or manage her own or the affairs of the family independent of him, this, though it might induce her marriage at putting her self into his power, yet it cannot take away any power necessarily belonging to his office for the good and quiet of the family: but rather (as she promised) viewed an extraordinary affection towards her, it should the more oblige her to obedience.

Nor can she, or children, or servants, have any freedom against him, but what a power superior to him allows. For so far as law restrains his arbitrary power, and doth (for instance) design in what cases joyntures, portions, and degrees of servitude shall rest in compass with him, this must be derived from power of a superior, and not from a power below, and in themselves. For they being appellants to law and a higher power, there they can have no power above him; and that this superior power, and not the subjects alone

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can restrain him. No more can after Pactions between Prince and people, given by his free grant and promise, or forced by their rebellions, prevaile more to the disinvesting him of any just power, then the after indulgent promises to wife, children, or servants for non-restraint, can deprive the Master of what power is by law left him, and useful in the execution of his office: because as their power is given from above, so can it be onely restrained from above.

The Master cannot give away the power that makes the office and yet continue the office: nor they assume power beyond the degree of children and servants, and yet continue such. For when wife, children, or servants, refuse any command of the Master, they do it not as they stand in these relations to him, but as they are joynt subjects to a command superior: and so this is not liberty from his power, otherwise then as thraldome to anothers.

So when Princes command any thing contrary to Gods law, the subjects suspension to do it is not to disobey him, but to obey God: unto whom both stand subject: who, if he shall own and protect them therein, they are so far discharged of their obedience, otherwise not.

Whereupon, in all capitulations between Prince and people, the case will have great difference from that wherein wives or servants (before they are such) do stand considered as Pactors with their husbands or masters: because these alwayes have a present immediate superior to them both, namely the Prince or his Magistrate: unto whom they joyntly relating as Subjects, have a ready means for decision of any differences that shall arise between them about breach of Articles, if they had not the Law it self. Else their stipulations would prove but the ready disturbers of that peace and charity which they intended to establish: even by adding those new occasions of quarels that should arise to them hereabouts, to those formerly incident to them as men. Even as we finde, that amongst such as do not acknowledge God to have any present magistrate settled here above themselves to decide differences and demand obedience, the like continual breaches daily to arise about the meaning of his Laws.

But it will plainly appear that this plot of paction was but of late times devised by *sons of Belial* (or such as would not be under restraint) to serve their own ends, and not truths, if we consider that we finde not any one urging for the Jews right in chosing and impowering of their Judges. And all because men, being not now under the authority of such temporary officers, are not so careful to devise wayes and maxims for taking to themselves power to set them up, and make their restrictions by. But that which is the truth herein is, that since it is never urged that the Jews did challenge a right of setting up these lesser powers, it proves that their meaning is mistaken by those that think they had right to set up the greater. For if they could not set over them *Moses*, *Joshua*, and the rest, why should they have power to confer the office of Kingship? If they could not, or did not make *Moses* King of *Jesurun*, how came they to have right to make *David*?

And therefore, to sum up all, kingly office being by Divine institution, the power necessary for execution thereof is not by Paction from inferiors, but by gift from God above. When Princes upon occasion promise the imparting of any power to magistrates or others of his people, this, as coming

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from a rightful superior, is on them bestowed as of grace and gift, and not any way arguing, that the power remaining is from Inferiors to Superiors by capitulation.

For though those Monarchical Judges and High-Priests that ruled while Kings came, had not so much power as Kings, yet because they were straightned from above onely (by Gods continuing King upon great and extraordinary occasions) that Government was a Monarchy: no otherwise then those still continue Families, where Laws of superiors straighten the power of the Master most: by taking the cognizance and judgement of those under him, as in the relation of Subjects.

Therefore when Government (as in neither of these cases) is not straitned by power from below, it continues right Government, because nothing of subjection is remitted. For that power the Father exerciseth not, the Prince doth: and what the Prince doth not, nor cannot, is done by God: who is onely above him. And again, although the governeds obedience be to more then one, (as touching their general subjection) yet since in each particular command they have but one determinate Commander, and have but one in chief to appeal to, their Government is still right and Monarchical.

CHAP. XI.

Of Magistrates, Councellors, &c.

AS we have hitherto declared the hereditary of Government, and confined it to one person, so it must be supposed, that so great a charge cannot be managed by any single man without the assistance of others. Whereupon these assistants being in many things the immediate executioners of power and commands, in, and upon the Subjects, it comes many times to pass that the original of power is forgotten, and the very right of Sovereignty it self usurped by, and imputed to these subordinate Ministers. This chiefly appears in those useful Ministers in each Kingdom, to wit, Councellors and Magistrates; by whose help the fingers and hands of the Prince do receive information and execution elsewhere, and are thereby enabled so contrive and act what other ways in his proper person he could not.

The which inconvenience is not so incident to the Master of the Family: because in his less charge he is able personally to look into his affairs & to direct according to occasion himself: and so needs but seldom to ask Counsel, or to appoint standing Laws or Officers for execution therein. For Magistrates are but the executioners of Laws, and Laws are but the Precisions of Counsel, and Counsel again, is but the result of particulars debated: we shall therefore speak of it in the first place, as the ground to the rest.

The excellency of man above other Creatures, and of one man above another, is in Wisdom, Discourse, Reason, Counsel, &c. which is employed either

either in aiming at the best ends, or chusing the best means for attaining them: either in the knowledge and discovery of good and bad, or in knowledge of prosecution or avoidance thereof. Mans end we said (before) to be pleasure; which being of different sorts and degrees, according to the supply of the object, and capacity of the receiver; it will produce two differences of pleasure: that is, the difference in degree, vigor, and reality of fruition; and difference of the time of its lasting and continuance. The knowledge of the first of these belongs to each sensitive Agent, even as it is such: the other must depend upon Discourse: as must also the difficulties and expediences in attaining it. In all these things, if we consider men in Nature, that is, separate and unsubordinate, they will depend upon his own Sense and Reason: but as he stands in relation or subjection to others, it must have measure and approbation from them accordingly.

Wherefore now, being to consider men as linked in society, where private good is to give place to general, and the judgement of what is general belongs to those that have general trust, the discourse both of the lastingness of the possession, and the way to acquire it, must belong to others also. Nay, as the Prince hath charge of all in general, so hath he over each one in particular: and as fewer persons are not to be pleasured to the harm of more, so is no one, or many, to harm themselves unavoidably. Therefore if the whole people, deceived with a false appearance of things (occasioned by their own weakness, or through fraudulent disguise of others) should request any thing which he foresaw would not be pleasant in possession, or would be overvalued in consequential inconveniences, he may justly deny. For it is his part, as to seek the subjects continual pleasure and good, so to avoid and divert what may produce their harm and affliction.

And the same we may say of single persons, or few: which if they shal choose to act without experience, and deceive themselves in the true estimation of pleasure, though herein they think they cross not others, yet, they are to be by him debarred: as having the charge of each ones good. For the same reason that forbids the pleasure of few to the damage of more, in regard of the equal relations they all have to him as subjects, forbids his permission in harming any one solitarily considered in the same relation. And as, when subjects are comparatively considered, the pleasure of more is to be preferred to that of few, and the harme of more to be diverted to that of few (in things equally prejudicial and unavoidable) so the pleasure or harm of all, many, or one, is, in the absence of such comparison and modification, to be absolutely granted or denyed.

So that then, all that Subjects (as such) can have implicite trust to be judges of, is, in the vigor and reality of the pleasure of what they desire: and this each one can have but for himself neither. For if it be of a pleasurable object which he hath not tried, he may over or under conceit it: as also, he is less able to judge or apprehend what will be the fruition of another therein.

Therefore now, to come to application, the good of the whole Kingdom being the object of Counsel, and the good of the whole arising from that of particulars, the first enquiry must be what truely are their several desires and aims of the subjects. The next must be, whether they have not deceived themselves, as to the valuing of their fruitions, or to the consequents attending them: And then, whether the possession or means of attaining them

be feasible and lawful: that is to say, unprejudicial to others. All these things have their degrees of comparison to make them capable of choice or refusal, according to the general maxims of a less evil to be endured before a greater, and a greater good to be chosen before a less: else, if many subjects, in a kinde of wantonness should desire a pleasure which would highly and necessarily prejudice a fewer number, it is not to be granted: for that the Prince having equal interest and relation, the more in number would be the less in value: as would be the death or ruine of one Subject, to satisfie the anger or avarice of many. In this case therefore, the rule of comparison still stands true, the less evil of displeasing many: to be preferred to the greater evil of undoing few: & these things depend on particulars, which are infinite.

As these considerations may give us light to judge of things debated in those more general Councels which are called Parliaments, where the desires and grievances of particular Subjects go upward, and are by degrees collected and represented unto the Prince, the general and common sense of good and bad, to the end suitable accommodations and remedies may be granted, so when this common Sensory and Judge of good and bad, gathering ground from hence, or by information elsewhere gotten, shall act downwards by those Magistrates neerest him, and, according to the fitness of any thing to be done or avoided, make any Edict or Law to that purpose, these comparative values must be acknowledged the prime guide of what is to be done both ways: and thereupon, that none but he hath power to admit and conclude of debates.

And this, because if any Councel have power to admit and receive what they like, and to make what conclusions thereupon they like too, what shall hinder them of absolute Soveraignty? For implicitly to follow Councel, is all one as to follow Command. And therefore, this peremptoriness of Councel being proper onely to such as have the highest power, because it is to be supposed the guide to power, it is the reason why Christ takes it as an honorable and powerful name to be called *wonderful Councellor*. And in the Scripture sense, *My son I counsel thee*, is the same as if it should have been said, My son I command thee: all of them shewing, that such as are under subjection in things that are commanded, must be under subjection for that counsel also whereupon those commands are grounded: or else it will be to be really superior, and to be under but in shew onely.

For if the Prince, like an ordinary Subject, must submit his Will to the guidance of a superior understanding, he is himself a Subject: and if you take away his negative voice, you take away his Soveraignty. Which thing you also do, when you deprive him of his rightful power either to chose publick Councellors, or to admit of things Counselable, and to limit proceedings in debates. For as no man can command in what he is not himself free, or with Justice demand Obedience from another, to what he hath not yet approved as just in himself: so ought Princes to have their Understandings and Consciences satisfied and free in themselves, before they should impose on their subjects.

Therefore, I should think that those which meet in Parliaments to represent the desires of such and such particular places and people, can neither of right assemble without leave, from the Prince, whose Authority can onely make them a publike and lawful Convention, nor Debate or Councel remedies further then they have leave and direction from him too: or else, they

shall become both Parties and Judges. Because, in these expedients, the whole Kingdom, or a greater part then themselves and those they stand for, coming many times to be involved, their private interest and judgement must in reason and duty submit to that which is impartial and common. Nay if the Prince should give them leave to Debate and Vote, and they, by joyning many private interests, should, by a kinde of confederacy, make a joint claim to the effecting any thing to the ruine of a few, all were yet free for the Prince, out of his common and impartial relation to them all, to approve or deny, as shall stand most valuable by generality or neerness of concern, according to the rules before spoken of.

But when persons representing particular places, shall so far be suffered to proceed in Debates of remedies, as to come to Vote, conclude, and council what is to be done, and have for their so doing no Authority but what was issuing from themselves; there can be nothing more destructive to the good government of a Kingdom then it, for it quite subverts the whole frame of Monarchy, and runs that nation into the mischiefs of Anarchy, whose absurdities have been formerly spoken off. And this is none other then if a single induction, or else some single appetite or affection, should of it self, and by its own presure upon us, prevail to the determination or execution of any thing we do, without taking notice of that general appetite and affection in us, called Will: which, by reason it hath been founded upon the continual experience of the different concerns and issues of these lesser appetites can be onely able to say which, and how far any of them should prevail. For subjects are to be taken onely as competent Judges of pleasant and unpleasant: but it is the Prince his Prerogative from God, to judge of good and bad.

And again, although a negative voice of Soveraignty should be allowed to restrain execution in these debates, yet the inconvenience of the subjects discontent will necessarily follow: Inasmuch as they shall finde their desires now ackowledged fit in the resolutions of so many, and onely crossed by one: which shall never fail to be construed out of some private interest of his own, or of some neer about him.

Therefore, as these Assemblies of Parliaments are necessary, that thereby the wants and grievances of subjects may be known, so do some Kingdoms wisely order to have many of them, that is in every Province or Shire one: by which means the peoples desires might be more particularly and distinctly known, and accordingly represented to the Prince in a more general Council to be considered of. Whereupon, these Assemblies of several Provinces meeting in several places, cannot at the same time joyn in the same Vote (as out of plot) in their desires and remedies, but their several requests and opinions being referred to a superior common censure and determination, each one will conclude that their private desires were denyed or delayed out of publike regard. And then the Prince, truely knowing the general desire and grievance of his subjects, may accordingly provide for them, without endangering publike discontent: which is like to fall out, when people shall be put in minde of any new suit by knowledge of their Representatives Votes, which they will be always thinking the most equal and just rule to follow: especially while they are consonant to their own desires: And yet in truth, nothing more unreasonable. For suppose the major number wise and unprejudiced, yet when the number of dissenters are taken out of them, the

over number can be onely taken as concluding that way: who cannot avail in credit against the Prince, the representative whole. And therefore he, for that very cause, and for that general account and trust sake, he is put into, he ought in all reason to have his Conscience and judgement left free; and to be first satisfied, whether these proposals are correspondent to the Laws of God and Nature, and truely conducent to publike benefit. But partiality and interest doth so commonly cloud and byass subjects in these kinde of determinations, that we may observe that in those places, and those very men that do most enveigh against this negative voice in the King, as leaving too arbitrary a power in him that is to rule, are all that while, assuming to themselves, that should be ruled, an indisputable power of suspension or refusal in any Law or Precept of his, in case they in their judgements finde them contrary to the rules of Religion or publike Justice. And since all the reason which private persons can give for this their denyal, is but for some particular danger and hazard to themselves, they must thereupon grant, that he that is to answer for the welfare and safeties of others ought much more to have this liberty allowed him.

But certainly, had not Scripture and Antiquity acknowledged the Prince to have an indisputable right unto a Negative voice, and to be himself so supreme in all Councels and Debates, as that their chief value and reputation should depend on him, and not on them; I see not how the frequent threats of giving *Children, Babes, and Women* to be Kings and Princes, could be taken as a true *woe* or malediction, but rather otherwise. For that, in such places where their Kings were restrained from personal medling by such disability, it must follow that the Councellors proceeding with greater freedom in the deliberations and conclusions, they shall proportionably also cause the happiness of that State or Kingdom to encrease: by that encrease of uncontrolable Authority they shall by this means have.

By all which we may finde, that it is so far from being Tyranny or Oppression, that it is true prudence and duty in Princes, as to admit of no Councels or Councellors of whose sufficiency and integrity themselves are not satisfied, so never to grant them general and arbitrary power to conclude or vote: thereby to have their sense of things published till they shall be his too. For as it is distastful to do things without Councel, so much more against it. And it will be prudence in him too, by no means to add their Authority to his acts, or very seldom to do it: because it will in time eat out his power by its growing reputation, or cause Rebellion when he shall withdraw.

And again the Nature of the thing it self will require this superintendency, for nothing more incident to Councels then partiality and siding, according to interest, either of bribes, kindred, or friendship in debates that concern parties and affairs in the same Kingdom: Or if it concern other Kingdoms or States, there is nothing more usual then to have them Pensioners to forraigners. All which the Prince is in reason free from. For as he hath alike interest to all within his own Kingdom, so can he not have an equal with to the welfare of himself and another Prince: which the Councellors may have, through ambition, bribery, or revenge to him or others: as *Ahitophel* and *Abner*, and other examples do declare.

Again, as in all other meetings of equals, Councels cannot be without faction: where some one mans reputation wins many after him, like flocks of

sheep,

ſheep, which way he ſhall encline. In which caſe, I ſee not how poling and numbring of the perſons voting, can juſtly eſtimate right and wrong, or the reſult of the Councel either: for that theſe cannot be reckoned in the number of Counſellors to the Prince, but as ſervants to others.

Add to this, that uſual height of arrogance which men ordinarily take to themſelves in preſumption of their abilities in this kinde; inſomuch as truth is not ſo much deſired, as victory. All which Paſſions, as they ſhall come to be by the Prince diſcovered, it were ſtrange if an odds of two or three in a number, ſhould be thought ſufficient to conclude againſt the ſtronger integrity and Reaſon that ſhall appear to him to be in a leſs number of perſons: as though the whole number of any Councel could be for Wiſdom and Honeſty equal, or that theſe things muſt ever follow the greater number. But, in theſe laſt diſcourſes, I would not be again underſtood as teaching Princes in this place what to do, otherwiſe then may ſerve to let ſubjects know what they are to obey.

Now concerning Magiſtrates, and the reaſons both for inſtitution and limitation of their Offices, it may well appear out of what hath been hitherto ſpoken of Councellors. For as the one being choſen or admitted to be helpers to the Prince in the farther information of his Underſtanding, are not thereupon to be ſo far conſultative or deliberative as by their peremptorineſs therein to overthrow and exclude that very end for which they were ordained, even ſo alſo Magiſtrates, being by him choſen or admitted as helpers to his Will in the better execution of what ſhall be by him decreed and appointed are not thereupon to proceed upon their own Decrees without leave of him that authorized them. Elſe it may happen, that Councellors determining as in their own rights, and Magiſtrates acting ſo too, they ſhould (as too often it cometh to paſs) thruſt out and ſeclude that Soveraignty that ſet them up, and engroſs it to themſelves.

So that we may call the Magiſtrate *a publike Officer appointed and authorized by his Superior power for the overſight and execution of ſo much of his authority as he ſhall command and entruſt unto him.* From whence, the Magiſtrates may be apprehended to be of divers ſorts; according to the nature of thoſe truſts which that ſuperior power ſhall commit unto them. For as he ſhall delegate them as chief Judges and diſpoſers of things, either in Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, or Martial affairs, ſo may they come to differ in denominations, as Biſhops, Judges, Commiſſioners, Ambaſſadors, and ſuch like.

But, as, by the words *appointed and authoriſed*, he muſt be preſumed under the Soveraign (eſpecially when he is preſent) ſo, by the word *overſight*, he muſt be taken as of abſolute power in his abſence: or elſe his deputation and power is uſeleſs. And therefore when ſome are ſaying Magiſtrates are bound to the Laws, ſo as to rule according to them; this is true, as far as concerns their truſt and charge received from thoſe above them, But as for ſuch as are to be ruled by them, they muſt be (in the Soveraigns ſtead) abſolutely above them: and the whole interpretation and enforcement of the Law muſt depend on them alſo.

So that from hence it will appear, that none but God Almighty is

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an abſolute Soveraign: becauſe Princes, being by him intruſted with Divine and Natural Laws, are but as Magiſtrates under him. For when he ſhall immediately appear in any thing, by voice from himſelf, or by extraordinary direction from ſome Prophet, (which for our belief he atteſts by miracle) their power is to ceaſe; upon the ſame reaſon that the power of their own Magiſtrates ceaſes, or alters when themſelves appear, or give to others more late or extraordinary Commiſſion under their hands and ſeals.

But although it be true, that, in reſpect of God above, they be but Magiſtrates, yet the uſual calling them Magiſtrates, as thereby making them but of equal rank and power with others, hath bred the ſame miſapprehenſion to abate their juſt power, as the calling Subjects People, hath prevailed towards the belief of the encreaſe of theirs. For as Magiſtrates and people are republike compellations, which, ſubſiſting by, and aiming at equality, do by their expreſſions ſignifie as much, ſo Prince and ſubjects are onely proper in a Kingdom, where greater diſparity is the foundation thereof. But, while the King hath the title of ſupreme Magiſtrate given him, as importing his more large power from God, he is ſtill in his true ſeat of power: for while he is ſuch, he muſt in all Gods Laws, and where God preſides not himſelf, be obeyed as in his ſtead: as that Statute and ſetled Officer for execution of his will according to all Laws already received. But if God ſend any Ambaſſador, or Commiſſioner, or Propher, or Apoſtle, with an extraordinary meſſage of his pleaſure (as before ſhewed) then is he to be obeyed upon our knowledge thereof: as having neerer inſtructions from the fountain of power. For as it would be unreaſonable for *the Axe to boaſt it ſelf againſt him that heweth therewith*, &c. In like manner would it alſo be, if Magiſtrates made by Princes ſhould arrogate againſt them. Iſai. 10. 15.

But now, as for ſuch who doe acknowledge it unreaſonable for the Magiſtrate or ſubordinate Officer to reſiſt or riſe up againſt that power that gave it Eſſence to be ſuch, and would yet countenance diſobedience againſt Princes, by affirming Magiſtrates and Officers in their Kingdomes to be in ſome Employments and caſes ſo far from being Subordinate, and his Magiſtrates, that they may, as having power therein from God, both refuſe his commands, and alſo ſubject him to the obedience of their own Authorities and Offices, they ſhould doe well to conſider that God can have but one ſupreme Magiſtrate, namely, the King: and that all others can have power but as ſent of him. They ſhould conſider that God hath made him Keeper of both Tables, ſo as to preſide over us in all things, as well of Religious as Civill cognizance. In which reſpects, we can no more divide him in his entire Truſt and delegation in theſe things, then we can divide the author of theſe Truſts in his ſole Power therein alſo. 1 Pet. 2. 14.

Now it might be demanded of theſe men, That ſince theſe Magiſtrates and intruſted Officers had their places from the Prince onely, and ſince without Commiſſion and power from him they could not have had Power in any thing outwardly to be exerciſed, more then other ordinary Subjects, how ſhould it therefore come to paſs that by vertue of a Deputation to ſerve, and be ſubordinately aſſiſting unto him, they can claim right and power to be unſubjected, and in any thing above

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him? But we shall here somewhat examine the usuall ground of this stubbornes: which is by distinguishing (at their pleasures) Religious and Civil duties, one from another, and then making men obliged to obedience in the first sort to Gods precepts onely, with this farther supposition, that themselves, or such are they fancy are to be obeyed as his Magistrates therein. And they then stint the Princes power to be onely exercised in what they refuse, and shall call Civil matters: of which distinction of duties we shall speak more fully anon.

In the mean time, because the conceit of Magistrates distinct and unsubordinate power, hath arisen from belief of this distinction of duties, we are to consider in brief, that being now Christians, we cannot at our private pleasures renounce and take off that general relation, and say that in such and such particulars we act as natural men, in such as civil men, and in such onely as Christians: but since now, *all unrighteousness is sin*, and a sin against God too, even to the degree *of an idle word*; so hath God united the high trust and oversight of all these things to this his onely supreme Magistrate: And this in so neer a tye of obedience, as where he is not divided in himself, that is to say, differenced from us in Religion (but is a Christian as well as we) there we cannot more divide from his Authority in our Christian obedience, then we can in our Civil: without dividing Christ that gave him this Office, and separating him likewise from his right of Kingship over us: and so affirm that we are to obey Kings as Gods deputies in the State, but not as Christs in the Church.

1 Joh. 5. 17. Matth. 12. 36.

For albeit in some Assemblies of Christian Subjects, where persons in holy Orders do more particularly appear and preside, (as being an Assembly by the Prince constituted for more neer examination and stating what in the Scripture is more particularly contayned, or what is more expressly tending to Gods Worship and Service) Princes may be thought thereupon secluded, yet since they are still Christians Subjects as others, and have (as we said) their whole Assembly and their particular powers therein authorized from the same head that other Assemblies have; we may conclude that each Kingdom is as well such a Church as such a Kingdom: And as Christ is head of the Church, and King of Kings too, so is each King, under him, head of both also: and, while he continues a Christian Magistrate, he must be always so obeyed and acknowledged.

And although, where the Prince or Supreme Magistrate is no Christian (as in the infancie of Christianity it fared) the saying is useful *of giving to Cæsar the things that are Cæsars, and to God the things that are Gods*, and *of obeying God rather then man*: because, in that case, the Magistrate not undertaking to be Gods or Christs Vicegerent at all, (so as to promote their honor and worship, but it may be the contrary) it were strange to give him the power of the Church which he will not own, but rather refuseth. Therefore he refusing to act as a Christian Magistrate in matters of Divine Precept, we must have recourse to Gods command our selves; or to such representation as any Assembly of the Church at that time can have. But where the supreme Magistrate is a Christian, there, as in all his relations, he is supreme to the rest of his Subjects, so is he in all his commands to be obeyed as a Christian Magistrate.

Matth. 22. 21. Act. 5. 29.

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For if that rule of giving to *Caſar*, &c. be taken litterally and expreſly, ſo as to exclude Kings (as Kings) from being Gods Miniſters and Magiſtrates in Church matters, it muſt again exclude God from medling in ſecular affairs or matters of the Commonwealth: doing thereby not ſo much wrong to Kings, as to God himſelf. For ſince without a Magiſtrate nothing can be done in the Law-makers abſence, all Laws of Religion muſt then remain arbitrary and uſeleſs: and God would (by conſequent) be as well thruſt out of religious power, as directly hereby excluded out of the Civil.

So that, when that, or the Precept of obeying God rather then man is to be taken of direct uſe and force, it muſt be when Subjects ſtand ſubjected as aforeſaid: or elſe (as we ſaid) in the caſe of new expreſs command from God or Chriſt himſelf received: who, as the higher power, muſt then be obeyed, as in that particular caſe wherein this ſentence was ſpoken may appear. For Chriſt having himſelf particularly and expreſly ſaid to his Apoſtles, *Go teach all Nations*, for them to have obeyed Magiſtrates *forbidding them to teach any more in his Name*, had been expreſly to have obeyed *man rather then God*: and to have put them in danger of *Woe if they preach not*. Even as, on the other ſide, to hearken to ſuch Precepts as come to be invented and preſſed by private men, contrary to the ſenſe of Gods publike Miniſter, and without expreſs revelation therein from God (which he is evidently to prove) is, as done againſt Gods command, to obey man rather then God alſo. And this, not onely, whether the doers be private perſons, or elſe ſubordinate Magiſtrates. For all power being in the King, and they deriving theirs as ſent of him, as they cannot claim obedience from others but by Authority from him, ſo they muſt, as private perſons in reſpect of him, give obedience to him, by whoſe power (under God) they had this their juriſdiction.

Matth. 28. 19. Mark. 16. 15. Act. 5. 40. 1 Cor. 9. 16.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Right of Dominion.

HAving hitherto ſpoken of the duty of ſubjection, and particularly to Kings, it will farther be neceſſary to ſay ſomething in deſignation of the perſons: that ſo the ſtubborn may be without excuſe, and the Conſciencious have direction and ſatisfaction (as far as may be) what to follow.

We muſt now again therefore conſider, that as mans obligation of Praiſe and Thanks to God above other Creatures, aroſe from his different receit of things beneficial and pleaſurable, ſo the uſe of theſe things ſtanding neceſſary, ſome way for poſſeſſion of them ſtood neceſſary alſo: elſe, while God had been ſo bountiful in giving, we might yet loſe the benefit of enjoying them. For mankinde to make good his content againſt the moleſtation of other Creatures is not hard; becauſe of his great skill and ability above them: but then, how to enjoy them from the diſturbance of one another, we have no other way then that natural one, common to them alſo: which is by the deciſion of force; or by that other way, proper almoſt to man, which is by craft. For if ſuch detiſion were not, but that every one, as having a like appetite and equal natural right, ſhould have equal force alſo, one man would be a continual hinderance to another: which now, by the deciſion of victory, or the fear thereof, comes to be poſſeſſed by all: that is, by the victor firſt, and by the weaker afterwards.

When two beaſts have their prey or love the ſame, if the iſſue of their conteſt were as equal as their right, their enjoyment would be none: And therefore, the ſame Law that gives them right to the thing, gives them alſo right in remove of oppoſition. But then again, as they want diſcourſe ſo far as to make them provident for the future, ſo, having ſecured themſelves of their preſent enjoyments, when that is over, the fear of diſpoſſeſſion is over alſo. But man, having as well his future as preſent wants in his care, by the ſame reaſons that he provides for the one, he may likewiſe do it for the other: and as then (like them) I uſe means not to be diſturbed in what I preſently did, even ſo alſo (beyond them) I ſhould take care not to be diſturbed hereafter. Whereupon, we may gather that propriety of command and propriety of poſſeſſion aroſe from the ſame root. For beaſts, that looked onely at preſent poſſeſſion of things, looked no farther alſo then ſecurity againſt preſent diſturbance. But men, that aim at continual poſſeſſion, muſt alſo provide againſt future inconvenience, and may, by the ſame reaſon that beaſts beat or ſcare away one another now, ſo ſubject thoſe that are in their preſent power, that they be not able to do the like for the future. So that then, propriety is but continued poſſeſſion: and poſſeſſion but preſent Propriety. And force is but preſent Government: as Government is but continued force.

As beaſts and men differ thus in continuance of their power over one another, ſo alſo in managery thereof. For when one beaſt hath been victorious

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over another, he hath not onely diſabled him againſt future oppoſition, by fear, but as many others alſo as were preſent, at leaſt ſuch as held themſelves weaker then that which they ſaw ſubdued. For they, having not ability ſo far to diſcourſe as to engage others to their aſſiſtance (to the end that what cannot ſingly may be joyntly maſtered) therefore, preſent and future ſubjection is to them the ſame. But becauſe men can both watch advantages, whereby they may be ſingly able to recover, and can contrive aſſociation, in caſe they cannot, it remains reaſonable for the preſent poſſeſſor, if he ſees his fear of any thing in theſe kinds to be juſt (while the perſons are or may be gotten into his power) to provide for his ſecurity: and that not only againſt ſingle perſons, but againſt aſſociations alſo; as of more danger. Which ſubjection and government comes, by continuance, to eſtabliſh as great a right over mens perſonal liberties and actions, as continuance of poſſeſſion doth in other proprieties: for it is founded thereupon.

To remedy which inconveniencies amongſt mankinde, we ſhall find the poſitive and ſtatute right of dominion in the elder brother to be declared upon the firſt mention of propriety: even to avoid thoſe continual conteſts for maſtery amongſt brethren, which elſe the natural trial of right by meer force after the example of other creatures might continually endanger: and ſo makes mans propriety, by its uncertain iſſue, to be on the one ſide more coveted through hope, and on the other ſide never poſſeſſed through fear. For ſo we find the birthright given to *Cain*, preſently upon the mention of his and *Abels* ſeveral callings and intereſts. And ſo much may eaſily be conceived to be implyed under thoſe very names of theirs, given them at that time by their parents, which knew how to do it moſt properly: *Cain* ſignifying *poſſeſſion* or inheritance, whereas *Abel* ſignified *vanity* or emptineſs. And although they could not as yet, and during the life of their father, have abſolute proprieties, yet the nature of their ſeveral imployments may ſeem to foreſhew the ſame thing: the elder being hereby put into a neerer poſſeſſion of the ſoile; and ſo made as it were a Landlord unto the other.

That this unction or donation of the power of dominion in the definite office of father of the family, or elder brother (which was to ſucceed theretherein) was both inſtitutive and alſo grounded upon the former natural right, appears by that ſpeech which *Jacob* uſeth to *Reuben* while he is bleſſing his ſons. *Reuben thou art my firſt born, my might, and the beginning of my ſtrength: the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power.* By all which phraſes it may appear, that although God did, for the general good and peace of men, determine the right of dominion on the elder (becauſe one muſt have it) yet is natural right preſerved all that may be: in that he was of all other to be preſumed the ſtrongeſt and ableſt, for the reaſons aforeſaid. Gen. 49. 3.

So that the foregoing diſcourſe is but to ſhew how government in general ſtands pointed out by nature, left alone to her ſelf: and how that it is Monarchical in particular amongſt men, even as among other creatures. For they, for the time they obey, it is ever to one in chief: and we may obſerve, that amongſt them, there is no ſuch thing as a parity in command: but, by continued ſubordination, they are one under another, in the ſame heard and circuit of power, from the higheſt to the loweſt. From whence it may appear, this government of one amongſt men was but the dictate of nature alſo: and that it is aſwell againſt natural practiſe as reaſon, either for

many equally to command many, or many equally to obey many.

Notwithſtanding which, we do not therefore affirm that this way before ſpoken of was the onely riſe to government at firſt; for we elſewhere ſhewed, that God, by eſtabliſhing obedience firſt to parents, and then, for ſucceſſion, to primogeniture, he left men in ſo ſettled a condition for mutual peace and agreement, as the bleſſing thereof could not have been loſt, unleſs forfeited by rebellion and Anarchical confuſion.

But when theſe rules ſhall be broken and interrupted, and the Laws of God for obedience to this preſent lawful Prince ſo far ſlighted as by force to ſubvert the government, and, for the preſent, to bring our ſelves into ſuch confuſion as what or who to obey is uncertain, then onely (I ſuppoſe) enquiry is to be made, what direction for well ſettled obedience can follow this diſorder.

In which caſe, as men muſt be firſt preſumed to have forſaken the command of God and King, and all that hath power above them, ſo being now to be ſuppoſed to have no other then the guide of nature and ſelf-intereſt to follow, it might be by ſome thought that what was before ſhewed as allowable in nature in the dealings of each man towards other, in order to ſelf-defence and ſecurity, ſhould be warrantable to each faction during their conteſt: as ſuppoſing them to be as ſo many ſingle men, united by their diſtinct intereſts.

"Whereupon they might argue that as each one is by nature or reaſon "directed and warranted to ſecure it ſelf to the utmoſt againſt fear, and the "quantity of that fear, and the ſecurity thereupon to be taken, being left "to his judgement alſo, it will follow that any faction may herein proceed, "even to the death or other overthrow of its oppoſers and enemies; if in its "judgement his own preſervation ſo require. For in doing otherwiſe, and "out of pitty onely ſparing, it would be to tranſgreſs the Law of Nature "and Reaſon, and to prefer the ſence of anothers preſervation before its "own. Therefore each party being diverſly affected, and ſo looking upon "each other as enemies, they muſt conſequently be each of them intent "to provide for their own ſecurities: and whether they put it to the iſſue "of war or not, the weaker is neceſſarily at the diſcretion of the ſtronger: "even ſo, that what of liberty or property is remaining, he is bound in grati-"tude to the other, as of a free gift.

But in this caſe there is great diſparity: for the ſingle man had a ſeparate will and underſtanding by nature implanted for his own guide and ſecurity even as all other natural agents: but we cannot ſay that nature hath ſo united a multitude of any ſort: nor can we pick out any example amongſt creatures, where, by joynt underſtanding and will, multitudes did command multitudes: nor can they ſo do with any colour of right, otherwiſe then as they are now Monarchical, and under one man: or were made an independent community by their Prince.

And therefore I ſhould rather think, that the moſt rational courſe that in this caſe can be taken to recover their former happineſs and peace (I am ſure that moſt Religious and conſcientious it is) that they return to the ſame form of government and obedience under which they formerly enjoyed them. For although it might ſeem (for the preſent) tollerable, for each faction to ſtand upon tearms of ſafety and defence againſt the other, yet ſince the deſtruction of their former government muſt be acknowledged unlawful,

ful, they are to consider that till they return to that form again they are in no true political way, but do altogether depend upon the natural way of continual force. And that, though for the present what they do as men, and in order to their securities might be allowable, yet looking on themselves as Christians, they must make what hast they can to be settled in the onely commended and right form again: as knowing their present actions have no ground in true Religion. For though it might be, in meer nature, allowable for their whole body (supposed as one man as aforesaid) to impose on the other, yet since they can never be truely one in interest whilst not acting by one mans command, it will still fall out that several parties of them will impose too: then which nothing more unreasonable.

No not unjust: it being plain partiality thus to prosecute the designs and interest of one party to the overthrow of another. For although self love be natural and just, as heretofore noted, in which regard any one man on either side might warrantably act his designs to the prejudice of any one on the other, yet since none of the particular parties can have an entire interest, it must therefore follow, that in acting all the other interests of the rest of the faction to the overthrow of others equally his neighbor, he is partial and unjust: having in nature no warrant to love one man better then another. This injustice being onely avoided in that party that adheres to a Monarch or Prince, and so joyning with him in his entire interest and claim, do all of them act but as one person. Whereas else, that different degree of love, or hatred, or interest, which each person on the one side bears to each one on the other, must make them unequal and unjust prosecuters.

So that although in case of self-defence against an unlawful invasion, or in some cases of acquisition and gain, it may be for the present allowable for men in this sort to unite and act without a joynt supreme authority, especially where it cannot for the present be had, yet in case of government, wherein a constant and settled way of managery of this common security and stock of riches is required, the case will be otherwise. For in the first condition, each one may be supposed firmly and uniformly united, and equally acting his own interest both in relation to self-defence and gain, even because each one seeking these things in the highest measure he can, doth thereupon equally consider each one on the opposing side as an enemy to himself; not doth look on those of his fellows but as equally his friends. Whereas, on the other side, when places of honor and command (tending to common security or the common revenew and stock of a Nation) come to be divided or ascertained amongst the subjects themselves in these cases, there being a differing enmity and competition necessarily to arise about the distribution and managery of these offices and proprieties between party and party in the same association, it cannot be avoided but that the unequal ambition and covetousness, residing in the several persons must make them (without a common united head) unequal and unjust guides and distributors of those things wherein they must constantly have such partial and unequal respect to one another. Therefore, I conclude that true natural reason or justice no more warrants them to continue and exercise this kinde of authority in shew of a lawful government, then Scripture and nature warranted them in remove of their old. So that now, out of a conscientious prudence, they should have a fellow feeling of each others sufferings: and not continue perpetual judges over such as they can have no jurisdiction upon.

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They are not now to think they have right to continue this their preſent tyranny over their fellows. For none other it is, when government is exerciſed by any perſons or orders of men but ſuch as have by their offices power from God: which ſince theſe cannot have, as heretofore noted, It is not their ſpecious and formal way of proceeding can make their actings to the prejudices of others juſt; more then can the actings by other robbers do the like. For as he that takes a purſe by force upon the high way, is as culpable as he that ſteals it, and as theeves that ſhall come ſo armed and accompanied as to beat off Guards and Watch, are as much robbers as others, ſo is it not publication of the act, which can but denote their preſent power, that can make Democratick cenſures lawful: more then if thieves, before they kill or ſpoil a man, ſhould firſt hold a formal court of judicature amongſt themſelves, and there ſentence him. For, in neither caſe, it takes off the guilt or illegallity of the fact, where parties become judges over their equals: but aggravates it rather, through imprudence and impunity.

And therefore, although what was before alledged in juſtification of the dealings of one faction towards another, might be allowable as in order to ſelf-defence, and for ſecurity of the invaded party againſt the others force as beforeſaid, yet can it not eſtabliſh them in a right to continue doing wrong to others, for it was onely allowable as a courſe that ſhould have prevented it. It is alſo to be underſtood, that in Chriſtian policy, it is onely practicable in the abſence of Monarchy: as a temporary way to ſafety: and that neither numbers nor preſcription, can ever make it a lawful government. For if there be a Monarch, then is that party that obeys and acts in his name not to be called a faction but ſubjects: and thoſe that appoſe them oppoſe him, and are Rebells.

In which caſe, prevalence of number or power, nor all the ſpecious pretences of leaglity, can no more make attempts againſt their fellows lawful, then can the like pretences warrant any aſſociation of the ſervants of a family to attempt the like againſt ſuch of their fellows as are put into office and authority by their Maſter. For, in that caſe, the loyal and faithful ſubjects and ſervants while their Prince or Maſter continue in their offices, and while they purſue their quarrel, and ſtand up againſt their enemies, are to be preſumed as lawfully acting: becauſe acting by an authority from God derived. And unto them, being ſo united in the intereſt and cauſe of one ſupreme perſon, is the dealing of one party againſt another warrantable and allowable. For they, in purſuance of the loyal quarrel or their own ſafeties, may deal with the other as lawful enemies: but the other party cannot do ſo towards them: for that they not onely want a ſupreme joynt authority amongſt themſelves, whereby to difference ſubjects from enemies, but do alſo ſtill oppoſe him they have, in oppoſing their fellow ſubjects that take his part.

Whereupon it will follow, that in caſe the revolted party have overthrown the other, they are now to count all their actions unlawful farther then they can derive them from an officer authorized by God Almighty; who is onely ſuperior to them both. In conſcience whereof, when they ſhall return to their old form again under one head, nature and policy come to be ſatisfied in all their claims. For firſt, the ſubdued faction or party will by this means be freed from the partiallity of dominion under ſo many profeſſed adverſaries, and have one indifferent Judge to them both: and ſo it muſt be reckoned as done with their conſents. Then, the prevailing faction muſt be

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ſuppoſed to do it willingly; as it is likely to a common favorite, and as being ſingly weary of each others preceſſure. And then laſtly, ſuppoſing himſelf willing to undertake it, there comes conſent all along. And then, becauſe as men, we cannot quite ſhake off the natural way of gaining power by force, we are next to conſider how theſe prevailing factions were again prevailed over by their own chief head.

In which laſt deed, we muſt remember what was formerly allowed to man, as one of his proper wayes of conqueſt; namely craft. For how elſe ſhall one man conquer and keep under ſo many; be it by money, flattery, or the like, it skilleth not. But he being now in power, as the conquering party had before taken ſecurity of others againſt their fears, ſo much more may he, being but one, and having ſo many that have natural power to hurt alſo, uſe it if he ſee danger. Of which ſecurities the moſt uſual is the force of guards for his perſon, after the example of the beſt of Kings, *David* himſelf. Which, if not done when occaſion of juſt fear requires, the former prevailing faction may at liberty oppreſs the other ſtill; and themſelves alſo be ſtill in danger of mutual miſchief, for want of reſtraint from injuring one another.

And to ſpeak truely, this is ſo far from force, that there is but this way to make known the ſtrength or deſires of a people, and to know whether they have any, or no. For as their ſtrength and deſires muſt be known by ſuch as appear therein, and not by polling the whole, ſo the ſtrength and deſires of theſe appearers, muſt, in what they act, be taken for the deed of all. And as when an Army of one country conquers another, although they be far the leſs number, and not elected by the people, yet we uſually phraſe it that ſuch a Nation have overcome ſuch a Nation; even ſo, things properly concerning action being to be meaſured by the active part onely, it follows that what is done by the active and prevailing parts of the people, muſt be reckoned the act of the whole people: eſpecially if the other do acquieſs, or elſe they can have no action attributed to them at all. And upon no other ground then extraordinary eminence and appearance, are the actions of Princes made the actions of the whole people. For as all vertue gathers ſtrength by union; ſo are the fewer united herein, to be reckoned to have both the vertue and appearance of the whole.

For, in this regard, it fareth with thoſe aſſociations made by the more active people of any place or country, as it doth with thoſe more active and preſſing affections and paſſions whereby every particular man is provoked unto action: to wit, that as the will in each perſon could never be brought to any determinate deſign and execution, if thoſe differing paſſions and affections, which are in every ſingle man naturally abiding, ſhould be ſeverally and continually preſſing upon him with equal importunity and vigor; ſo neither, could any nation or people be brought to any attempt at all, or conceived to be ſuch or ſuch a diſtinct company of men, united and aſſociated in a Commonwealth, did not the ſence of honor, popularity, ambition, covetouſneſs, or the like, finde ſo great and continual a prevalence in ſome, as to unite and provoke them to publike undertakings: whilſt the reſt, again, being of a more dull and fearful temper, are content to ſit ſtill and enioy with quietneſs their preſent fortunes, or to move onely in the condition of followers to that party that promiſeth greateſt advantage and ſecurity. And as thus, the more vigorous and appearing party of any nation or people is to carry with it the reputation of the whole people, ſo alſo, is the more eminent and active perſon of each

each faction and party to carry with him the reputation thereof alſo, as having as much more courage then the reſt, as they had above others of the Nation. Even as, when in any man there is ſuch a prevalent compliance and aſſociation of ſeveral vertuous inclinations and affections as to make him to be deemed juſt, honeſt, valiant, temperate, or the like, yet, the merit and force thereof can never be equally aſcribed to thoſe ſeveral conſiderations and affections by which theſe vertuous acts or habits were performed or acquired, but the ſame is ſtill, eminently and chiefly to be applyed to the prevalence of ſome one more natural inclination of that particular party: as to ſenſe of honor, conſcience, reputation, frugallity, *&c.* which in each of thoſe acts did moſt ſtrongly operate.

And now comes policy to its perfection: other governments without a King, looking like a Pyramis without a vertical point. For the people, diffuſedly conſidered, and contradiſtinguiſhed, are of no force or availe to others or themſelves: but ſerve onely for the foundation. When they aſſociate, they make ſome appearance above ground. As the heads of factions grew fewer and fewer, ſo the work riſeth in beauty: till it come to its vertical point of unity.

But then, though government is founded on force, yet it is not ſo often on inbred force as foraign. For albeit, dominions have uſually natural bounds, as ſeas, rivers, mountains, *&c.* or artificial, as walls, forts, *&c.* to keep them from mutual invaſion, yet ſince (as to the generality of mankind) theſe are but particular aſſociations for ſelf-ends, it is alſo warrantable for any of theſe foraigners, as hope of gain or fear of damage ſhall direct (if divine law or particular contract hinder not) to uſe ſuch force, and to take ſuch caution of others, as ſhall ſerve for their content and ſecurity. And as this is moſt uſual, ſo more reaſonable then the other. For firſt here was no precedent common government over them both, to whoſe deciſion they ſtood bound. Then, there is ſeldom ſuch enmity as in homebred factions: whereby the proſecution comes to be more milde from the victor, and more tollerable in the vanquiſhed: both for that, and alſo becauſe the inſolence of fellow ſubjects ſeems uſually more heavy then of ſtrangers. Then again, homebred factions divide unity already ſettled: but this makes unity, by joyning two dominions.

So then there is no remedy, but that in all matters of civil ſubjection and intereſt, we are to ſubmit to that politick governor we are born under: though we had no more hand in the choice of him then of our own fathers: yet, as to a perſon of more general concern, by duty and intereſt we ſtand much more bound to his authority. And as we have nothing, but the credit of our mother to aſſure us our right father, ſo nothing but the ordinary rule of providence to ſet up our right King: & therefore, poſſeſſion doth as ſtrongly binde us to our reputed Prince, as reputed father. For as Chriſt was obedient to his parents in all things, though he knew his father was not indeed ſo, ſo (like him) we muſt be to our preſent Prince; although a foraginer, and having no right but conqueſt: it being indeed the onely rule of providence in this kinde: ſucceſſion depending thereon, and election having been never general and free; but onely ſometimes made ſemblance of, for flattery and engagement of the people. And the ſame we may ſay of their expulſion alſo: it being uſually done on a ſuddain, and not upon deliberate and full conſent, but only by a prevailing party or faction.

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And yet, all Kings conquering and governing by fear, muſt be ſuppoſed the voluntary head of his own party whereby he prevails and rules, which (it is probable) is as great as any that elects or depoſeth Kings. And as general willingneſs is not neceſſary to make the entrance into government lawful; ſo neither is continued general willingneſs more neceſſary to make the exerciſe lawful in general, then is particular willingneſs to obey him in every particular: for that general willingneſs muſt ariſe from particulars, and theſe may vary according to occaſion.

And if any yet think ſtrange that force onely ſhould have been at firſt the uſual diſtinguiſher of this property and right, as thinking that by Gods particular Precepts peaceable diviſion might have been made, they are to conſider that after the time that God was more immediately converſant amongſt men in the diſpoſal of their worldly affairs and government, (at which time *the Lord at firſt divided the earth amongſt the Nations*) he is not in his receſs, to be again expected as apparently and immediately intermedling, in rectifying thoſe confuſions which our ſtubbornneſs and rebellions have brought. And this, both for the reaſons heretofore mentioned for this receſs from government, and alſo becauſe, if God ſhould have immediately appeared in ſharing proprieties, how ſhould his Juſtice and more true knowledge of our differing deſerts have been able, through each ones covetouſneſs and pride, to have paſt to our liking? Whereas now, we may complain of fortune or our own weakneſs, but not of his partiality. And yet, we muſt not imagine him as an idle ſpectator. For though governments, by the appearing uncertainty of victory and conqueſt, ſeem thus caſt into the lap of Fortune, yet the *diſpoſition is Gods*. And he it is, that as ſurely ſets up Kings now, as he did *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Cyrus*, *Darius*, and others of old. And Conqueſt, or fear thereof, (the uſual ways for diſpoſing Kingdoms) he by his Providence as particularly now diſpoſes, as of that lot which the Children of *Iſrael* caſt at their formal election of *Saul*.

For as we formerly mentioned, that the poſitive right of Dominion in the elder brother was at firſt grafted upon the natural ſtock of force, as ſuppoſing him ordinarily moſt able, ſo we are now to conſider, that the right of Dominion being transferred again to the elective primogeniture of kingſhip, which is not amongſt Chriſtians openly by God determined to any line or perſon under the Goſpel, as formerly to *Saul* and *David*, it muſt therefore fall out, that it is to be determined the ſecret way of divine Election and Providence, manifeſted by the common and meer natural rule of force and ſtrength of body: which muſt now make known and decide that perſonal or lyneal right unto this Office amongſt men, which is by divine Providence appointed. And it muſt therewithal follow, that the perſon ſo gaining poſſeſſion, is to have rightful claim unto all thoſe Prerogatives which conqueſt can afford: being not otherwiſe to be limited then by the Laws of God, his own Conſcience, and ſenſe of honor. For as the deciſion of right and Juſtice between two contending ſubjects depends (as to them) on the determination of the Prince, ſo is the right and Juſtice of Dominion, between two contending Princes, to depend (as to manifeſtation thereof to ſubjects) on the determination of the *Lord of hoſts*, manifeſted by victory.

The which, undoubtedly, in order to humane preſervation and eſtabliſhment of the peace of kingdoms, may ſatisfie the Conſciences of Subjects ſo

far, as to claim a juſt right to their ſubmiſſion and obedience: however the Conquerer himſelf, cannot farther expect peace in his own Conſcience, nor a bleſſing to himſelf or poſterity from God, then as he hath been juſt and Conſciencious in his Claim and Conqueſt. It faring in this caſe, with ſubjects in general, towards their Prince, as with the Tenants of any particular Landlord. For as theſe are to pay their Rents and Acknowledgements to him that by the preſent Judiciary power is put into poſſeſſion, without being bound to examine whether he be a deſeiſor or not; or did by bribery, or other fraud thruſt out the former owner; even ſo, ſubjects, being to pay their Obedience and Acknowledgements to their Prince, as Gods Miniſter, muſt likewiſe acknowledge him for ſuch, whom they finde by the uſual way of Providence put into poſſeſſion. And further alſo, as the Tenant hath no avoidance againſt encreaſe of Rent or Service at the Will of his preſent Lord, but by leaving his Land and quitting his Tenancy, even ſo, is each ſubject lyable to ſuch encreaſe of Taxes and perſonal duties, as his preſent Prince ſhall impoſe, whilſt he is remaining within his Territories and Protection.

And as natural Reaſon will thus finde cauſe to ſubmit to Gods rule of Providence now uſed for the eſtabliſhment of the perſon of the conquering King, ſo will the ſame reaſon lead them to ſuffer it to deſcend to his heir: leſt they ſhould again ſubject themſelves to new Civil wars; which is ever incident to Elective Monarchies. And therefore this ought to be avoided by the obſervation of the Law of Primogeniture, in theſe Offices now ſucceeding in paternal right of power; upon the ſame conſideration that this fixed Law of birth-right was inſtituted: namely to avoid the like diſſention and quarrel in ſucceſſion to the heirſhip of the Family, while this power was formerly ſeated in the natural Father thereof.

Nay this right of inheritance not onely follows in Reaſon, but as gra[illegible] alſo and compriſed in the right of meer natural poſſeſſion. For as the el[illegible] brother (as aforeſaid) was to be preſumed moſt natural heir to the Fathers Dominion in regard of his more probable degree of ſtrength, ſo alſo it is to be preſumed that, as being born, he will have advantage of the natural way of right, which is firſt ſeiſure. Upon which ſcore, if there were no Precepts for hereditary Monarchy, natural Right, as well as Reaſon, would ſettle it in the poſſeſſors iſſue, and particularly on the elder brother, as heir to his Fathers acquiſitions. The which rule we ſhall finde approved by Saint *Paul*: and upon the like words as God gave *Cain* the power of Elderſhip, he confirms this right to the man over the woman: ſaying, *Adam was firſt formed, and then Eve.*

1 Tim. 2. 13.

Upon which grounds, the lawfulneſs to Elect Monarchs, or inſtitute Poliarchies will be taken away: inaſmuch as the Office and Poſſeſſion of Kingſhip in right of the Father and elder Brother, having firſt Seiſure before any other, it muſt follow, that none can have juſt right but God againſt him or his heir.

And if the beginnings and firſt riſes of Kings be examined, towards the proof of ſettlement by Conqueſt, they will come ſo far ſhort of deriving themſelves from *Adam* in a natural line, as it will appear how their Anceſtors, from a ſmall ſtock, have by ſucceſs and encreaſe of force, riſen to that preſent height. And even by this ſcale of Providence did *David* himſelf climbe; although God had determined him the kingdom: That is, firſt by

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ſome magnanimous act to gain reputation, and thereby ſome few friends and followers to aſſiſt upon occaſion: with theſe to encreaſe by degrees, till he become ſo formidable, that people had rather ſubmit to his Government, then adventure their lives in oppoſition. In which caſe, their power of Election is not ſo large as to chooſe him or not, or him or another, but whether they will take him on ſuch terms as he propoſeth, or put lives, liberties, and all to the hazard of war. In which condition, ſince fear was their guide, how are people more free before Election then afterwards: when Princes, for fear of puniſhment, are obeyed in their Governments and commands?

And why ſhould not fear be a wiſer Paſſion then love? For they that are governed in their choice by love, conſult not of dangers or inconveniences that may happen; for this fear is againſt the nature of love: and therfore the loved hath always power over the loving, and not on the contrary. And none do ſo uſually curb the people, as thoſe that through flattery of the noiſe of liberty have gotten to be their darlings, and ſo come to have ſole truſt and power: at which time, diſcretion bids him hold the ſtreight reins of power upon their wavering affections, leſt, by another, uſing his policy, he ſhould be again ſupplanted. When as, all Princes entrances which are made through fear, are made with as great deliberation and policy as may be; at leaſt with as much as the adverſe Faction hath preſent power to uſe. And it is probable, that he that findes himſelf afterwards thus ſtreightned, through the peoples fearing him in his entrance, will, as in order to his own honor and releaſe of fear, ſeek as far as he may to gain their love. And the truth is, Princes cannot well rule without both: the great difficulty reſting, when to uſe one, when another.

And if any Prince ſhould be by people elected into a Government hereditary, out of particular love and affection to his perſon, yet, ſince his perſon and thoſe Electors could not always have it alike, or were ſure (at leaſt) to have ſufficient degree of power and reſpect, there might be occaſion for him (but much more for his ſucceſſor) to have power and force in readineſs to make uſe of, if reaſon ſhould offer. For as there might be reaſons of mutual truſt between the firſt Prince and people, ſo of diſtruſt in the other: becauſe nothing is more giddy or uncertain then popular liking. So that, although the preſent Prince his vertues were equal, or alike, to the others at firſt ſetled by them, yet they being not the ſame people, or having changed their mindes, it is not reaſon he ſhould be ſo much their enemy, as not by force to keep them from forcible alteration, and injuring themſelves by Civil war.

And as for ſuch Princes as come in by Conqueſt, I ſee not why force in the continuance ſhould not be as lawful as in acquiſition: more neceſſary to him (I am ſure) it is; at leaſt to have it in readineſs. And this, not onely in reſpect of cuſtody (anſwerable to that common rational maxim, that all things are beſt preſerved by the ſame means they were acquired) but alſo in reſpect of recovery: inaſmuch as, Government and Soveraignty never continuing at the ſame juſt height, it muſt at laſt come to nothing; without ſome active and able Prince ſet himſelf again upon an equal recovery of thoſe Prerogatives which his predeceſſors have loſt: which neceſſarily cauſing the ſubjects averſion, as judging it a new Conqueſt, he muſt firſt be Maſter of a good force, or elſe look to be quite overthrown. And if we conſider all

Governments and Governors in their ſtories, we ſhall finde nothing ſo remarkable as this their variation in power, and the different carriages of ſeveral Princes in their deſigns and ways of acquiring, loſing, or recovering it. And both reaſonable and neceſſary it muſt be, that as the Prince hath his Civil Magiſtrates for government of Properties, and his Eccleſiaſtical for guide of religious duties, ſo muſt he upon occaſion have his Military Officers for Government of the ſubjects perſons: or elſe in caſe of reſiſtance, the other Governments will fall to nothing.

But now, having only hitherto determined obedience to the preſent Prince, without differencing whether he be an uſurper or not, it will be expected as neceſſary that I give my opinion what preſcription of time is requiſite to conſtitute a right in the peoples obedience. Truely I know not what time to ſet, amidſt ſuch variety of circumſtances as may make difference: but believe, if there be equal competition of Title, preſent Obedience is due to the preſent higher power: and, without doubt, if any Prince have now made his Laws generally obeyed, taken oaths of his ſubjects, and they have ſerved him in the field, he is their true Soveraign againſt all others.

But although I ſuppoſe theſe three ways of confirmation will eſtabliſh a right to any Prince, yet I conclude not that all are neceſſary at once. For the laſt of them may not come to be uſed in a long time after his entrance: and both it and the next, it may be practiſed but by few of his ſubjects. Yet, till he have been acknowledged in the ſeat of Juſtice, I know not how he can be acknowledged as ſetled in the Throne of his Kingdom.

As for Subjects that have depoſed or thruſt out their King, to make themſelves Free-States (as they call them) they can never have right againſt him and his heirs: becauſe his Property cannot be altered but by new poſſeſſion. For, the former Soveraignty of one being not to be poſſeſſed by many, that Property cannot be loſt to that line for preſent right, or, in defailance thereof to any other for future right; to be eſtabliſhed by poſſeſſion alſo: Becauſe he comes to be as rightly eſtated herein, as in any other of Gods bleſſings that are now let looſe without proprietor or owner.

Now the reaſons why theſe things do fully eſtate a right to perſons for Government, is, becauſe they contain all the tokens that the ſubjects (as ſubjects) can give of their joynt conſents and willingneſs: and if ſuch a thing as Paction muſt be implyed between Prince and people, whereby each may ſtand reciprocally obliged (as on Soveraignty voluntarily aſſumed, and ſubjection voluntarily undergone) it muſt be herein, how the Prince his aſſumption of the Soveraignty appears voluntary, needs no proof beyond his ſearch thereafter: and to have ſubjection to the perſon of any Prince known to be voluntary, there is no proof beyond fact it ſelf: that is, their voluntary continuance under it, and ſubmiſſion thereunto. For if he continue to live under his Laws and Government, and might yet depart, he cleerly evinceth his choice and approbation thereof. If he have taken an oath of obedience and fealty unto him, he ſtands obliged in Conſcience alſo: for an unlawful oath he was not to take, and a lawful one he muſt keep.

But above all, if he have not onely acknowledged his willingneſs by obedience, but by activity alſo, ſo as to have fought for him, he muſt be more expreſly preſumed as approving him. For though he may be preſſed to war, yet the continuance therein for any time, as under his Government alſo, being neceſſarily to afford many opportunities of departure, the not doing it,

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maketh the ſubmiſſion and approbation voluntary: I mean, as to general approbation of him and his right. For that, as no Government, as Government, can be without conſtraint; ſo many particulars of obedience muſt be unpleaſant.

And however ſtrange it may ſeem, that there ſhould be in humane appearance no other right then that of Force and Conqueſt unto the eſtating the firſt perſon of each Kingly race, yet if we will diligently obſerve the predictions of the New-Teſtament pointing at the government of the Church, we ſhall finde them ſtill declaratory as to the ſame effect. One of which we will explain in this place: ſeeing this very thing forth in moſt open terms: and that ſhall be the ſpeech of our Saviour made to the Jewiſh multitude, concerning the Government *of the Kingdom of Heaven*, or the Church. For theſe his Auditors, having heard the meſſage ſent from *John* to him, demanding an anſwer whether our Saviour were *he that ſhould come*, *or that they ſhould look for another*; and being ready to expect a temporal kingdom to be preſently undertaken by our Saviour, it cauſed him (after the declaration of *Johns* office to be the *Elias* to this Meſſiah) to give them ſatisfaction why it was inconvenient for him perſonally to undertake it. And this he doth, upon the ground of the different manner of the entrance and poſſeſſion of Government under the Goſpel, over it was under the Law. For under the Law, as there was both a rule for peaceable entry (the perſons being by God appointed that were to have the Crown ſetled on their race) ſo was there both Prieſts and Prophets who had a part of Monarchical juriſdiction in ſome things allowed them: thereby alſo keeping Monarchical power from that abſoluteneſs it ſhould arrive at after the days of *John*. In whom the Law and the Prophets ceaſing (meaning amongſt other things) that ſeparate power of Prieſtly and Prophetick juriſdiction, ſo far as they ſhared in the Soveraignty) it is the reaſon why our Saviour frames an anſwer which did both imply this difference, and ſhew the reaſon why himſelf could not take this charge upon him. Matth. 11.3.

So that we may conceive, that that limitation *until now*, was added onely to give the Jews ſatisfaction why he then undertook not this charge himſelf: namely, that it was contrary to his minde and quiet way of demeanor amongſt them, to enter into a charge wherein ſo great force and violence muſt be uſed, both to acquire and poſſeſs: and not as determining that this forceable way of entry ſhould then ceaſe. For if we ſhall compare it with the paralel Text of Saint *Luke*; where Gods own inward Kingdom in our hearts is ſpoken of, we may interpret the expreſſions here of violent entry and poſſeſſion of the outward Government in the Church, to be prophetick alſo. For it being there ſaid, that *the Kingdom of God is preached, and every man preſſeth into it*: we cannot conceive it of any preſent preſſing into the Church, but as ſpoken of what ſhould follow in the Churches encreaſe and ſplendor: at which time there ſhould follow the moſt frequent uſe of violence for poſſeſſing of Chriſtian Kingſhip alſo. Verſe 12. Luke 16.16.

And that, by this *Kingdom of God* in this place ſpoken of, is intended Gods own inward immediate rule he ſhould have in our hearts, & was different from that outward exerciſe of outward juriſdiction which he ſhould give to others in his Church (called there *the Kingdom of Heaven*) appears plainly in the occaſion of delivery therof. Because it was ſpoken to convince them, that, by reaſon of their own covetous humors, had *derided* our Savior for ſaying, Matth. 11.12:

No

No man can ſerve two maſters; but went about to *juſtifie themſelves before men*, by ſhews of legal or moral righteouſneſs: and could not yet well conceive how God ſhould judge men according to their hearts: ſuch that could not believe that *the ſingle eye and light of love*, was the fullfilling of the Law; even of every tittle thereof: for the letter thereof was to laſt till *John*; and after that time, Gods Kingdom to be preached. That is, men were to be won thereunto by the milde and ſtill voice of the Goſpel: whereas his outward Kingdom over mens perſons, was to be acquired and managed by the help of natural Reaſon and force; together with ſuch divine light as God ſhould furniſh the Prince with. For although, as the God of Nature and great preſerver of men, he do by the rule of Reaſon, and by Precepts and Examples of Scripture, plainly determine obedience and Monarchical Government (as heretofore ſhewed); yet doth he reſerve to himſelf (*as Lord of hoſts*) the ſecret approbation and diſpoſal of thoſe particular perſons and Families that ſhal from time to time rule amongſt us here as his deputies. And hence it is that all Kings and free Princes write themſelves *Dei Gratia*, not *Electione Populi*; for although prudence may many times lead Princes to make ſemblance of their having, and relyance on the free conſent or choice of the people; (even that they may be the more endeered towards him by this his profeſſed acknowledgment and dependance on their favors;) yet that this election was never but by ſome party onely, and a thing in it ſelf not to be relyed upon, will appear in that no Monarch, being fully poſſeſſed, was ever yet known to reſign his other holds, and wholly to ſubmit thereunto, for lawful title to be ſetled to him or his.

Nor looks it but with a plain face of partiality and injuſtice, when we allow the Gentry and Nobility (amongſt our ſelves) to be derived from the Arms and Enſigns of war, and yet allow not unto Conqueſt it ſelf the like force to eſtate Kingly right. As though the ſame military Art or vertue did not adorn the leader, as well as the follower: or that *Viriatus* were not *Vertus* in the Chieftain, more then in the ordinary ſouldier. Whereupon, fortitude being ſo much all other vertues, as to be the hand or inſtrument wherby they are (as to Society) made uſeful, and to be conveyor of them to the notice of others, it hath made the world unanimouſly to ſubmit to the plain eminence of this vertue, as the ſteadieſt rule for judging the hidden aboad of the reſt.

But although our Savior make that additional expreſſion of *until now*, the onely reaſon for the anſwering the Jews why he undertook not this Kingdom himſelf, yet were there many other important reaſons for it beſides. As firſt, the aſſumption of any ſuch like State was not congruous to him that was in his own perſon ſo ignominiouſly to ſuffer. Then, if he had ſat down in *Davids* right onely, as the Jews expected, he had loſt right unto the Gentile Church. Then again, wanting lyneal race of his own to ſucceed after him, he could not have ſtayed but encreaſed the Churches diviſion. To prevent which, ſhould he have ſet down rules to any other for ſucceſſion, it would have been called partiality by the perſons neglected: eſpecially in the diſpoſition of Chriſtian Kingdoms; where he could not, as ſon of *David*, claim power at all: and wherein, until his Goſpel had been entertained, he could not expect obedience as Chriſt neither. In regard of which, it chiefly may be underſtood why our Saviour ſhould ſo often be found ſaying, *I came not to ſend peace but a ſword*: and ſuch like Propheſies of the neceſſary following

following wars and contentions which should arise for the obtaining those Governments amongst men.

So that we must say, that as the Prince of each Country sits down in the natural right of streng th and first possessor, and thereby in the positive right of elder brother, so doth he thereby also, silence and extinguish all right in the use of force to any other under his jurisdiction and obeysance; even because their proprieties have their separation and assurance from his. For, as we formerly noted in right of that part of his Office over his subjects, namely *to judge them*, he was to be indisputably submitted unto in matters of legality and morality, so is he in the other part also, namely for *fighting their battails*; and that of both sorts: as well that of publike protection, whereby the whole Kingdoms Proprieties are defended from forraign invasion, as that of separate protection, whereby each particular subject is defended from the force of each other.

For since none of the Subjects in each Kingdom, can say of his Lands and Possessions that they were gotten by any independent force and manner of acquisition, but were both gained and held by him in the relation of a Subject, and that by such ways and courses as were by the Laws of that Country prescribed or allowed, there can be no reason why unto Subjects (as such) there should be any such absoluteness of propriety granted, nor other way of gain from one another allowed, then what the publike Laws for Commerce do set down. For although one Prince to another be left to the natural way of force for decision of Propriety, where Religion binds not, yet have their Subjects no right to encroach or possess the Proprieties of one another, by other way of acquisition then that of allowable commerce: as heretofore declared.

But, be these things as cleer and apparent in Scripture or Reason as they will, it is not to be presumed, but that those different interests which will be still arising from those daily changings of Governments and Governors, will, through that different hope of advantage to be gained by one form of Government, or person governing, more then another, be continually prompting them with Arguments of contradiction, at such time as they shall apprehend that person in whom their hopes do lye, and whom they would have seated in the Soveraignty, to be by any of these discourses disadvantaged in his claim: In which regard large declamations are from them to be expected for taking away the right by Conquest; and for branding and enfeebling it with the odious terms of Tyranny and Usurpation: whilst others, although not so personally interessed, yet, being discontented with that share of riches or preferment which the present settlement hath allotted them, are willing to call out for the peoples right to choose; and to joyn with, and accompany them in any thing of change and alteration in the Government: in hope that, from that new shuffling of fortunes and interest which must hence arise, they shall have a better game dealt them then before: not at all regarding that general mischief and confusion which must follow hereupon.

For will they say that it is fit this power should follow publike and free election, then, to bring any Prince this way into power, without danger of Civil war, they must first imagine that that whole Nation out of which he is to be chosen hath but one person fit for this employment; and also that that person hath so publikely and equally demeaned himself in his merits and favors, that they should be always so equally known, and equally beneficial, as to engage

gage each one in an unanimous consent and agreement in his election.

Will they (for peace-sake) put it to the Major Vote; how shall it be known, except voices and consent be taken *viritim*? And how shall it be done but under government; where some must be imagined with general Authority to give direction herein? In which case, how shall those in present power be thought willing to submit to the suffrages of such as have none, whether they shall continue in it or no, or have their enemies (it may be) chosen in their rooms? If the major or stronger party do elect, and by force (or fear of it) prevail against the other, then what differs this from the course before spoken of; where the conquering Faction sets up its own chief in supreme power? Will they say, that since Princes are to be chosen more for eminence in wisdom, then in valor and prowess, that therefore his election for fitness, is to be tryed out by force of Argument, and not by force of hands; then, what hopes in this case to have an end of the controversie; since the minor party will no more conceive it self justly overcome this way then the other? For when do we see any person yeild to another in any Argument that is to be tryed out by discourse? Whereas victory will presently decide the contest of two Combatants. Besides, what greater assurance and demonstration of wisdom, then those effects thereof, whereby this greatness was acquired? Unless they would have it judged by talk onely, and not by action.

For mine own part, I do not believe there hath been any more studious then my self to finde out a way how Subjects might free themselves from these kinde of inconveniences, as of Tyranny, Usurpation, *&c.* and yet, all that while maintain publike peace: but, when I had throughly considered all those ways of redress that in this case I could think upon, and compared their probable benefit with those more certain consequents of Civil war which would attend them, I was at last forced to reckon these chances amongst those irremediable miseries which humane condition stood subject unto, and which God, as in his more secret Justice, had to himself reserved for punishment of our sins: even in this very case, making us sensible of that our original pride and insubjection to him, which had now brought us from his more immediate care and rule over us, to be thus made subject to the oppression of such as are in Nature our equals; and thereupon to resolve, that no way could so assuredly prevent those torrents of Civil war, which upon these pretences would be continually let in, then by making a stop at that first gap made for entrance.

For experience doth tell us, that, under pretence of the unlawfulness of the first seisure by Conquest and Usurpation, Princes of a long continued race have been opposed, and by Civil War dispossessed, as Usurpers: thereby plainly shewing, that no Government or Governor can be in security, or publike peace kept up, if a discontented party may be still hearkened unto. For if we admit Usurpation a just excuse for disobedience to a present Prince, and any party or order of the Subjects to be judge thereof, there will never want a party who will make all Conquest to be the same: inasmuch as none can usurp Regal Authority to the dispossession of another, who were not by Conquest holpen in. And if it were unlawful for the first to command and govern by that claim, then is it so to all that succeed to govern, as upon his right.

I con-

I conſidered that Uſurpation and Tyranny were uſually the expreſſions of Paſſion and Intereſt: many times laid without deſert, and that by the fewer in number alſo: for had not the greateſt part thought them otherwiſe they could never have got in. And hence it grew, that the old Prince was over called Tyrant, and the new one Uſurper, by thoſe parties that were their enemies. And whilſt ſome, out of their intereſts againſt Monarchy would reject all Government; as denying either the ways of Conqueſt or Uſurpation to have Lawfulneſs of title, there are others again, that are ready to yield to the right of Conqueſt made by a forraign Prince, but ſtrongly urge againſt Uſurpation of a Subject: Whilſt thoſe on the ſide of the Uſurper, ſay, "That all Conqueſt is not onely Uſurpation, but with this aggravation, that "thereby a forraigner makes entrance, and rules in deſpight of a whole Na- "tion: Whereas the other cannot come in without the aſſiſtance and con- "ſent of the major part; and being a native is not ſo like to alter their Laws "and Religion as the other: and they are ready to give inſtances for it amongſt the Jews.

When I foreſaw, that, when all was done, Subjects were (upon their removal) ſtill to run the ſame hazard from the next Poſſeſſor; when I foreſaw that there was no other remedy againſt Uſurpation and Tyranny, then what was certainly accompanyed with a greater evil then the diſeaſe it ſelf, and yet, all that while, no certainty of cure, I then concluded that I could not go lower then I have done, in aſſerting ſubmiſſion to the preſent Prince in poſſeſſion; unleſs I ſhould have been falſe to my main deſign of publike peace and good.

Nay, truely, I looked upon loyalty and ſubjection, as the onely ſure remedy to defend people againſt uſurpation: Inaſmuch as none being able to diſpoſſeſs another, already in power, but by the help of his own ſubjects, diſloyalty muſt precede, and be a cauſe of Uſurpation: And therefore, if nothing but Civil war will remedy it, better to be loyal, then, by it, cure one Uſurpation by another. And I ſhall ingenuouſly ſay, that could any yet inform me how it may be done, I ſhall more heartily recant and withdraw my former Tenents, then I did propoſe them: looking upon it as an evil in it ſelf, onely tolerable to avoid a greater: inſomuch as, if right to command ſhould depend on general approbation there is no Prince but muſt come to be diſobeyed: and in that caſe we ſhall be much troubled who there ſhall be to ſtate it, and to appoint what number or quality of Subjects may be thought fit to be hearkened unto herein.

But ſince I cannot finde how any in the condition of a Subject ſtands anſwerable for the guilt thereof, if he have been paſſive onely, or that he is obliged to ſearch into his Soveraigns Right, or break his Allegeance upon any jealouſie of his Title (who being to rule over others beſides himſelf, there is no appearing reaſon his ſingle judgement or Conſcience ſhould bear ſway againſt theirs), I therefore ſaw no lawful way of prevention or redreſs but what muſt come from God. He, he, if we will at all conceive him to be, or to be regardful of humane affairs, muſt with ſubmiſſion be lookt upon as a ſetter up and guider of perſons and affairs of ſo great import, which have the good or ill of ſo many depending on them.

When any Prince, by force or craft, ſhall aſcend the Throne, although the ſeveral Victories by him gained, and Plots by him laid, as alſo all thoſe ways and contrivances by which they were brought to paſs, be to us fully

diſcovered, and they do thereupon look but like things of ordinary production and hazard; what, ſhall we thereupon acknowledge no deity but that of Fortune? Or, that which is worſe, ſhall we acknowledge his power and Government, and yet ſo far miſtruſt his Wiſdom or Goodneſs, as to think he hath not done it with due reſpect to his own glory and our deſerts? In which caſe, how can diſobedience become us, who cannot at all be knowing of Gods intentions herein, and therefore ought with patience to expect the event: for many times, he that ſubjects may for the preſent look upon as an Uſurper, may be by him that can onely ſearch Kings hearts ſent as a bleſſing, in the place of him that in ordinary humane judgement had a greater right thereunto.

But when I ſay this may ſo happen, it is not to grant Subjects any liberty to aſſiſt any one againſt their preſent Prince, under hopes or colour of any ſuch bleſſing, or to excuſe them that did ſo: for this were to overthrow what was ſaid before towards publike Peace, and of ſubmiſſion to the preſent Soveraign. That which I would have men in this caſe ſeriouſly to conſider of, is, that if they will not admit poſſeſſion to have right in thoſe Changes, then they muſt conceive the Government of each Chriſtian Nation to be for perpetuity impropriate to one ſingle Family by God Almighty, as that of the Jews was to the lyneage of *David*: ſo as, notwithſtanding any irreligious, unjuſt, or oppreſſive acts in them, no alteration from Heaven ſhould be expected, either for abdication of that lyneage, or diſpoſſeſſion of the right heir by any other of the ſame Family. But if there be neither preſident or hope, that ſuch an eſtabliſhment hath ever anywhere been, or can reaſonably be looked for, then it muſt fall out that all bonds of Government and Allegeance ſtand now diſſolved upon failance of juſt Title, or elſe it is to be juſtly claimed by poſſeſſion. For certainly, the heirs of Conquerers and Uſurpers can reign by no higher right then was that of their predeceſſors, from whom their Title was derived; but it may be often lower, as failing of the vertue of their firſt founder. And I do (for my part) believe, that *Caſar* had a greater right to the Soveraignty of *Rome* then any of his poſterity: not becauſe he conquered more forraign Nations, or added more to the Roman Territory then they (for that he did not) but for ſuch like crafts and policies, whereby he purchaſed that his perpetual Dictatorſhip, and for thoſe very Conqueſts he made at home: by all which he became enabled to aſſume (which others may interpret uſurp) the Soveraignty to himſelf. For having hereby power to keep thoſe his warlike Country-men at peace and Agreement amongſt themſelves, and reſtore them to their general liberty from the Tyranny of all thoſe factious heads, who, like true Uſurpers indeed, had engroſſed all liberty and power to themſelves, by pretence of being Keeepers of the Liberties of the people, and were ſo continually ready to engage their Nation in Civil war through their own ſidings: he might (I ſay) more truely in that caſe be called his Countries preſerver, then where a Forraign enemy is onely reſiſted; by how much Civil war is more deſtructive and dangerous then any other; and by how much the eſtabliſhment of good Government and order in our native Country, is more heroick then to do it abroad. In which reſpect alſo, *Caſar* may worthily have precedence in his parallel with *Alexander*: who on the other ſide quietly at home ſucceeded in a Monarchy already ſetled by his victorious Father; and his Conqueſts over other Nations were but victories to his own honor and benefit, and not to their encreaſe

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of liberty, being under Monarchs before. And although *Cæsars* victories are usually thought more honorable, as being more dangerous and difficult, yet, it is not hardness alone in the means; but goodness of the end that must compleat true honor.

In consideration of all which, as I see not how the imputation of an Usurper, or the like, can in Conscience make any good excuse for Subjects resistance or insubjection to that present Soveraign which is now by divine Providence set over them, and who is thereupon to be taken as the Ordinance of God; so not in prudence neither: inasmuch as their opposing or repining at him is but the likely way to make him, that was an Usurper before against the right of another, to become hereby also a Tyrant against them, as fearing their insurrections. Whereas else, it is like, he will, by milde and meritorious usages towards them, strive to gain by vertue, what he wants in Title.

More safe therefore (no doubt) it is for subjects to acquiesce, and in this case, to testifie their obedience and submission to God, by submission to this higher power by his Providence set over them: who, as his Vicegerent, and by reason of that present Office he is by him put in, is (as it were) espoused into part of his power: and cannot from thenceforth, and whilst he continues their Soveraign, be any more charged with any personal faults and failings then a married Wife can, by those of the Family, be taxed with any former dishonest act, whereby that respect due to her as Mistress of the Family should be taken off: nay although formerly she had been but one of their own fellow servants: because this duty is not due to her as such a woman, seperately considered, but according to her present relation, as being such a mans Wife: and so comes to be part of that duty they owe to their Master. Nor do I believe but those that through interest and partiality would decline obedience to the present Prince, would yet, on their parts, expect his protection in case any violence should be offered. But men are led to misconceive of actions of this nature, for want of due regard how the same person stands accountable for, what he doth herein, according to that different condition he stood in at the time of doing.

Whosoever shall oppose, or make insurrection against that Prince that is in present possession, and under whose protection he lives, he, and all that side with him, are, all that while, not onely guilty of the sin of rebellion before the divine Tribunal, but before that political Tribunal also, wherein this Prince doth preside. Whereas all those that do assist this their present Soveraign, are to be counted loyal, both by Law of God and Man. But if divine providence or permission, have given such success to any subject, as to deprive the present Prince, and to seat himself in the Regal Throne, from that time, both he, and those that took his part cease to be rebels, as to the political Tribunal, for any thing they shall act afterwards: but both of them stand Criminals before God as for their rebellion past. And he also, so far as he is an Usurper, stands accountable, both there, and in his own Conscience, for al those injuries which are or shall be committed in his present usurpation, as wel by himself as those that obey him. Whereas they again, that were by the Laws of God and man, to be accounted loyal to the former Prince, in respect of that obedience they then gave him as their present higher power, shall become now rebels to this, if, while they live under his Government and Jurisdiction, they pay not that respect and obedience which is to Soveraignty due: and they do (therein) stand accountable as Criminals, aswel before the divine Throne, as that of their present Soveraign.

To the preſent Soveraign (I ſay) this ſubjection muſt be given, if (at all) we will allow ſubjection as a duty to be acted, and not as a bare contemplative vertue onely. For in this caſe, as obedience is due to the higher power, even becauſe it is ſo, ſo muſt it be actually given to him that is actually ſeiſed thereof: who onely, having preſent power to command, and alſo to puniſh in caſe of refuſal, muſt be underſtood to be the true object of obedience and ſubjection, *not onely for wrath, but alſo for Conſcience ſake*: and whoſe reſiſtance, as the *reſiſtance of the Ordinance of God*, makes that party a Criminal, not onely in reſpect of judgement hereafter, but alſo in reſpect of that preſent Judiciary power wherein the Prince is now ſeated. For this tribute of ſubjection muſt be held as legally due to that perſon in whoſe name the Laws are enforced and executed, as the payment of other tribute doth belong to that *Image and Circumſcription* which is ſtampt upon the Coyn; which was enjoyned to *Ceſar*: a ſtranger by birth and religion, and one that had not ſo much as legal title at home, and yet being acknowledged by him that had all title, it will thereupon make the duty of ſubjection to the preſent power much more apparent.

But then again, although thoſe that now take part with the preſent power are to be accounted loyal in all they do in his obeiſance, whilſt he continues their Soveraign, and, on the contrary, thoſe that were formerly loyal, are now to be held for Criminals for what they act contrary to their preſent ſupremacy, yet are they to be lookt upon with this difference in relation to their actings paſt. Thoſe that were loyal cannot juſtly be puniſhed by him that ſucceeds, for any oppoſition againſt him before he was poſſeſſed: for that were to diſcourage and puniſh loyalty. Whereas thoſe that took part for ſetting up a new power, having all that while no lawful Authority for what they did, are for all thoſe acts legally puniſhable by the depoſed Prince, in caſe he ſhall be reſtored: none but he having power to pardon what was done againſt his Juriſdiction onely. For certainly, as oaths of Alleageance and other ties of duty, were given to Princes by Subjects, with reſpect, and in relation to that power they then held, even ſo muſt Subjects be held Criminals to that power, for all diſloyal acts done while that power was up: even as they muſt alſo be criminals when they do oppoſe that which ſucceeds. And it will concern every new Prince (even in point of prudence) to be careful hereof. And although he cannot, in diſcretion and good nature, but be exemplar in depreſſing and rewarding ſome few that have more eminently oppoſed or aſſiſted him, yet generally to puniſh or diſcourage ſuch as have been true to the former eſtabliſhed Government, onely becauſe they have been ſo, and to reward ſuch as ſided for alteration, onely becauſe they did ſo, will be found of moſt dangerous conſequence, not onely to himſelf, but to the publike peace alſo: by leaving a preſident for neceſſitous and diſcontented perſons to attempt the like innovations for the future, upon the like incouragements and hopes of reward.

Upon due regard of the neceſſary rendring this obedience to the preſent Prince, in order to duety and maintainance of publike peace, and in tenderneſs of the indemnity of Subjects for ſo doing, was that moſt gracious and beneficial Law made, by that moſt prudent and politick Prince of our Nation *Henry* the ſeventh: enacting that none ſhould be queſtioned as Traytors, for any thing done in obedience to the preſent King. This moſt wiſe Prince had well conſidered how often the ſubjects of this Land had been puniſhed

niſhed, even for being true Subjects, by ſuch as, being wholly ſwayed by ſenſe of ſelf-intereſt and revenge, did herein deal otherwiſe by them, then themſelves would in like caſe be dealt by. For they would not themſelves have been content that their followers ſhould, for their loyalty to them, be ſo uſed by ſuch as ſhould again ſucceed in this power: and much leſs would they be content, that any ſhould withdraw their ſubjection from themſelves, now in preſent power, under colour of the better Title of another. And much leſs yet would they have been content, if themſelves had been in the condition of ſubjection to any Prince, and had therein been conſtantly loyal; that this former Prince, having now neither occaſion to imploy or means to maintain them elſewhere, ſhould ingratefully ſtomack and reckon as a fault, that neceſſary livelihood he were now forced to ſeek in his native Country, under the protection and obeiſance of another.

He foreſaw that while that way of claim by Title was pleadable amongſt the Subjects themſelves, that they were not onely ſtill at a loſs for want of true evidence herein, but the whole Kingdom perpetually infeſted with Civil war; by that diſagreement that muſt happen thereabout: whilſt Subjects might, upon this pretence, be no ſubjects; by withdraiving obedience from the preſent ſubjection, to whom it is naturally, apparently, and preſently due, to give it to ſuch as were now but equals in Soveraignty: and ſo, being not able for the preſent to command it as a duty, what is to them herein done, can carry no other interpretation then as acts of love, friendſhip, reſpect, or the like; and not of loyalty and ſubjection. Which duty, obliging us to actual performance, the Queſtion is not who ſhould be, but who is in the ſeat of Authority.

He foreſaw, that, under colour of ſeeling obedience by evidence of Right and Title, friendſhip and intereſt were ſtill put into the ſcale, in the preferment of one perſon before another; to the perpetual diſturbance of the Subjects by their diſagreements herein. Whereas, if right to poſſeſſion had ſtill followed poſſeſſion, all Civil war ſhould be avoided: becauſe, being then guided by a thing ſo apparent to each ones ſenſe, there could be none found to oppoſe or diſturb him whom all did obey. Whereas thoſe that withdrew their obedience from him that was actually poſſeſſed, under colour of that right which any other had to poſſeſs, as they muſt thereby confeſs it due in reſpect of that office he hath right unto, ſo (if they ſhould ſeparate themſelves from their own intereſts and paſſions) they muſt acknowledge it, by the ſame rule, to be for the preſent due to this preſent poſſeſſor. Elſe, by a ſtrange and unnatural contradiction, he that is actually poſſeſſed, as King, ſhould be, at the ſame time, actually diſpoſſeſſed, and no King; by this abſurd diverſion and application of obedience unto a power which is not in being.

Senſe and experience of his own former condition had rightly told him, that as this belief or opinion of the right of him that is diſpoſſeſſed, can, during that his private condition, claim from his former ſubjects a willingneſs & propenſion only to perform actual ſubjection when he ſhall be again poſſeſſed and reſtored to a capacity of actual command, ſo, in the mean time, the actual poſſeſſion of this other, muſt, by the ſame rule, claim actual ſubjection and obedience unto him, from all that live under his obedience and juriſdiction: unleſs (as we ſaid) we ſhould make that Precept for *ſubjection to the higher power* vainly given; when ſuch as ſhould be ſubject, ſhould have a liberty

liberty hereby left them whether they will at any time be ſo or no; by making ſome pretence or other, that it is not rightly due to him that hath now onely power to command it.

And therefore although this Prince, like others, did wiſely cauſe ſuch of his Subjects as were eminent, or to be ſuſpected, to take oaths of Allegeance and Fidelity to himſelf and poſterity, yet, by that truely ſelf-denying Ordinance before mentioned, he may well be thought more conſiderative of that future eſtabliſhment of publike peace and benefit, then ſo peeviſhly reſpective to the ſetling his race alone, as, upon any turn, to involve all men in the hazard of guilt and blood: by making that oath, which was made to preſerve and encourage loyalty, a continual ſnare and puniſhment to all that had been ſo: and to ſuch onely, who, in Conſcience and friendſhip, ſtand enclined to his ſide.

But now, for concluſion of this Diſcourſe, we ſhall ſay ſomething in anſwer to ſuch ſcruples as may ariſe concerning thoſe that are caſt into that unhappy condition as to be under any of theſe Polarchies: becauſe (elſe) it might be ſuppoſed, from what hath hitherto been ſpoken, or may hereafter, that I did conclude that no man could live honeſtly or Conſciencioufly but under a Monarch. It is therefore to be conſidered (as we have formerly hinted) that as all theſe Polarchies have been formerly Monarchies, ſo are their Laws and Conſtitutions, for the moſt part, onely ſuch as have been before ſetled and Authorized by a Monarch. In which caſe it will fall out, that the Subject living in any imployment and Calling allowed by the former Laws, is to be concluded lawfully authorized in his deportments: as obeying and ſubmitting to the Ancient and right Authority ſtill. But in all new Conſtitutions and Commands on him impoſed by theſe unauthorized Guides, by which he ſhall be put to act any thing that may have relation beyond himſelf, he is, in that caſe, for want of warrant from Chriſts direct Deputy, to ſecure his innocence the beſt he may, by aſſuming to himſelf the power of judging of Morality; and to act no farther then the Conſcientious rule of *Do as thou wouldeſt be done unto* ſhall give leave. And, in that condition, is he to make uſe of that diſtiction of obedience into Active and Paſſive: *and of obeying God rather then man.* So that, by his Patience and Willingneſs to ſuffer in his own perſon, rather then wrong another, he ſhall acquit himſelf of the guilt of that ſuffering he might bring on another, through want of a juſtly derived power. For when it ſhall be any mans unhappineſs, not to have Chriſt, by his proper Deputy, outwardly directing him how *to love his neighbour* as himſelf, as well as, by his Spirit and Goſpel, inwardly fitting him thereunto, he is then, by his Conſciencious *abſtenance from all appearance of evil*, and by his readineſs to be aſſiſting unto him in all that ſhall be in his power; and which according to his wants, ſhall be juſtly or reaſonably demanded of him, to make up that meaſure of bounden good to his neighbour, which he cannot actively undertake and perform.

In

In this laſt Chapter I have again raiſed up and united the former Fabrick of Monarchy, which in all thoſe precedent, ſeemed to be buried in the rubbiſh of popular miſtake and confuſion. And as in the firſt Book, the foundation thereof was laid on that ſtock of diſcourſe which Divine Edict, and the Rules of humane Nature or reaſon would afford, here I have again added, to the ſtrengthening and eſtabliſhing of the Work, ſuch farther ſupply as the preſidents of other meer naturall agents would readily contribute; although men (like them) ſhould be ſuppoſed put into the world at randome, and without other direction or law then what their owne ſenſes could frame. It ſeems now therefore ſeaſonable, that for confimation of all, we ſhould have our recourſe to Religion; ſo called, becauſe it is the tye of all politie and commerce; to ſee how all theſe things ſtand therein warranted; and are both allowed and commanded by that great Guide and preſerver of Man kinde: all which, by divine aſſiſtance, the following Book ſhall declare.

THE

THE THIRD BOOK OF GOVERNMENT AND

Of the Obedience thereunto due, according to Arguments more particularly drawn from SCRIPTURE.

The Introduction.

HOw long ſince, or who it was that firſt made that diſtinction of the Decalogue into two Tables as now received, I know not: but ſure I am, that that common liberty every day taken of dividing mens duties and obedience into religious and civil, hath been the cauſe of much diſtraction and diviſion amongſt men. For whilſt ſome are ranking under the claſsis of Gods particular ſervice what ſhare of humane actions they pleaſe, they have on the one hand almoſt taken peace from the earth, by ſubſtracting that our bounden obedience from his immediate vicegerent, which ſhould have been the tye thereof: whilſt others again, out of a deſire to make themſelves abſolute in the managery of State affairs,

have come to seclude God, and the rules of religigion from having any immediate influence and authority therein; which are in these things, and to the support of that obedience which is on their behalf necessary, the chiefe securities and directions.

Against some inconveniencies arising from the practise and opinions of those of the last sort, I have framed much of my discourse in the two precedent books; in which, by reason as well as Scripture, I have plainly shewn the necessary tye and dependance of political good and peace on religion and its precepts; and how it is, not onely injurious to God, but wrong to our selves, to deprive him of superintendant dominion and administration, either in the government of our persons, or estates, And indeed to deny Gods care and superintendency over moral agents and actions as well as natural ones, is an opinion bordering not only on Atheism, but on absurdity also; when as men shall be hereby thought not so valuable in the eye of Divine care and providence as beasts; nay as stocks and stones.

In this present work, my intention is to set forth the inconveniences that arise from the sole undertakings of those of the other sort; that is, such as oppose this power upon the score of religion. And more particularly those of the Romish party, who first made use of, and applyed that notion of *Civil Magistrate* unto the Christian Prince; that thereby he might, under that distinction of *Civil*, be not only separated & secluded from any farther inter-

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medling in the Church then as if he had ſtill been a pagan, but alſo that, under the appellation of *Magiſtrate* (inſtead of that of King) he might be but thought ſubordinate herein neither; even to that their own ſupream head, as well as were the Biſhops and other Church guides and Officers; whom certainly they intend ſhould be oppoſed unto him in this his civil relation: and be not onely abſolute in Eccleſiaſtical jurisdiction and government of the Church, but to be ſuper-eminent in the State alſo.

And although, amongſt Proteſtants, this ſole ſuperintendency is not given to any Eccleſiaſtical perſon, yet when we find thoſe that pretend greateſt reformation & departure from *Rome*, ſtil retaining this notion of *Civil Magiſtrate*, and applying it to the Prince, we may conceive it purpoſely alſo ſo done, that thereupon another independent Magiſtracy, even themſelves, might be cloſely inſinuated, and alſo acknowledged and obeyed in Church affairs.

Which done, and having hereby made themſelves the next and more immediate Miniſters to God and Chriſt, their next work is to ſtretch and draw out religious cognizance as far as they can; & to leave unto Kings, as perſons in a ſphere below them, the managery of ſuch other duties and vertues as they are pleaſed to liſt under the notion of Moral; calling the greateſt proficients in vertue, (in a kinde of ſcorne) Moral men, or men civilly honeſt. As though the very Decalogue, and the whole Jewiſh law given from God himſelf,

carried not moral consideration with them; and were any otherwise binding then as moral precepts to us now.

In farther evidence whereof, I shall also shew how the very Gospel-precepts do make moral duties their subject also, even as our Saviour ordinarily made mans body the subject of his miracles: and that the substance of the former more large moral direction is abreviated and fulfilled in the gospel precept of love: and how again, love is made useful by the tye and effects thereof, obedience, humility, patience, &c. in such sort, that civil good and society is by Gospel-directions more neerly and directly pointed to, and maintained then before. Of all which, by Gods assistance, in that which follows.

CHAP

CHAP. I.

Of Religion in its true ground.

OUR discourse hitherto hath been to manifest that the end of all divine, natural, and positive laws, are both for the preservation of the whole world, and of man in particular. In which doing, we are not to consider God Almighty, (like our selves in our sports) as taking delight in the action it self, and entertaining it by way of pastime, as having nothing else to do: but as an understanding, free, and voluntary Agent; and having an end in all things he doth. For otherwise would not his works be regulated and stinted as now they are: but, there being no end of doing, the deeds would be also infinite as the Author. End he could have none, above, or without respect to himself: because this must be the necessary consequent of choice also: For to do, or not to do any thing, wherein self-good, interest, or liking is no wayes concerned, is not imaginable; but, in all knowing and voluntary Agents, must be presupposed.

Therefore now, to come to examine what this end of God is, and how it is both true that all things were made *for his own sake*, & again, how *all was made for the use of man*; we must take care that, in no consideration, we entrench upon Gods allsufficiency in himself, and think him hereby, or from the Creature, (as in a kinde of supply) any way advantaged. For when we eat or drink, or make use of any thing, it is in us a contribution towards some necessary want and sustentation of our being: but, when God keeps on the course of his Providence, and hereby enables all Creatures to do him that service he requires, we must not imagine any indigence in him to be the cause thereof: for he, having none his superiour or equal, nor any thing without the verge of his power, how should fear or want approach his almightiness? Therefore he, not being like other Creatures, who have their being and wel-being dependent on him; but, being truly independent of any but himself, his operations outward, (that can have no end higher or better then himself) must have it onely by reflection and return. Whereupon, he being all good, and it being proper to the nature of goodness to be extensive and communicable, he did, according to his good pleasure, Confer on other Creatures those different resemblances, and the participation of those beatitudes and perfections, which were before solitary and in himself confined. All which proceeding from him without substraction, he is so far from suffering diminution herein, that, by a kind of multiplication, he hath the goodness and content of his owne now encreased by that of others: even by their just and grateful acknowledgements of so much from him received. So that from hence we may conclude, the reason how all things come to be said made for his owne sake; namely, to express his honour and glory: which

Pro. 16. 4. Psal. 18. 5.

return

return of praiſe and glory being juſtly expected of each creature as a duty, is, by Gods acceptance, reckoned as a ſervice.

But, becauſe returnes of gratitude are, as neer as may be, to be proportioned to the meaſure of benefits received; and becauſe (amongſt ſublunary Creatures) man had the largeſt meaſure imparted; it will follow that from him, as from a Creature moſt bounden for receipt, and beſt enabled for return, this duty of praiſe and thanksgiving ſhould be chiefly expected: nay, in a manner, from him onely it can be had. For although *the Heavens may declare the glory of God, and the Firmament ſhew his handy work*; yet becauſe Pſal.19.1. thoſe beauties and excellencies, which by the wiſdom and power of God are beſtowed on them and other irrational Creatures, are not at all apprehended by themſelves, and are, for the moſt part, but ſubſervient to others, how ſhould ſuch return of praiſe or acknowledgement be expected from them, or any but man? who alone, (in theſe endowments and perfections received) appeares, of all Creatures, leaſt tyed in a ſubſervient relation: but on the contrary, having all the vertues and benefits of other things directed and made appliable towards him, and his own abilities again ſtanding directly pointing at the ſervice and honour of his Maker, it may thereupon be fitly ſaid, *That all things were made for man*: as the moſt able creature in regard of his reaſon to apprehend his owne intereſt and obligations, and to make ſuitable expreſſion of thanks to Gods glory.

By all which, it appears that the end of all our whole religion and endeavours ſhould be to the glory of God: even ſuch a God, that, being ſo infinite in power above us, is yet ſo particularly extenſive of his goodneſs towards us, that whoſoever ſhall but conſiderately weigh the meaſure thereof, muſt ever think himſelf ſo high a debtor, that with an holy extaſie he may Pſal.116.12. cry out, *What ſhall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me?* What can be more proportionable, and becoming both our duty and benefit, then, in immitation of that (thereby) moſt pleaſing perſon, to *have his praiſes al-* Pſal. 145. 21. *waies in our mouths*: nay not in our mouths alone, but in our actions alſo: *theſe muſt ſo ſhine before men, that they ſeeing our good works, may glorifie our* Matth. 5. 16. *Father which is in heaven.*

When Birds or Beaſts ſing, or play, in the ſenſe and exultation of benefits received from this univerſal Author of plentiouſneſs to all things living, they, in Eccleſi.51.22. their kind, praiſe him: but unto us, as he hath given underſtanding, ſo it is therewith to praiſe him: and if with reaſon we do it not, we do it not as men, *nor* Matth. 22.37. *with all our might, nor with all our ſtrength.* And this reaſon of ours, we muſt, in ſo needful a work, ſtrengthen with all the help we can; eſpecially out of that portion of his owne unerring wiſdome, revealed in the holy Scripture.

And, for farther fear that their meaning herein ſhould be miſtaken, we are not to truſt our ſingle, and private judgements for their interpretation: but Heb.13.7. take direction from thoſe *that have rule over us, whoſe faith we are to follow.* By which means, we ſhall alſo moſt aſſuredly keep up, and preſerve our other duty, (the chiefe means of his praiſe on earth) namely the good of our Neighbour. For, as God keeps on the whole Creation and our particular preſervations, for a means to expreſs his glory by; ſo we, by obſerving his commands of Charity, beneficence, peace, and love to one another, muſt make that, (as having moſt neceſſary and direct tendency to this preſervation) the onely alowable means to give him that praiſe and glory.

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By this means it will come to paſs, that although, when *we ſin or multiply* Job. 35. 6.
our tranſgreſſions, we do nothing againſt him, nor that he, (as directly in himſelf) *doth receive gaine or advantage by our righteouſneſs*; yet, ſince verſe 7.
theſe our wickednesſes may hurt men as we are, and our righteouſneſs (on the other ſide) may profit them; therefore comes our good or ill deeds towards them, verſe 8.
to be reckoned as ſo to God: and vertue and morality (when truly ſuch) to be the ſame with piety and religion; probity being the ſame with righteouſneſs, and vice the ſame with ſin.

And as this is the end of Religion, ſo of nature alſo: for as both of them proceeded from him, ſo both of them point at the ſame end, the glory of God: but in the means thereunto they ſomewhat differ. For becauſe, in nature, God ſtands as the moſt ſupream and remote cauſe, and therefore (the exigence of his manifeſtation ſo requiring) is ſometimes, by miracles, forced to make himſelf known to us, by being the immediat cauſe of ſome extraordinary production, (it being elſe very difficult for the wit of man, (through ſo many intermediate cauſes, and ſuch long circuits of effects depending one upon another) to paſs in order through all the links of this golden chaine, till they come at laſt to that which (according to the Fable) is faſtned to *Jupiters* toe) therefore God is by precepts of Religion, brought to an eaſie, plaine, and immediate appearance in our conceits. Whereupon, having our duties of praiſes and acknowledgments unto him manifeſted, even for the leaſt good we receive, we are hereby (as by moſt plain direction) fixed and taught, both in the duty it ſelf, and manner of our return of gratitude: which is, by this means, made intelligible to all in general, and each one in particular. Whereas, if the light and direction of nature had been therein alone entruſted, this ſupream cauſe and end of our being, either, through its intricacy and our weakneſs, could not; or, through the haſty purſuits of our deſires, would not in ſuch due manner have been diſcovered, as to fix our ſelves on the Creator: and not, by a kinde of Idolatry, on the creature it ſelf.

And as it had thus fared in the great end of all things, Gods glory; ſo, in the chief appointed means to it, mans preſervation, it would have come to paſs that the knowledge and practice of our duty (without precepts of religion) would have been, in many things, at a loſs. For example, although, by long circuit of reaſon and ſuch diſcourſes as heretofore ſpoken of, ſome men might come to have found, that obedience ſhould be given to the Prince or chief Magiſtrate, even in order to that we owe to God; yet, conſidering the great number of the ignorant, and the differences of others about the meaſure and manner of affording it, (without direct precepts of Religion commanding and determining it) nothing but civil war and ſlaughter would follow. In which war, as my perſon muſt be equally hazarded with others, ſo, in leſſening the number of mankinde, the leſſening of Gods praiſes, in the inſtrument thereof, would enſue. Therefore, as well out of care of Gods glory as my owne good, my ſubmiſſion to government and a publique definitive ſentence was neceſſary: but the ability to apprehend it by diſcourſe happning to few, and yet the end of it being the duty of all; it was behooffull that obedience ſhould peremtorily be appointed by precepts of Religion: *whether unto Kings as Supream, or unto others as ſent of him.* 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14.

As thus, in many matters of Charity, divine direction was uſefull, ſo, to the particular direction of our Chriſtian faith, (on which as a ground-work)

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return of praiſe and glory being juſtly expected of each creature as a duty, is, by Gods acceptance, reckoned as a ſervice.

But, becauſe returnes of gratitude are, as neer as may be, to be proportioned to the meaſure of benefits received; and becauſe (amongſt ſublunary Creatures) man had the largeſt meaſure imparted; it will follow that from him, as from a Creature moſt bounden for receipt, and beſt enabled for return, this duty of praiſe and thanksgiving ſhould be chiefly expected: nay, in a manner, from him onely it can be had. For although *the Heavens may declare the glory of God, and the Firmament ſhew his handy work*; yet becauſe Pſal.19.1. thoſe beauties and excellencies, which by the wiſdom and power of God are beſtowed on them and other irrational Creatures, are not at all apprehended by themſelves, and are, for the moſt part, but ſubſervient to others, how ſhould ſuch return of praiſe or acknowledgement be expected from them, or any but man? who alone, (in theſe endowments and perfections received) appeares, of all Creatures, leaſt tyed in a ſubſervient relation: but on the contrary, having all the vertues and benefits of other things directed and made appliable towards him, and his own abilities again ſtanding directly pointing at the ſervice and honour of his Maker, it may thereupon be fitly ſaid, *That all things were made for man*: as the moſt able creature in regard of his reaſon to apprehend his owne intereſt and obligations, and to make ſuitable expreſſion of thanks to Gods glory.

By all which, it appears that the end of all our whole religion and endeavours ſhould be to the glory of God: even ſuch a God, that, being ſo infinite in power above us, is yet ſo particularly extenſive of his goodneſs towards us, that whoſoever ſhall but conſiderately weigh the meaſure thereof, muſt ever think himſelf ſo high a debtor, that with an holy extaſie he may Pſal.116.12. cry out, *What ſhall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me?* What can be more proportionable, and becoming both our duty and benefit, then, in immitation of that (thereby) moſt pleaſing perſon, to *have his praiſes al-*Pſal. 145. 21. *waies in our mouths*: nay not in our mouths alone, but in our actions alſo: *theſe muſt ſo ſhine before men, that they ſeeing our good works, may glorifie our* Matth. 5. 16. *Father which is in heaven.*

When Birds or Beaſts ſing, or play, in the ſenſe and exultation of benefits received from this univerſal Author of plentiouſneſs to all things living, they, in Eccleſi.51.22. their kind, praiſe him: but unto us, as he hath given underſtanding, ſo it is therewith to praiſe him: and if with reaſon we do it not, we do it not as men, *nor* Matth. 22.37. *with all our might, nor with all our ſtrength.* And this reaſon of ours, we muſt, in ſo needful a work, ſtrengthen with all the help we can; eſpecially out of, that portion of his owne unerring wiſdome, revealed in the holy Scripture.

And, for farther fear that their meaning herein ſhould be miſtaken, we are not to truſt our ſingle, and private judgements for their interpretation: but Heb.13.7. take direction from thoſe *that have rule over us, whoſe faith we are to follow.* By which means, we ſhall alſo moſt aſſuredly keep up, and preſerve our other duty, (the chiefe means of his praiſe on earth) namely the good of our Neighbour. For, as God keeps on the whole Creation and our particular preſervations, for a means to expreſs his glory by; ſo we, by obſerving his commands of Charity, beneficence, peace, and love to one another, muſt make that, (as having moſt neceſſary and direct tendency to this preſervation) the onely alowable means to give him that praiſe and glory.

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By this means it will come to paſs, that although, when *we ſin or multiply our tranſgreſſions, we do nothing againſt him*, nor that he, (as directly in himſelf) *doth receive gaine or advantage by our righteouſneſs*; yet, ſince *theſe our wickednesſes may hurt men as we are, and our righteouſneſs (on the other ſide) may profit them*; therefore comes our good or ill deeds towards them, to be reckoned as ſo to God: and vertue and morality (when truly ſuch) to be the ſame with piety and religion; probity being the ſame with righteouſneſs, and vice the ſame with ſin. Job. 35. 6. verſe 7. verſe 8.

And as this is the end of Religion, ſo of nature alſo: for as both of them proceeded from him, ſo both of them point at the ſame end, the glory of God: but in the means thereunto they ſomewhat differ. For becauſe, in nature, God ſtands as the moſt ſupream and remote cauſe, and therefore (the exigence of his manifeſtation ſo requiring) is ſometimes, by miracles, forced to make himſelf known to us, by being the immediat cauſe of ſome extraordinary production, (it being elſe very difficult for the wit of man, (through ſo many intermediate cauſes, and ſuch long circuits of effects depending one upon another) to paſs in order through all the links of this golden chaine, till they come at laſt to that which (according to the Fable) is faſtned to *Jupiters* toe) therefore God is by precepts of Religion, brought to an eaſie, plaine, and immediate appearance in our conceits. Whereupon, having our duties of praiſes and acknowledgments unto him manifeſted, even for the leaſt good we receive, we are hereby (as by moſt plain direction) fixed and taught, both in the duty it ſelf, and manner of our return of gratitude: which is, by this means, made intelligible to all in general, and each one in particular. Whereas, if the light and direction of nature had been therein alone entruſted, this ſupream cauſe and end of our being, either, through its intricacy and our weakneſs, could not; or, through the haſty purſuits of our deſires, would not in ſuch due manner have been diſcovered, as to fix our ſelves on the Creator: and not, by a kinde of Idolatry, on the creature it ſelf.

And as it had thus fared in the great end of all things, Gods glory; ſo, in the chief appointed means to it, mans preſervation, it would have come to paſs that the knowledge and practice of our duty (without precepts of religion) would have been, in many things, at a loſs. For example, although, by long circuit of reaſon and ſuch diſcourſes as heretofore ſpoken of, ſome men might come to have found, that obedience ſhould be given to the Prince or chief Magiſtrate, even in order to that we owe to God; yet, conſidering the great number of the ignorant, and the differences of others about the meaſure and manner of affording it, (without direct precepts of Religion commanding and determining it) nothing but civil war and ſlaughter would follow. In which war, as my perſon muſt be equally hazarded with others, ſo, in leſſening the number of mankinde, the leſſening of Gods praiſes, in the inſtrument thereof, would enſue. Therefore, as well out of care of Gods glory as my owne good, my ſubmiſſion to government and a publique definitive ſentence was neceſſary: but the ability to apprehend it by diſcourſe happing to few, and yet the end of it being the duty of all; it was behooffull that obedience ſhould peremtorily be appointed by precepts of Religion: *whether unto Kings as Supream, or unto others as ſent of him.* 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14.

As thus, in many matters of Charity, divine direction was uſefull, ſo, to the particular direction of our Chriſtian faith, (on which as a ground work)

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our Charity was to be built) this direction was much more neceſſary. For ſince *none could come to God except he firſt know that God is, and that he is a rewarder of them that ſeek him*; ſo, the ſtating our faith ſtanding neceſſary as to the ſtating our obedience, we we may ſee cauſe for the frequent commendation and injunctions thereof in the New Teſtament: where it is expreſſly ſaid, that *without it it is impoſſible to pleaſe God*: that is, without confidence of his being, and of his rewards and puniſhments following our good or bad actions, we ſhall not be zealous of good works or duties of Charity. And having ſo far ſhewed what the ground of Religion ſhould be, we will next ſhew what it uſually is, both in ground and practice.

CHAP. II.

Of Religion as commonly received.

BEfore the knowledge of good and evil entred into man, Nature was his religion: and what was by her law done, was alſo thereby juſtified. But being once poſſeſſed with the apprehenſion of this diſcovery, all our thoughts and actions were ſo involved herein, that nothing we ſaid or did, could eſcape cenſure on one ſide or other: and ſo conſequently, for well or ill doing, we could not but expect reward or puniſhment. But becauſe (on the one hand) the natural pride and arrogancy of each man, was ready to put a greater rate and deſert upon his intents and doings, then he ſaw them rewarded with in this life; and (on the other ſide) knowing the great and many faults that had eſcaped him or others, not at all eſpied by men, or by law ſo throughly puniſhed as he thought their gift required; the two main guides of our nature, *hope* and *fear*; led on our expectations to a future reckoning: in ſuch a ſort, that, where the ſouls immortallity and our reſurrection are not by ſpecial revelation manifeſted, men are yet generally found believing thereof; the craft of perſons in authority (many times) helping on, and biaſſing theſe *Superſtitions* of inferiours to ſociable advantages, or ſelf reſpects.

Now the wayes men take for the obtaining of this future reward, or avoiding the like puniſhment, is their religion. And then, religion having its ground from conſcience, and each mans conſcience following the light of his underſtanding, in judging good and bad and their degree, from the diverſity of underſtanding, followeth the diverſity of religions: which, as they had their firſt riſe and faſhion from their ſeveral Authours, ſo each one yeilds himſelf a Diſciple, as he findes his hopes, or the fears of his owne conſcience therewith ſatisfied. Therefore now, concluding mens religion and conſcience to be according to their underſtanding, and their underſtandings being not onely differing but altogether imperfect, it is impoſſible that any Religion ſhould be true, but what is from God himſelf received.

But then again, becauſe truth doth not move by being, but by being apparent; and becauſe there is no way for this apparency till it be made conceivable to my underſtanding, will it not follow, that therein alſo, we muſt be ſubject to much difference & uncertainty? So that men generally acknowledging a deity, & that no religion can be true but what ſhal be from him received, they do, by means of this fallible guide, ſo uſually miſtake in their choice. For knowledg

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In this kinde is not innate, but acquired: for why elſe are not Children, and innocents, as well as men of riper capacity, (by priviledge of birth and ſpecies) without more ado) inſtructed? Why is that long ſtay made, until, (by natural courſe) the ſences and organs of the body receiving their due growth and perfection, the underſtanding (together therewith) arrive alſo at a ſufficient capacity for the ſame reaſon to work by?

So that then, the priority, and worth of divine truths, being not able of themſelves to enter our capacities, otherwiſe then as let in by the ſenſes, or elſe made familiar by ſuch things as formerly were ſo, as types, parables, ſimilitudes, and the like; it comes to paſs, that, according to the ſeveral prepoſſeſſions of men, and their ſeveral faſhions in entertaining them, our ſeveral beliefes and opinions do ariſe. And although we are ſeldome able to remember thoſe ſenſible inductions out of which they grew, yet from ſuch they muſt needs at firſt grow; inaſmuch as, had they come in without mixture, they would (like truths) have remained to all men the ſame, and alike: whereas now, their variety, ſhews the variety of their entertainment and admittance.

And therefore, although naturally as men, and for ſatisfaction of our hope and fears ſake, we generally adhere to one ſort of Religion or another, yet, when we come to entertain the kindes, we ſtand not onely diſabled in our Election, but for the moſt part uſe no Election at all: depending rather on chance, then choice. For what one is there of a thouſand, that ever doubts of, or alters the religion he was brought up in? For do we not Scholly, and Catechiſe our Children in the ſame opinion with our ſelves? do we not carry and ſend them, (with directions for beliefe and attention) unto ſuch Churches and Preachers, where we are ſure the truth and benefit of this, and the falſehood and dangers of all others ſhall be exemplified to the height? What probability then, that he ſhould prefer an opinion unknown, at leaſt alwayes diſcommended before one he doth know, and hears alwaies praiſed? Whereupon, we ſhall finde preoccupation of judgement of ſuch force, that, whether they be Chriſtian, Jew, Mahumetan, Heathen, or a diſtinct Sect under any of theſe generals, yet all of them ſo reſolute to their owne ſide, that they will embrace Martyrdom rather then a recantation. Not that all in any kinde will do ſo; (for all men ſtand differenced between perfect Atheiſm and height of belief;) but where ſuch tenderneſs of conſcience and diſpoſition is met withall, as can be ſubdued to entertain Myrterdome on one ſide, the ſame party would alſo have entertained it on another, had education and other fore-ſtalling arguments been applyed unto him. And even as in Chriſtianity it ſelf, and the ſects thereof, we may find both Martyrs and Renegates, as ſtrength of belief leades them, ſo in other religions alſo, (upon tryal) theſe kindes have been apparent. For as the Magitians feigned Miracles found greater belief with the *Egyptians* then the true ones of *Moſes*, ſo a falſe information, having nothing to contradict it, or education having foreſtalled our judgements, prevailes as true with us, and the contradictory thereof as falſe. For all men thinking it reaſonable, that the proof of divine authority ſhould be evinced by ſomething more then humane; and that ſupernatural truths, otherwaies not conceiveable by ſenſe, (and ſo demonſtrable) ſhould be aſcertained and illuſtrated by ſuch as were, it made the founders of all Religions pretend miracles; as thinking their endeavours vain without them.

Therefore, as the miracles of the Old Teſtament were occaſioned for con-

firmation of all, or part of the Law, and the matter thereof; ſo, when alteration in that, and confirmation of the Goſpel was required, it was requiſite as great, or greater ſhould be ſhewed. Till theſe things were done, it was impoſſible for natural diſcourſe to aſſent to miſteries ſo much above its reach: Nay an infidelity it had been, to have departed from truths already ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, without higher ground. Therefore our Saviour ſaith, *If I had not done amongſt them theſe works that never any man did, they had not had ſin.*

John 15. 24.

But if when cuſtome and education, (as in the other example, and theſe of our Saviour to the Jewes) was ſo prevalent as not to give ſenſe (the greateſt aſſurance we have) leave to diſcern between truth and falſehood; what can be expected from men now living, that have onely an hiſtorical faith in that caſe to relye upon? For although, in each Religion, the proof of miracles be brought in as a divine and infalible evidence of its truth, yet the truth of their ſtory depending upon the truth of that traditional Doctrine, or that Scripture out of which the relation it ſelf is framed, it muſt follow that, where difference in theſe things is not made by reaſon, Religion (ordinarily) muſt have its ground and riſe from meer education. And ſo, however the founders of each religion have left unto their Diſciples ſome ſet or ſtanding record or written direction, both for guidance of their belief and actions, yet when the ſame comes to be taken into credit onely upon the ſcore of tradition and humane authority, it will follow that the proof thereof can have (in our belief) no higher certainty then the evidence of education and authority will bear: which was all the premiſes we made uſe of to frame this concluſion by.

But, by this means, having entertained a ground work in our phancy, for beliefe of ſome principle for our direction and guidance in all things elſe, hence comes the Bible with Chriſtians, the Talmud with the Jewes, and Alcoran with the Turks to be had in ſuch eſteem, that what is in them aſſerted is firmly believed. For although to ſome men there may happen ſuch freedom and ability as ſometimes to enquire the foundations of things; yet then, as it muſt, on the one hand, diſtaſte through a plain affront to their judgement ſetled the other way already, ſo cannot it, on the other hand, be naturally of avail, farther then as true reaſon can (without prejudice) be brought to aſſiſt in the diſcovery. For (without it) pretence of divine atteſtation to be gathered from that particular majeſty and elegancy of ſtile, (which Mahomet himſelf and his followers do ſo much brag of) to be found in their Alcoran, as an infalible ſigne that it was delivered by the holy Ghoſt) will be far from carrying the force of demonſtration to perſons unprejudiced. It being moſt apparent, that, ſince thouſands have, and do dayly read it without any ſuch diſcovery, that this aſſent of theirs, going alwayes along with ſuch, and none but ſuch as have, in their education, had it perpetually inculcated unto them that it was indeed ſo written, can proceed from nothing elſe but prejudice and propoſſeſſion of judgement. For they cannot but conceive that if God had intended conviction that way, he could have ſo plainly and efficaciouſly have done it, as that thoſe miracles they put upon him might well have been ſpared. But it is to be conſidered, that although from reading of books containing new argumentations and reaſonings men may be altered in their judgement from what they were, yet in things delivered Magiſtrally, and by way of authority onely, the aſſent muſt ariſe from propoſſeſſion. For

I read not of any Profelites made, amongſt the Egyptians or others, from thoſe tranſlations of the books of ſeveral Religions, wherewith *Ptolomies* Library was furniſhed.

So that now tradition and authority being the chief evidence, it will reſt the chief object of enquiry: even from the univerſality, ſoundneſs, and other ſtrength thereof, for reaſon to lay her grounds for future certainty and belief. and that, not onely in preferring the ſacred Scriptures in general above the records of other religions, but alſo in diſcovery and diſtinction of the true Cannon thereof from other counterfeit or Apocriphal writings.

For how elſe ſhall he ſatisfie himſelf, (amidſt thoſe many diſputes that have been from time to time raiſed in the Church it ſelf, and by the prime members thereof) what books were true, and what forged (as well in the Old as in the New Teſtament) which for ſo great a part of them have been controverted? And, whilſt ſome of thoſe received have been diſputed of, how ſhall he know that thoſe refuſed, might not with more reaſon have been brought in in their rooms?

And ſo again, of the particular Chapters and Texts in theſe books; how ſhall he finde any aſſurance, that, amidſt thoſe many Hereſies that have from time to time gotten ſuch ſtrength in the Church, ſome of them have not been corrupted to ſerve their turns? Which, happening but to ſome, will cauſe all to be ſuſpected: for, unleſs thoſe places could be diſtinguiſhed, it may (for ought I know) happen to be that Book, or place of Scripture which I am moſt to relye upon. In which doubts, Scripture alone cannot ſatisfie me. For (beſides that nothing can be an evidence to it ſelf) if one book ſhould undertake for atteſting the reſt, that book muſt ſtill want his atteſtation: it being impoſſible to be higher, or other to us, that ſtand ſo far removed from evidence of the miracles brought to confirm it, then is our confidence of the ability and ſincerity of the tradition; or thoſe ſeveral hands and conveyances, by which the record and report hereof hath come unto our hand. On which if we will not altogether implicitly reſt, and take the truth of our religion on the hazard of our Births and education, we muſt then (as in a matter of ſo great weight and concern) make uſe of that ſtock of reaſon and diſcourſe God hath bleſſed us withall, to diſcover and direct us in the way we are to go. Which, when done with humble petition for divine aſſiſtance, it uſually follows that the ſame grace of ingenuity, that made us thus able to reach above ordinary, is uſually accompanied with ability thus prudentially to be adviſed. That ſince the light of nature and reaſon diſcover to them a deity, and alſo a neceſſity of his worſhip; although herein they can ſettle themſelves on no demonſtration; yet, for ſatisfaction of their fears and hopes (which in Atheiſm could never be) they ſhall finde it more reaſonable to reſt on the higheſt probability they can get, then have no reſt at all.

Nor can this prudent courſe be yet left off. For, unleſs we will be altogether implicite in our beliefs, and reſt wholly on education for the ſenſe and meaning of theſe Scriptures, our reaſon againe muſt be taken up; to unfold and diſtinguiſh the truth of the texts themſelves. For when (as Chriſtians) we are fully brought to conſent unto, and credit the Books and parts of the Bible, we become now as much amazed and dazled with too great light, as with too great darkneſs confounded before. For with too much familiarity and preſumption, daring to approach too boldly thoſe glorious rayes, (inſtead

of true diſcovery, ſuch cloudineſs and miſts have ariſen in ſome underſtandings, that their owne conceipts have been believed for divine; and, inſtead of the direct beam of truth, the reflected and refracted beam of ignorance and opinion have been embraced. For as he that looks againſt the Sun without ſome ſpectacle for his ſight, doth both miſs his diſcovery there, and alſo weaken his ſight for other things; ſo fares it with men, when, ſcorning to take in natural helps, or the ſpectacle of reaſon and ſenſe, they uſually (inſtead of truth and ſatisfaction) reap nothing but opinion and error. And this, becauſe experience tells us, that from it ſelf alone no evidence can be had of its meaning. And therefore, to diſcover the rectitude or inequallity of opinions thence ariſing, rhere muſt be ſtill ſome ſuch rule made uſe of, as may direct us in our inquiry. For example, when we finde that all Chriſtians do believe, and relye upon the guidance and authority of the Bible; and that yet; (becauſe of the prejudice, before mentioned) that there is no Schiſme or Hereſie, but is thence derived, and endeavoured to be proved, what courſe by me, that am a lover of peace and truth, ſhould be taken? For, do I alleadge that no doctrine but what is proved by Scripture ought to be believed; ſo much they confeſs alſo that oppoſe me: and, for ſatisfaction that they really thinke ſo, are ready to atteſt it with their lives. Tell I them farther, that upon more ſtrict ſearch of the Scripture, and comparing one place with another they may be convinced; they will anſwer, that, "As they beleive the whole "Scripture to be Canonical, ſo have they examined it all over, and ſtill find "no reaſon but to believe as they do. And why that part, or thoſe Texts of Scripture on which they ground their opinion ſhould be otherwiſe, or by other places interpreted; muſt be as diſtaſteful to their underſtanding, as it is different from former apprehenſion and education: becauſe more then probable arguments being not to be brought by any, it muſt be expected that cuſtome and familiarity have made their entertainment both pleaſant and fixed.

All which well conſidered, & the contemplation thereof compared to thoſe ſad effects of blood and war, under which not onely whole mankind labours (through diſtinct religions) but of thoſe more fierce and uncivil ſlaughters and contentions, wherewith Chriſtians themſelves are ſo continually and impetuouſly carryed to mutuall deſtruction, it cannot but abate much of that peremtorineſs which men uſually take to themſelves in phancying the truth of their owne tenents and doctrines, and in condemning and puniſhing that of others. It muſt methinks move the heart of any that hath at all any true intention of being a Diſciple to the God of peace, or of love to his brother, to begin to examine ſomewhat better the ground of this his impetuous and bloody devotion: and (if a Chriſtian) to fear leaſt that propheſie of his Saviour of *killing men under colour of doing God good ſervice*, may not light on his ſcore to act; when, at any time, he is too haſtily provoked. Let men take heed of phancying their merciful redeemer, (like a Heathen Saturn) to be pleaſed or appeaſed with the ſacrifice of humane blood: Nor let too much ſelf-conceitedneſs provoke fiery zeal to the perpetration of ſuch actions, as lead to the overthrow of Charity and his neighbours peace. For ſince height of belief and perſwaſion of conſcience, can be (of themſelves) no ſure evidence of the goodneſs of a religious cauſe, (which can have but one truth amongſt ſo many pretended ones) they had need be wary in relying thereupon: and careful that in their works they deny not him they ſo headily would ſerve; nor do not tranſgreſs plain commands to obey obſcure ones. For ſince the very en-

John 16. 2.

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during of perſecution muſt alſo teſtifie, that thoſe his Chriſtian Brethren he now afflicts, are alſo confident of their owo right ſerving the ſame Maſter, the perſecuters muſt thereby become guilty of doing otherwiſe then they would be done unto, both in relation to this their joynt Maſter that thus makes them brethren, and to thoſe their brethren and fellow members whom they ought not thus to judge, but *leave to ſtand or fal to their own Maſter*: and whom they would be loath ſhould get, and make ſuch uſe of advantages over them. Rom. 14. 4.

In conſideration of all which, there are that think that none ſhould be oppreſſed or moleſted in the peaceable uſe of his conſcience: for they find, that after all thoſe heaps of blood & ſlaughter ſhed over all Chriſtendom, in deſign and pretence to promote Chriſts ſole truth, and bring men to agreement herein, that this truth is ſtill as far from attaining farther certainty and evidence as it was before; and that the ſtock of diviſion is but hereby exaſperated, and not at all allayed.

To amend, and put a ſtop to which inconveniencies and miſchiefes, all ſuch as will put themſelves into the number of the *bleſſed peacemakers* will find no readier way, then ſeriouſly to conſider (as we have endeavoured to ſhew in our paſt diſcourſes) that ſince faith and charity are to be the foundations of our religion, and we, to our utmoſt, to ſerve God in both; it muſt alſo follow, that we are to perform them with more or leſs zeal and order, as we find the plainneſs of their precepts more or leſs evident. And therefore ſince in matters of faith (either concerning the full comprehenſion of deity, and alſo of his manner of worſhip) things have been but ſparingly and darkly delivered, we are to preſume that no farther ſpeculation and diſcovery is neceſſary for us herein then what God hath been pleaſed to impart: who could have manifeſted himſelf to general conviction if he had thought it fit. But ſince, in this and in the manner of his worſhip, he hath already done ſo fully as will ſerve for manifeſtation of his will, and ſo far as to bring us to ſalvation, what need we ſearch farther?

It will therefore be neceſſary for them that would avoid the danger of luke-warmneſs and neglect of Gods ſervice, on the one hand, and alſo the peril of breach of charity (through blind zeal) on the other, to make a diſtinction between things fundamental and what is not. The firſt he ſhall find (in order to his ſalvation) ſo plainly taught and delivered, that *he that runs may read*: and to thoſe things onely (as of immediate divine authority) are we to give ſuch firm aſſent, as not onely to *Obey God rather then men*, but alſo, *Though an Angel from heaven preach unto us other doctrine, we are not to believe him.* But, in the other things not ſo neceſſary, as we find them more darkly delivered and not fully cleared by God himſelf, ſo have they their appointed Gods and interpreters here amongſt us: unto whom we are *to be obedient as to thoſe that watch for our ſouls.* In the firſt caſe, (that is, in the fundamentals of our faith it behoves us to be explicite and expreſs: for in that ſence, *He that is not for Chriſt is againſt him*: whereas, in the other, we are to ſerve Chriſt by our implicite obedience to his *Church, the pillar and ground of truth*: and, in that ſence it is, that *he that is not againſt him is for him.* Act. 5. 29. Gal. 1. 8. Heb. 13. 17. Matth. 12. 30. Luk. 11. 50.

But if he do not obſerve theſe, and other inducements to moderation and charity, he will be very ſubject to perſecute Chriſt in his members, while he is about to ſerve and vindicate him in his truth. He will be ſubject by his zealous proſecution *under the form of godlineſs, to loſe the power thereof*: and even to deſtroy charity, the end of the law, through his miſguided devotion to 2 Tim. 3. 5.

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keep the law. For pretend men what they will of the equity and juſtice of their cauſe, (whilſt they are in private proſecution of one another for religion) it can never be half ſo certain that herein they maintain that truth and doctrine which was by Chriſt delivered to be believed, as that they tranſgreſs that precept of brotherly love commanded to be practiſed. For the truth of their opinion is ſeen but to themſelves onely, elſe they might think others that endeavour to ſerve Chriſt as well as they, would not (as in order to their owne ſalvation hereafter, or their preſent riddance from their perſecution here) ſtand ſo firmly to their own contrary principles. Will they ſay that their adverſaries might know this truth as well as themſelves, did not prejudice poſſeſs them; they hereby become both uncharitable cenſurers and judgers: and, if they ſhould impartially ſearch their owne hearts, they might hereof alſo condemn themſelves: at leaſt may as juſtly ſuſpect the reſt of their owne faction, as any of the other. And having ſo far laid the ground-work of direction, for thoſe that deſire *to follow thoſe things that make for peace:* we will next ſpeak of the Church, and of our condition of innocence in her obedience.

Rom. 14. 19.

CHAP. III.

Of the Church Catholick, and of the Fundamentals of Religion.

THe end of all religion being to praiſe and glorifie God before men, and the praiſing him before men, inferring ſuch a manner of doing it as in humane judgement is moſt honourable; and then again, that which is moſt honourable being that which, through cuſtome and general acknowledgement, is held moſt beneficial to man himſelf, it ſtill brings Gods glory to be the Alpha and Omega of all we do; and the good of our Neighbour the ſteady and only ſure means thereunto. For to us men, that cannot intuitively behold his face and live, and ſo, out of rapture of his expreſs excellence, glorifie him with immediate Halelujahs; our approach to him muſt be by his back-parts, his Image in our brother: and our praiſe of him here (if at all) muſt be by ſuch light and works before men, that, moveing them as men here, *They may thereupon glorifie God which is in Heaven.*

Mat. 5. 16.

At firſt, there was no diſtinction of ſuch as were to honour God before men from others, whom we might (thereupon) call by the ſeparate name of a Church: but, whilſt mankind was thin, the Church was as large as mankind it ſelf. But that encreaſing, the Nation of the Jewes were particularly choſen from the reſt, to have his name more eminently put and worſhipped: and amongſt, and unto them, for the preſervation of his more immediate ſervice and honour he appoints a particular law to be written and obſerved. Whereupon, that ſign of Circumciſion that ſerved for a mark to diſtinguiſh them from others, as being the pledge of their promiſed obedience, took on it the name of Covenant; to wit, the Covenant of works. Not that God was not ſtill (worthily) the only true object of the praiſes of all mankind; but, inaſmuch as his former precepts and our natural ability, had been ſo forgotten and inſufficient, that Idolatry and oppreſſion had now (in a manner) wholly

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supplanted his worship and mutual charity, (except in that single family of *Abraham*) it seemed necessary, that, as well an increase of direction should be given, for increase of his service, as an appropriation thereof to some select people, for its better intention and security for the future.

By this means, the race of *Abraham* come at once to receive the reward of their Father constancy in Gods service, (in regard of many promised blessings by them received) and also, (by having the *Oracles of God committed unto them*) they come to be a means for Gods honour to be more encreased; even by being here, as by a select Church or company of men, more eminently served. For, from hence he might, through the observation of the whole world, have his name more hallowed, and have greater glory given and directed to him then before. Rom. 3. 2.

Not that the common Salvation of man was lessened, by this more expresse care of his owne glory, but rather encreased. For, as the Jewes had open advantage by encrease of light, so other Nations had the same light of reason continued to them as before: with this advantage, that if they were diligent there with to examine those precepts delivered to the Jewes, they could not but discover (as we formerly noted in the Decalogue) great benefit by using them themselves. And since we find no other reward or punishment, then temporal, annexed to legal obedience or default, (for works as works cannot deserve higher) and since those vailes of Rites and Ceremonies were so thick, that it was neer as hard for the Jewes expressly to discern Christ by faith through them, as for the rest of the world to difference him by the light of reason, I cannot but charitably presume, that *the great preserver of men* John. 7. 26. might finde a way for the saving many of them, worshiping the same God; though not under that notion of *the God of Abraham*. For as the having of Circumcision did not save all that had it, so neither the want of it, did of it self destroy: but as those which were without the law of *Moses*, *were a law unto themselves*, by the law of reason, so it follows, that at this law of reason Rom. 2. 14. (proceeding from the same God) was unequally broken or kept, mens punishments or rewards (no doubt) succeeded. Nor shall I ever make my self believe, that *Sardanapalus* and *Scipio* should be alike in their future reckonings for punishment, being not to be supposed equally culpable in the breach of charity, the end of the law; although they might equally miss heaven, as being equally incredulous.

Yet, as we said, untill the law was given, whereby another way of direction for mens honouring of God, and sociable abearance to one another did arise, the restrictive name of a Church could not be applyed to one Nation or part of mankind more then another. For although the closer observation of the first light and way given to *Adam* and other of the Fathers might make some of them more truly called *the sons of God* then others, as the truer and more sincere worship of those of Judah, above those of Israel, might do the like, yet, as long as these Israelites did still make their acknowledgements to be guided by the same law and rule of Circumcision with the other, it was not their Calves nor other failings could hinder them from being of the Catholique Church, no more then could the corruptions of the sons of *Adam*, *the son of God*, hinder men from being equally his seed, and members of the visible Luk. 3. 38. Church: even after that their multiplication commerce one with another had caused pride, and covetousness, (the two daughters of humane frailty) to make *the whole earth to be filled with violence*, and so to be equally punished Gen. 6. 11.

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by the Flood: or then *Noahs* particular juſtice, and cloſer walking with God, above any other, could, at the ſame time, ſhut out all but himſelf from being of the ſame viſible Church alſo. Mens general acknowledgement of the ſame way of divine guidance, as proceeding from God the Creator (even before the time that unto *Moſes* he was diſtinguiſhed under the expreſſions of the God of *Abraham*) making all of them equally of the *Catholique Church*, although, by their deeds there after, they might differently be of the *Communion of Saints*.

But although God might in mercy accept of that ready literal obedience in the Iew, and alſo of that ſubſtantial obedience in the Gentile; and, albeit the law of *Moſes* or reaſon, were not exactly kept by either, might impute Chriſts ſatisfaction unto them, and ſo receive them into the merit of a Saviour, (as well as *Iob* and other of the Patriachs) yet, unto us that now live, after the time that this Saviour hath been by miracles proved to have been and appeared in the fleſh, as there can nothing ſave us but actual belief and profeſſion (eſpecially where it may be had) ſo, (where this profeſſion of Chriſt is,) nothing can hinder the party from being a member of his body the viſible Church; nor the Church (hereupon) to admit him into her fellowſhip by the dore of Baptiſme. Which Sacrament, being by the Church given to us as a ſeal of the performance of Gods gracious promiſes on our behalf, is called a Covenant alſo; and particularly the Covenant of Grace: and that, becauſe ſalvation comes to us by free gift, and not by performance of any poſitive outward law of God, as to the Iewes it did.

Nor yet ſtand we now obliged (with the Gentile) to the obſervation of the whole law of nature: for although the precepts of *Love the Lord with all thine heart*, &c. *and love thy Neighbour as thy ſelf*, be poſitively ſet down in holy Writ, (becauſe the general inſufficiency of that portion of reaſon which is committed unto men, could not ordinarily otherwiſe diſcover ſo much) yet they are as natural as creation and providence it ſelf; even as upholding the ſame. For, (as heretofore declared in the particular of man) each one, in reaſon, being obliged to do all things to the preſervation and advantage of another, becauſe even thereby Gods praiſe and glory is preſerved and encreaſed, by the preſerving and benefiting one another; it followed that, in whatſoever the leaſt thing we neglected, or thwarted our duty of acting herein, we were ſo far culpable againſt the law of reaſon; which was, and alwayes is divine; both as being part of Gods inexhauſtable fountain, and ayming alſo at the ſame end, the continuance and furtherance of his creation and providence.

Luk. 10. 27.

But becauſe in *Adam* we had taken the morality of actions upon our owne ſcore, the portion of humane wiſdome which would have ſufficed to guide us as natural Agents in implicite obedience, was not now ſufficient to ſteer us unblamable in all things whatſoever, (no, though we ſhould be moſt intent upon it) but that God and our Neighbour might have been better ſerved; therefore God, to the *Few*, abreviates this Univerſal ſtrict rule to ſome ſet precepts; which, being obſerved, he makes his Covenant to accept of, for peformance of the whole Moral law, or law of natural reaſon. And therefore we may obſerve, that there was ſomething in it of providence and charity of all kinds: As *forbidding to eat blood* [a], *the life of Creatures*, *mercy to the poor and ſtranger* [b], *letting the land take reſt* [c], *forbidding to take the young bird with the old* [d], *or to ſeeth the kid in the mothers milk* [e], &c.

a Levit. 17. 13, 14.
b Exo. 22. 21, 22, 25.
c Exod. 23. 11.
d Lev. 14. 6, 7.
e Exod. 23. 19.

But exact obedience being found yet too difficult for men to attain ſalva-

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tion by, and the very knowledge of these precepts being in the absence of the Lawmaker difficult also, it pleased God, to us Christians, to make *his Kingdom* to be chiefly *inward*, and accept of the will for the deed: and the litteral exact performance being done by a Saviour in our stead, we are accepted, (not for doing all we should, but) for having done what we can. So that, by belief and adhesion in, and to him, and doing what he commands, we come by, and through him, to be accepted, as having done all that he did.

And thereupon, we, that (in respect of breach of Gods precepts) were enemies and rebells to him, and so could not be received into that Kingdome of his which was designed for innocent mankind; came, through faith, to be made so much on with Christ, (*who hath taken our nature upon him*) as to be accepted by God, as actual performers of the whole law. Which faith, being the work of the holy Ghost, doth, by its reception in each person, constitute him a member of that Society which we call the Catholick Church: which consisting of parts or members triumphant, militant, and future, are all yet, by means of this owne Spirit, received into the union of Christs mystical body or communion, *The communion of Saints.* Heb. 2. 16.

From all which it will not be hard to conceive how God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them: and how Christ fulfilling for us, both that natural large law of providence and beneficence which (as *Gods knowing good and evil*) we had undertaken, as also that strict litteral abreviation thereof, we come to be restored again to a state of innocence. For, under the condition of absolute necessity to salvation, we have even as few precepts laid upon us under this second *Adam*, as there were from God, in Paradise, laid on the first: but that, being ingrafted into Christ by faith, and, in all our outward deportments to our Neighbours, walking according to Christian light and obedience, we should be as unblameable and innocent now, as then. For as *Adam*, while guided by the light of nature onely, had his duty and innocence measured by obedience to that one outward law, so we again, having no other direct outward precept from God or Christ himself, are through faith, and by our ready obedience to him, actually performed to his Church in his stead, (as having the word of reconciliation committed unto them) acquitted in all we do: but if done otherwise, we forfeit thereby the whole condition; and, as again obliged and culpable for the breach of the whole law, nothing but readmission into the Covenant of Innonency, by repentance; can secure us from damnation. 2 Cor. 5. 19. Gen. 3. 5. 2 Cor. 5. 18. 20.

CHAP. IV.

Of each particular Church and its power.

HAving hitherto ſpoken of the Reaſon and Foundation of the Church in general, and of the neceſſity of our participation of her communion: ſo now again it will be neceſſary, to ſpeak of each particular Church and its juriſdiction. For ſince we cannot otherwiſe attain to be members of this Catholick body, then as being firſt members of ſome particular Church, it will therefore follow, that as the neceſſary obſervation of the law of providence, which we could not explicitely and perfectly do upon our owne abilities, was the cauſe *Chriſt became obedient to God for us; that we might be made the righteouſneſs of God in him*; ſo there lies upon each member a duty of conformity and obedience to their particular Churches, that thereby, being *made conformable to the image of his Son*, they may alſo be reſtored to *the image of God*. And therefore although the Catholick Church cannot be aggregate, or repreſented der any ſingle head or rule but of Chriſt himſelf, yet ſince it is integrated, and (by parts) made up of particular Churches; and, in theſe, Chriſts power being to be repreſented by other Chriſts or anointeds under him; it will follow that our obedience to this Church and the head thereof, muſt have of us, all that obedience which unto the other we cannot give; elſe would that precept of obedience to the Church come to nothing: as indeed (for the moſt part) is intended by ſuch as would have the Writers of their owne mind to be held for the Catholick Church onely.

2 Cor. 5. 21.

Rom 8.29.
2 Cor. 4. 4.

Therefore now, being to conſider the Chriſtian Church as an aſſembly of Believers, ſeparate from other for Gods more immediate honour and worſhip, we cannot well appropriate this phraſe to that part of the Catholick which is paſt and unconverſant with men, nor (for the preſent) to that part of it which is yet to ſucceed: although, both the one, and the other, have done, or are to do their perſonal parts herein: but muſt interpret that notion of *Catholick Church*, (uſed either when thoſe duties are in general given which are fit for the Church to obſerve in obedience to Chriſt, or when againe given for her members to obſerve to her) to intend that part of Chriſts body which ſhall be ſucceſſively militant on earth: to whom alone, theſe inſtructions can be neceſſary and uſeful in both kinds.

But then again, as this general duty of praiſing God before men can onely be performed by the viſible Church, becauſe ſhe hath onely power and opportunity therein; yet ſince this power, here on earth, is ſubſiſtant by the ſeparate juriſdiction of thoſe particular Churches which conſtitute her Catholick body, and ſhe can in no other ſence be termed Catholick, with reference to any other head then of Chriſt himſelf; it muſt be therefore granted, that all thoſe precepts for general obedience to the Church, muſt be meant of every Church in particular: as having onely uſe of juriſdiction to this purpoſe. And as having beſides (according to the ſeveral inclinations of their owne people, and the known affections of thoſe of the world amongſt whom they live) the beſt and onely ability to know and command what is fitteſt to be done for advancing Gods glory, according to the exigence of their particulars:

lars: which otherwiſe, in the ſtrange mixture of Chriſtianity with other religions throughout the world, were not poſſible to be compriſed under one certain or equal rule; or to be known and executed, by one ſingle perſons power.

And that the Church and civil jurisdiction of each place ſignifie the ſame, and that by obedience to the Church, obedience to the particular Church is ment, will appear by that of our Saviour, *Mat.* 18. where controverſies are, (if not decideable by umperage) to *be told to the Church.* Under which name muſt be comprehended the preſent particular authority of that place, becauſe elſe how ſhall they go to it? And it muſt be the civil as well as eccleſiaſtical authority alſo (as having them conjoined) becauſe it determines particular perſonal injuries; where brother offends againſt brother, and one ſervant takes another *by the throate, ſaying pay what thou oweſt*, as the parable denotes. But the concluſion is, that the ſupream jurisdiction whilſt it is Chriſtian) is the very Church we are to ſubmit unto: *And thoſe that will not hear the Church, are to be unto us as Heathens and Publicans:* that is ſuch as have renounced Chriſt, by this their renoucing the Image of his authority, the Chriſtian Church: whoſe definition and power, be the thing of never ſo civil nature, makes the breach of it a ſin; as, on the contrary, our obedience to them acquits us of guilt. For it is from Chriſt they have this power, that, *Whatſoever is bound on Earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven; and whatſoever they ſhall looſe on earth, ſhall be looſed in Heaven.*

Mat. 18. 28. Verſ. 17. Verſ. 18.

So that Chriſt having now *blotted out that hand writing of Iewiſh Ordinances which was againſt us*, and releaſed them from their litteral ſtrictneſs, to the extent of rational and natural laws; and having alſo anſwered to God for the large morallity of the whole rule of providence, (leaving Chriſtians at large in all things wherein their reaſon or Chriſtian precept is not tranſgreſſed) and laſtly, having left the charge for cuſtody and enforcing theſe Chriſtian precepts to every Chriſtian Church, (who are thereupon to anſwer to him for the faults of the people) the advantage that Chriſtians have of living in a ſtate of innocence, is unqueſtionable and immoveable, while they contiune obedient.

Col. 2. 14.

And therefore Chriſts Goſpel might well be called *Glad tytings*; and we may find that our Saviour made his general encouragement to the entertainment of him and his doctrine, *becauſe his yoke was eaſy, and his burthen light*, Inſomuch that when he came in particlar to be asked what it was, he anſwered, in one command for both Tables, *thou ſhalt love*, &c. including, under the precept of love to God and our Neighbour, *all the law and the Prophets*; that is, all things of faith and charity, or of faith and obedience, which is charities ſupport.

Rom. 10. 15. Mat. 11. 30.

Firſt, for our faith and its fundamental object, *life eternal is to know God, and Ieſus whom he hath ſent:* he is *the way the truth and the life, the Authour and finiſher of our faith: on whom whoſoever believeth hath everlaſting life, and on him that believeth not the wrath of God abideth.* Which one article, comes therefore to be eminently neceſſary, becauſe it is the onely foundation: *for other foundation then this can no man lay*; and this foundation every man muſt lay, or elſe all the faith, and obedience to be framed thereupon will come to nothing. For although their be other articles (as depending on this, and incident to our Chriſtian profeſſion) which ought to be believed alſo, (even as all things by God propoſed as truths are) yet to add them as of them-

John 17. 3. John 14. 6. Heb. 12. 2. John 3. 36. 1 Cor. 3. 11.

ſelves neceſſary to ſalvation, it is to Chriſt and Chriſtian faith as high derogation, as to add circumciſion or other obſervations as neceſſary to ſalvation in our Chriſtian obedience.

And as for our obedience outward, we are freed from thoſe many rites, ceremonies and obſervations of the Jewes, which God in particular favour of the Jewiſh Nation had appointed: moſt of them being but ſhadows of Chriſt himſelf, and of that great and plain way which by the Goſpel ſhould be revealed. Nay the very judicial part, though inſtituted by God himſelf for that government, bindes us not as poſitive laws, but as uſeful preſidents upon like occaſion: that is to ſay, where their and our cauſes were alike: which is not binding as ſuch or ſuch laws, formerly made and authoriſed by God, but as parts of the general law of reaſon. For as unto them God was immediate lawgiver, and, being given before Kings, was both God and King; ſo was the litteral obſervation of them in both reſpects neceſſary; that is, as religious, and as civil duties alſo. For both were the ſame to them; becauſe God at that time undertaking the managery of the Civil as well as Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate, made both one then, no otherwiſe then his remitting both to the Prince makes both of one ſort now: that is, under the ſame chief relation to duty and obedience, namely that of conſcience.

But becauſe of Gods expreſs undertaking herein, to them it was *do this and live:* but, unto us, for whom thoſe directions were not particularly made, *by the deeds of the law ſhall no fleſh be juſtified.* As Gods rule to them was outward and litteral, ſo were his promiſes and threats for performance temporal, and reſpecting this life onely. Wherein they failed (as needs they muſt) their failing was expiated by ſacrifice, pointing at a Saviour to come to fulfill theſe things for them: but Chriſt being now come, and *having fulfilled all righteouſneſs*, the obſervation of the letter is releaſed, (as to direct divine authority) and we Chriſtians (ſtanding bound but to the general precept of love and charity) are referred for our particular managery and guidance therein, *to the higher powers; whom we are to obey, not onely for wrath, but alſo for conſcience ſake*: not onely for fear of that preſent temporal puniſhment they may infflict as meer men in authority, but out of conſcience alſo of preſervation of our owne innocence, in preſervation of our obedience to God in them.

Rom. 10. 5. Rom. 3. 20. Mat. 3. 15. Rom. 13. 5.

All which in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* is plainly ſignified: where God is brought in, ſpeaking of the difference of the Jewiſh, and Chriſtian Covenant and obedience, (according to the many Propheſies to that purpoſe) and ſaying, *Not according to the Covenant that I made with their Fathers, in the day when I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt*: that is, not like as it was whilſt I gave them particular precepts for all their outward duties, and did lead them in all their affairs my ſelf, as if I ſhould have taken them by the hand. But this courſe God now changeth *becauſe they continued not in my Covenant, and I regarded them not ſaith the Lord:* that is, becauſe I found humane frailty ſo great, that theſe litterall commands could not be kept; therefore now; *I will put my laws into their minde, and write them in their hearts, and I will be to them a God, and they ſhall be to me a people. And they ſhall not teach every man his Neighbour, and every man his brother, ſaying know the Lord; for all ſhall know me even from the leaſt to the greateſt*: that is, *by the love of God, ſhed abroad in our hearts, all ſhall be taught of God*, and by his Spirit led into all fundamental and ſaving truth: ſo that by *being all taught*

Heb. 8. 9. ibid. verſ. 10. verſ. 11. Rom. 5. 5. 1 Theſ. 4. 9.

taught of God to love one another, which is the life and ſoul of the moral law, they ſhal by keeping that one precept of love, keep the whole law. But, for our direction outward therein, *we are not come unto a mount that might not be touched, and that burned with fire nor unto blackneſs, and darkneſs, and tempeſts*; (that is, to hear them from ſuch a mountain which was made inacceſſible through theſe terrible apparitions that accompanied Gods preſence thereon) *and the ſound of a Trumpet, and the voice of words*; *which voice they that heard entreated that the word ſhould not be ſpoken to them any more, for they could not endure that which was commanded.* That is, neither are we now to be terrified, as by hearing God ſpeaking with his owne voice to our outward ears: but we (for our outward direction) *are come unto mount Sion, and unto the City of the living God, the Heavenly Jeruſalem: and to an innumerable company of Angels*: that is, to the preſent Church militant, and to ſuch as do therein inſtruct us as Gods Meſſengers by their Angelical doctrine. And to *the general aſſembly, and Church of the firſt born which are written in Heaven: and to God the judge of all, and to the ſpirits of juſt men made perfect*: that is, unto the Catholick doctrine of the Church, aſſiſted by God the judge of all, and atteſted by thoſe many Martyrs, which (like their Captain) *are made perfect by ſuffering*. And then (that both theſe may be made beneficial to us and to our ſalvation) we are come to *Jeſus the Mediator of the New Covenant: and to the blood of ſprinkling, that ſpeaketh better things then the blood of Abel.*

Heb. 12. 18.
Heb. 12. 19, 20
verſe 22.
verſe 23.
verſe 24.

And theſe Goſpel duties of love and obedience, we ſhall find to be the verry errand alſo of him that was to conclude *the Law and the Prophets*, and to be Chriſts forerunner: as it is moſt fully, (though myſtically) expreſſed by the Prophet *Malachy*, and alſo by Saint *Luke*, in their deſcriptions of *Iohn* the Baptiſt his office and meſſage. The firſt of theſe duties is couched in theſe words; *He ſhall turn the hearts of the Father to the Children*: that is, he ſhall prepare them to entertain the loving of one another, in as high degree as the Father doth his Child.

Mal. 4. 6.
Luk. 1. 17.

And then, ſecondly, for performance of the duty of obedience (whereby to make this love to be advantagious) it is added by *Malachy*, and *the heart of the children to their Fathers*: the which Saint *Luke*, expounding to mean the *diſobedient to the wiſdome of the juſt*, doth plainly ſhew that the *preparation of the Goſpel of peace*; and the way to *make ready a people prepared for the Lord*, was by bringing them into ſuch a ſtate of humility and obedience, as that they ſhould give unto their ſuperiours (endued with power over them from the *juſt One*) the ſame indiſputable reſpect as Children did to their own Fathers: and ſo, (like obedient children) truſt to them for the expoſition of *the Law of Moſes, and the former ſtatutes and judgements.*

ibid.
Luke 1. 17.
ibid.
Mala. 4 4.

This pronoune *their* being reſtrictively added to *Fathers* in the clauſe for obedience, whereas the pronoune *the* is added to *Fathers* in the other, will again ſhew us how large our love ſhould be, and not at all excluſive: whereas our obedience is to be to our own heads or fathers.

So that now, by means of Chriſts taking on him the kingly office under the Goſpel, and ſo by his Church and deputies therein, affording us both places and perſons continually acceſſible, we may ſay of his Kingly office in like manner as was ſaid of his taking the Prieſtly office upon him; namely, that (as *we have a high Prieſt that may be touched with our infirmities*, ſo) we have a kingſhip alſo from him the *King of Kings*, whereby (as from perſons knowing and ſenſible of our want) we may be continually ſupplyed (*after a new and*

Heb. 10. 20.

living

living way) both with ghoſtly and temporal directions, by the grace, and power of him who hath uniued theſeſe two offices, and is (*after the order of Melchiſedec*) King both of righteouſneſs and peace.

Upon which ground, we may find a ready reaſon for our Saviours ſpeech; that, *God had given him authority to execute judgement, becauſe he is the ſon of man:* meaning that as God had made his receſs under the Law (before mentioned) in compaſſion of mans weakneſs, ſo under the Goſpel, by Chriſts taking our nature upon him, and ſo being made more ſenſible of our wants, we have alſo an exceeding advantage towards the Commiſeration of our frailties: whether in pardoning what we do amiſs, or in ſupply of what we want.

John 5. 27.

Whereupon it muſt now follow, that as a medicine doth not work by being, but by being applyed; and that as Gods new Covenant of inward grace, is to be made effectual by our outward obedience; ſo muſt now our condition of innocence, and fulfilling of the law by the precepts of love, be interpreted then onely ſubſiſtent, when we act with, or not contrary to ſuch as are by God and Chriſt entruſted, with the cuſtody and direction of theſe precepts; and have power to command us accordingly. And although God himſelf rule not in us now by Tables of Stone, ſo much as formerly, but *by the fleſhly tables of our hearts*; yet ſince theſe are ſtill ruling by them in his ſtead, our obedience to them is neceſſary, and *acceptable in the ſight of God our Saviour, that we may lead quiet and peaceable lives in all Godlineſs and honeſty:* and ſo make good (on all parts) his ſaying, *that he came not to deſtroy the Law but to fulfill:* that is, not to let this inward obedience to God (in the precept of love) prove fruitleſs, for want of outward obedience to Superiours, directing how the ſame ſhall be uſefull.

2 Cor. 3. 3.

1 Tim. 2. 3. Verſ. 2.

Mar. 5. 17.

For we are to eſteem and believe them as keepers of both Tables; that is as to the outward Miniſtration: and ſince (in this kinde) we cannot hear God plainly and expreſly ſpeaking as *from the mount that cannot be touched*, we are yet to hear them as in his ſtead, according to that admonition, *obey them that have the rule over you and ſubmit your ſelves; for they watch for your ſouls, as they who muſt give accompt; that they may do it with joy and not with grief: for this is profitable for you.* Which precept of obedience, twice repeated, under the words obey and ſubmit, ſets forth this duty to be performed in the fulleſt manner: no equivocation or deluſion to be uſed herein. For ſince I may obey but in what my ſelf likes, or is for mine owne ends; or I may give obedience onely *for fear of wrath*, I am alſo commanded to ſubmit my ſelf; that is, to do it for conſcience ſake to his authority, as one that is in duty ſubjected unto it. And to cut off that uſual cavil againſt obedience to Chriſtian authority, namely the hazard of our ſouls; we are here told that they are the watchmen of our ſouls, and that they muſt give accompt thereof. And this office of watching our ſouls, they ſhall then perform with joy, and not with grief; when we ſhall readily yeild them this our bounden obedience and ſubmiſſion; and conſider with our ſelves how profitable this ſubjection is unto us; even for ſecuring our ſouls, and eſtating us innocent.

Heb. 13. 17.

And leaſt any ſhold think this admonition reach to civil duties onely, and not to directions for, and in matters of faith; the Apoſtle, in the ſame chapter, did before bid them *remember them that have the rule over you, who have ſpoken unto you the word of God: whoſe faith follow, conſidering the end of their converſation.* That is, ſince the end of their imployment and rule overus, was that we might *lead quiet and peaceable lives in all godlineſs and honeſty:*

Heb. 13. 7.

or

or to be directed by them in matters pertaining to godlineſs as well as honeſty, we are therefore to follow their faith in delivery of the meaning of the Scripture, as we have already followed their authority in receiving it as the word of God.

And again, to take off the objection of perſonal defect and errour; which might be made to defeat obedience to ſome men in lawful authority, let our Saviour himſelf be heard: *The Scribes and Phariſees* (ſaith he) *ſit in Moſes ſeat, all therefore whatſoever they bid you obſerve, that obſerve and do.* Where we may find, by the words *all, and whatſoever*, the generallity of our obedience to the perſons in *Moſes* ſeat, or ſeat of ſupream and juſt authority. Againſt which, if any exception or ſuſpition of errour was to have been a ſufficient excuſe, Chriſt would never have ſo enjoyned it; as ſuppoſing the Scribes and Phariſees put into that ſeat: a people which he well knew to be in many particulars erronious. But yet however, whilſt they ſat in *Moſes* ſeat, that is (as from, and under God) acknowledged and taught the fundamentals of the law, ſo long were their diſciples ſecured in a ſtate of innocence by obedience: no otherwiſe then Chriſtians are, by obedience to thoſe that are over them in Chriſts ſeat in the Church. Mat. 23. 2, 3.

Undeniably clear to this purpoſe is Saint *Paul* to the *Philippians*: *Do all things without murmurings and diſputings, that ye may be blameleſs and harmleſs the ſons of God, without rebuke, in a crooked and perverſe Nation, amongſt whom ye ſhine as lights in the world: holding forth the word of life, that I may rejoyce in the day of Chriſt, that I have not run in vain, nor laboured in vain.* In which words, he ſhews what is to hold forth, or make uſe of the word of life: namely, to do all things without murmurings and diſputings. For this obedience to Gods vicegerents, will not onely make the perſons themſelves blameleſs, or to be the ſons of God; but will alſo redound to God and his Goſpels glory: when men (like the *Philippians* amongſt the rebellious Grecks) ſhall ſhine by exemplary ſubmiſſion to authority, as lights in the world; or as directors to humane preſervations and peace. And it will cauſe them that have this guide over them, to do it (as aforeſaid) with joy and not with grief: ſo that both here, and in the day of Chriſt they ſhall have comfort: when, being to give account for their ſouls, it ſhall appear that they have not run in vain, not laboured in vain. Phil. 2. 14. Verſe 15. Verſe 16.

And if the end and occaſion of this precept for implicite obedience be marked, it will make it clearly manifeſt that the ſame is this way, and by no other means to be accompliſhed. For what way ſo likely to have *their converſation* honeſt amongſt the Gentiles, *and ſuch as becometh the Goſpel of Chriſt*: even the Goſpel of him, *who, being equal with God*, yet (to be an *example of obedience*) *took on him the form of a ſervant, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Croſs*, as by continuance of this their obedience unto him, *not in his preſence onely, but now much more in his abſence: whereby working out their Salvations with fear and trembling, they might then ſhine as lights in the world, when their obedience ſhall be thus known unto all men?* what way ſo likely *to ſtand faſt in one Spirit, with one mind, to be like minded, having the ſame love, being of one accord, of one mind*, but *to have nothing done through ſtrife or vain glory, but in lowlineſs of mind* (or by putting on the form of a Servant) *each one to eſteem other* (eſpecialy his Superiors) *better then himſelf?* For by this renouncing our own things, that is, the reliance on our owne wiſdomes, or increaſe of our owne Chap. 1. 27. 1 Pet. 2. 21. Phil. 2. 7, 8. Verſe 12. Verſ. 15. Chap. 1. 27. Chap. 2. 2. Verſ. 3.

inte-

interests, (which might be expected by murmurings and disputings) we shall
Vers. 4. unquestionably preserve and encrease the publick good, or *things of others*: even by maintenance of publick peace and agreement. Whereby we may more assuredly enjoy the *consolation of Christ, the comfort of love, the fellowship of the Spirit*, in this our charitable communion: and also, thereby *fulfil the joy* of such as are by Christ set over us. For the only ready way *to walk by the same rule, & to mind the same thing*, is to be *followers together of these,*
Vers. 1: Vers. 2. Chap. 3. 16, 17. *and to mark those that walk so as they have them for an example.* Whereas, if
Vers 18. men shall be left to walk otherwise, as *enemies to the cross of Christ*, and shall be left to dispute and contrive wayes of Salvation to themselves, *their end*
Vers. 19. *will be destruction*; and love, charity, and union will be quite lost, through their division and disobedience: whilst one shall say *I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ*; and so prove themselves not followers *of the God of peace, whilst not doing these things as learned, and received,*
Phil. 4 9. *and heard, and seen*, in our owne Christian *Superiour*.

In these admonitions to the *Philippians*, where Saint *Paul* had entire jurisdiction, as being a Gentile Church under him, we may observe him directing this perfect obedience unto himself, as their owne unquestionable head: when he sayes *that I may rejoyce, that I have not*, &c. whereas he that was the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, sets down the persons in general terms unto whom this obedience is to be given: as *obey them that have the rule over you, &c. and remember them that have the rule over you.* For neither was Saint *Paul* their head himself, nor had these Jews (that still remained in *Judea*) as yet any setled single head: because the most of the Apostles were there resident, and still in equal authority amongst them. And as for the dispersed Jewes, it was to the Author of that Epistle uncertain who was their rulers; as also how many they had: they being (not improbably) at that present governed by Elders, after a Synagogue fashion, and not having a single supream head, constantly residing amongst them.

And such as would go about to interpret, that these words cannot be construed for estating the Prince, or Civil Magistrate (as they call him) in the capacity of religious authority, because at that time they were heathens; and therefore say it must intend Apostolical or Church teachers onely: they do thereupon confess, the same thing to be now due, to that Supream Magistrate which is a Christian, and hath Church jurisdiction as well as civil. For if then perfect obedience, both in the one and the other sort, were to be given by each member to several persons then claiming it, it must follow that it must be in like manner done entirely to that one now, that hath the united supream power in both.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the forms of the Church Government; and of the jurisdiction claimed by Church-men.

ALthough those that would disturbe the peace of Kingdomes by setting up an Universal Monarch in Church affaires, and they that would set up the whole Clergy uncontrolable to govern in each Kingdome, after a democratique fashion, are both of them dissalowably out of what hath been already spoken; yet for mens better information, we will hear speak more particularly of both. The first I conceive cannot be at all, both for the reasons before given in the discourse of the Church, and because it is that particular prerogative which Christ hath reserved to himself, of *being with them* as Catholick head *to the end of the world.* And as in particular Kingdomes and parts thereof, Christ presides by special deputies, as King of Kings; even so, upon the same reason of Universal jurisdiction and care, he is to take the immediate charge of the whole unto himself. Matth. 28. 20.

In which regard, as there should be *no man called Father on earth*, or general Monarch of the whole earth or mankind (in derogation to Gods prerogative of Vniversal *Kingdome, power and glory*) so are not the heads of any particular Church, to transcend their Apostolical parity, and encroach on Christs prerogative of Universal Church power: *because one is their Master, even Christ; and they are brethren.* In which words Father and Master in the Matth. 23. 9. Matth. 23. 8.
singler number as we may note one person in supream authority to be meant, so will they serve to explain unto us who is meant and entended, when in so many places we are bidden to obey in all things, under these notions of Father and Master; namely, that it is that our particular Master or Father, who hath now as supream authority over us in his own territory and jurisdiction, as the former Masters and Fathers had in their families: who were then the onely persons that could be Vniversally *obeyed in all things*; because they were then the onely proper denominations of such as were in supream authority as Christians, Apostles, Patriarchs, Bishops, and the like, being not Officers to continue in supream authority as such; nor being so continually nor Vniversally resident, as to be able to determine all differences: nay they may be conceived included in the injunction too; because they exercised their present power in a patriarchal right and way, as shall be hereafter noted. So that in regard of this injunction to obedience under the notion of Father, &c. the Christian Church had resemblance with the Jewish also: for their laws and commandments, being given by God before they were at that beigt as to be fitted to enjoy that statute officer, who should as a constant publick Father command amongst them, they had likewise their precept for obedience and respect, couched under the notion of Father too in the fifth Commandment: within the generality thereof, including as well such temporary publick officers as should immediately command, as that future setled officer of King, prophetically designed to be over them in both Churches.

Now as these Fathers and Masters had, and have entire jurisdiction in their

families and Kingdomes, becauſe theſe could have but one head in chief; ſo muſt it be granted that ſince there can be but one Church, (that is to ſay Catholick) becauſe Chriſt can have but one body, and that body again but one head; that therefore proportionably, as any other authority and head ſhall come between Chriſt and this body, ſo much will the ſeparation and diſunion of him with his body be encreaſed. For to repreſent Chriſt in the whole Catholick Church, is not ſo much to repreſent him as head, as to be head in his room

And in abatement of this ambitious humour, is our Saviours reply to be conſtrued which he made to the Children of *Zebedee*; who would have tranſcended their Apoſtolical rank of parity, and have been (alone) ſeating above their fellow heads of Churches, at *the right and left hand of Chriſt*. For if their ſuit had been but for equality, they needed not to ask it: nor do I ſee why any of the reſt ſhould have been ſo angry at it. But to anſwer theſe, it was that our Saviour ſayes, that thoſe that had higheſt abilities in cloſe and holy following of him, might expect a reward or Crown in heaven for it: but they were not after the manner of the Gentiles, *to exerciſe dominion over one another* here. The like are we to conceive of that example of waſhing his Diſciples feet, and many other places; where he purpoſely gives directions and precepts againſt this ayme of Univerſall Government: of moſt of which, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in diſcourſes following.

Mat. 20. 20, &c

John 13.

As for the other Government by an independent conſiſtory of the Clergy; it muſt to all unbiaſſed judgements appear unreaſonable: for ſince (as Subjects) they are included in the generall juriſdiction and authority of each kingdome; ſo, for order and peace ſake, they ſhould by the ſame authority be ſubject to their dioceſſans; as they again are to be to the Prince, the head of that particular Church. Where by the word *Church*, is meant that aſſembly of Chriſtian Believers, which is divided from others by an entire juriſdiction of their owne, and do thereupon come to be called this or that Church. Not Clergy men onely, as if theſe were the ſole members of Chriſts body: and ſo (as being more immediately imployed by authority about Church matters) they (as more ſtrictly called Church men and ſpiritual guides) might be judged (as ſome do) to have the ſole and abſolute power of the Church, and to be the onely watch-men and guide of ſouls. No, their mission and power, as immediately received from Chriſt, is onely inward unto us; that is, over Gods kingdome there: they are to perſwade men *to turn to the Lord with purpoſe of heart*; that is, to ſettle in our hearts the ſound acteſts of faith and love; which being wrought in us by the holy Spirit, they become thereupon (ſo far as they are Gods Miniſters) to be *Miniſters of the Spirit, not of the Letter*: being, for directing men in their outward duties, to have their power from that Church and Chriſtian authority unto which themſelves are ſubject. But becauſe that error grew from an inconſiderate neceſſity of our imitation of the primitive Church, according to its firſt manner of Government; it will be neceſſary to ſpeak ſomething thereof.

Act. 11. 23.

2 Cor. 3. 6.

As God hath power, and will have glory alone; ſo it is neceſſary, in the conſtitution of thoſe things in which he will have his glory, more eminently to abide, that he have his power in making and ſtaying them to be more remarkably and particularly manifeſt. Thus, in the Creation, that was the foundation of all things elſe, he acts alone; and ſo much alone, that his very word was the deed. In that particular delignation of a Church (for his glory to be more eminent among ſt men) that the honour of doing might be more his

owne,

owne, he did first make use of the weakest means in humane reason for the foundation and establishment thereof.

In the first Church, amongst the Jews, and whilst they were in their weak and wandering condition, (as their need was greater, so) his personal protection and guidance of them was more expres and apparent. And therefore, whilst they were in this Theocraty, their government was not to be managed by any setled Vniversal authority besides himself, or any one who took not, in all weighty things, immediate direction from him, least the eminence of his owne glory should be hereby abated: but they were to continue in their wonted obedience to the natural fathers of their families and tribes, until such time as being throughly setled in peace and security from their enemies, he might make his recess; and according to his former promises, permit and appoint them a King of their owne Nation. Who, as standing in his stead and authority now, and being entrusted with the future preservation and guidance of that which God had so carefully brought to perfection, there was the same reason why he should have remarkable eminence and authority then, as why he should not at all have it before.

The same course we may see taken, in the founding of the Christian Church also: for they, during the time of their owne persecution, were (as their weakness required) in a Theocraty too; that is to say, guided by the expres direction of our Saviour himself, given to his Apostles during the time he was on earth: and particularly, as being *conversant with them for the space of fourty dayes, and speaking of the things pertaining to the Kingdome of God.* And in those things wherein his direction was wanting, *they were to wait for the promise of the Father: even the promise of the holy Ghost, who should lead them into all truth.* Thereby came those spiritual Guides and Priests of the primitive Church to be sometime called Ministers and Pastors; but commonly Presbyter (from which the Dutch word Priester, and our English word Priest are derived, being a notion in the sence of antiquity importing) Seniority jurisdiction and power; whereby they coming to be enabled (notwithstanding the weakness of the instruments and means) to bring that Church to its flourishing pitch and condition; the mean estate of the Churches owne officer did redound to the undeniable glory of that God, who did so manifestly appear in their assistance.

Act. 1. 3. Vers. 4. 5. John 16. 13.

In the Saxon Tongue Preoster, in French Prestre; even so Petroselinum is by the Dutch called Peterselly, and by us persly.

So that Gods dealing in matters of Government, between the Jewish and Christian Church seems in every respect alike; save that, with the Jews, the Ministery of Eldership went by birth, according to the course of nature; but here, by election of the members of the Church. For they being the adopted sons of God through Christ, the particular Priests and Fathers that were to govern in this Church, were to be at this Churches election and choice also: or rather of its representative head Christs deputy. For so are we to understand Saint *Pauls* words to Titus, *For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting: and ordain Elders in every City as I had appointed thee.* And those Epistles to *Timothy* and *Tytus* (men that by Saint *Paul* had been put into authority) will plainly declare, that (as themselves, so) others had also different power one over another, as in relation to the Churches government.

Tit. 1. 5.

The office and power of this Elder, was in it self distinct from that of the preacher: as was formerly that of the Father of the Tribe, from that of the Priest, although for sometime added and involved under the notion of Pres-

byter in the same person that primarily had his authority for instruction sake, even as before the priesthood was divided, it was by patriarchal right executed by the same father of the family. So that now, these Presbyters having, (during the time Magistrates were not Christian) power of civil judicature in what concerned men estates, as well as of external duties concerning them as Christians; it came to pass, where they might exercise this their rightful
1 Cor 6.6. jurisdiction, *Brother was not to go to law with Brother before the unbelievers.* And when we find those eminent persons (called Apostles) directing in matters of external obedience, they do it as Elders or Fathers: which power and office was unto them annexed, as in right of their offices as heads of
1 Pet. 5. 1. Churches: for so saith Saint *Peter he was also an Elder.* And again many of *these Elders did Labour in the word and doctrine*, and were therefore more especially *worthy of the double honour, which was due unto an Elder that ruled*
1 Tim. 5. 17. *well.*

But then, as the Apostles had in themselves, (as Christs deputies) this union of jurisdiction and power, both for preaching and ruling (although in the last sort the present power of Heathen Magistrates did almost wholly restrain them) so they did also often dispence unto the same persons, the same joynt jurisdiction in both sorts also: and that, in regard of the paucity of eminent and able persons to undertake them singly. Upon which reason, we come (in these dayes) to be so much puzled, to distinguish these primitive officers by their names and titles, finding them promiscuoisly in the Scripture set down: as sometime making Apostle and Elder to signifie the same; sometime Apo-
1 Pet. 5. 1. stle and Deacons: and sometimes again we finde the calling of the Evan-
2 John 1. geliſt mingled with that of the Deacon. The which obscurity was also occasi-
1 Cor. 3. 5. ned, in that these Apostles and higher Officers were for want of Ministers
2 Cor. 3. 6. under them, forced many times to act in those more subordinate imploy-
Acts 21. 8. ments, and sometimes also those at first put into lower stations did perform what did belong to functions above them. Which being by some now adayes not well considered, or being careless and ignorant of the originals of names and their true derivation, they would appropriate the notion of Elder or Presbyter to the Lay ruler onely, and wholly abandon the English word Priest, derived (as we said) from Presbyter, as implying sacrifice, and because we have no English word derived from *Sacerdos*; which might properly denote a sacrificer; therefore this notion of Priest must be laid aside, and the word Minister taken in. Not duely marking how they thereby fall into that which they would avoid, whilst they call those of the Gospel by the legal name. For the Hebrew stiles those of the Law *Cohanim*, originally signifi-ing a Minister; and thence comes the Greeek words *Coneo* and *Diaconeo*; being the same with *Minister* in Latin, and Deacon in English. They do also hereby abusively and absurdly put him under his owne congregation and charge; as sometimes calling him their Minister, no otherwise then as *Josuah* was called *Moses Minister*: as if the Pastor (for so they sometimes rightly enough call him) could be called a servant to the sheep: but they shall never finde them called Ministers or servants, but in relation to God or Christ, or the whole Church. And they also do hereby confound those Officers they would distinguish. For that inferiour Officer by them called a Deacon, is by name but the same with Minister, whom they would seem to place higher: as if by way of tautology they should call them Minister and Minister.

But be they of what sort they will, evident enough it is, they were still at

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the appointment, and subordinate to the Apostles, or other heads in chief: who now as Christs deputies, were equally presiding for the guidance and rule of several Churches, distinct in authority from one another. The which may be concluded as we said, from many passages set down in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*: who being by Saint *Paul* put in as Bishops or Overseers over other Pastours, are in and by these Epistles, taught from him the chief head: and for what was not in them taught, they were to be guided by Apostolical tradition: *the things which thou hast heard of me among many witnesses* (that is, my avowed life and doctrine) *the same commit thou unto faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also.* Herein are all the several degrees of subordination briefly stated: the people are to be subject and to learn of their owne Pastors and Elders: these to be subject to their Bishops; and the Bishops to their owne head in chief. 2 Tim. 2. 2.

And by that expression *the things which thou hast heard of me among many witnesses*, &c. we may know how to expound our Saviours restriction given concerning our obedience to them that sit in the seat of authority, when he saith *but do not as they do*: meaning that Rulers will sometimes do otherwise then they teach, or will publickly avow. Mat. 23. 23.

Now, as this greater number of persons in separate jurisdiction, was necessitated for want of civil entire power to make any one Churches jurisdiction of large extent; so it fitted best that present persecuted condition of the Church: that is, to accommodate them in having of one guide in chief, to rule each Church in all their dispersions. And as the meanness of these rulers was then best agreeable to that their present condition, so was it advantagious also: because eminence in authority would have made them, (as more remarkable, so) more obnoxious to be oppressed and destroyed, by those Heathen Magistrates, amongst whom they lived: as would also their publick congregating in Churches have done the like.

But now, after the time God hath perfected his work of the Churches deliverance, and free establishment in peace and rest from all about her; after the time of his prophesie is fulfilled by appointing *Kings her nursing fathers*, *and Queens her Nurses*, and of the Church her *having sons to be set as Princes in all lands* (so that now under *Constantine* (as formerly under *Solomon*) the upper Roomes and wandering Tabernacles are converted into stately Temples) for men to think of running into their wilderness and persecuted condition again, (by entertainment of those temporary forms which unto that condition were most fit) seems to me to import both ingratitude and murmur against God; as also imprudence to themselves. Esay 49. 23. Psal. 45. 16.

And those that shall well compare those Prophesies that set out the Christian Churches happy and flourishing condition, with that which *Moses* made to the Jewes of having Kings when their afflicted condition should cease, will finde the same reason and practice for both, although neither Iewes nor Christians, had by *Moses*, or Christ, direct precept for doing either: no more then *Moses* gave direction for building a Temple, or Christ or his Apostles for erecting Churches. But these things being supposed to follow (as out of duty of gratitude) that flourishing estate God should bring them unto, are less mentioned then that future succession of Kings: concluding (as we may gather) that it would follow upon it: as both *Solomon*, and *Constantine* examples (before mentioned) so well declare.

But (in this regard) we shall finde God Almighty observing the same method

method, in bringing the whole Church to its state of eminence and freedome from the bondage of forraign enemies, as he doth in bringing each one of its members from the thraldome of sin and the Flesh: that is both in the time of their birth and afterwards, leading them through wildernesses and persecutions, to wean them from the former relishes of their Onyons and Flesh-pots, *and to prove them whether they be fit for that promised land and state of happinesse*, or for *that peace and joy in the holy Ghost*, which is requisite to their perfection.

Deut. 8. 1, 2, 3. Heb. 12. 11.

Unto which state being once seated, through the Almighty assistance of him that can do all things, and (proportionable to the greatnesse and splendor of the Church) having raised them up a more eminent officer for their government, for men now to be affecting of Eldenships, Presbyteries, and what other former temporary models they please to phancy, (in presumption that God must thereupon (as before) more immediately appear, as by miracles, guift of tongues, prophesie, &c.) because of the weakness of those his present Ministers, seems to me none other then that temptation of the Devil offered to our Saviour, of casting himself down headlong; and so ingratefully neglect that ordinary way of safety he was now in, on presumption of Gods miraculous delivery. It seems to me none other, then as if the Israelites in the land of promise, flowing with milk and honey, should be asking Quailes and Manna, or the pillar of a Cloud, their former food, and way of direction.

And lastly, these that will distrust Gods guidance, if he manifest it not after their owne way, seem to me closly resembling *those sons of Belial* also, that at the Israelites institution of Kingship, were ingratefully asking *how shall this man save us*. But they that are of the number of the repiners, murmurers, and complainers amongst us, should remember *Solomons* advice: *Say not thou in thy heart, what is the reason that the former times were better then these; for thou dost not enquire rightly concerning this: for he hath made every thing beautiful in its time: so that a man cannot say that this is better then that, for in their season they are all excellent.*

1 Sam. 10. 27.

Eccles. 7. 10. Chap. 3. 11.

And more excellent and honourable no doubt it is, and more redounding to the glory of God; that having promised to bring his Church to a flourishing condition (so as to be eminent in the world for its owne strength and greatness) he should in such measure do it as that it should be now able to subsist by it self (according to the ordinary way of providence common to other Nations) then to be alwayes extraordinarily holding them by the hand himself: as thereby confessing he could not, or had not as yet made good his engagement.

But, as concerning worldly splendour and greatness, it may be observed that the same degrees of different appearance have risen in the lustre of Christs deputies, by reason of his farther recess from extraordinary assistance and presence with them, as there is in the difference of the Moons shining, by reason of her distance from the Sun, her fountain of light also. For although those primitive heads, might in themselves be nearer and fuller partakers of Christs gracious and powerful influence, even as the Moon in her nearer approach to the Sun is the like; yet was the radiation and light thereof, then most gloriously and apparently beneficial to the Churches present direction and guidance, when shewed unto us by a compleat lustraction of that body in our present view.

Nay

Nay this promise of kingship, (to be for compleating the blessing to a land) is worthy the observation of all these Antichrists that would sear themselves *above all that is called God*: insomuch as (to the undeniable evidence of the divine institution of that office) we may observe that no one people have ever been at their perfection without them, nor none at the height of their distress till they were removed. According to that prophesie of the Jews desolation, namely that before it should be, *the land should be forsaken of both her Kings*: the having them being in it self as sure a signe of Gods blessing, as the want is of his anger to any people. Eph. 2. 4. Isai. 7. 16.

And however some are ready, in the flourishing instances of some Polarchies, to frame arguments for the lawfulness of those governments, yet can neither those examples equal for number or eminence, those of Monarchies and Kingdomes: nor can the prosperity or success of some rebellion in some people, (even so far as to be in some worldly security and happiness) conclude for their lawfulness: more then Gods premission of sinners of other sorts, (to prosper and go unpunished here) can prove for their vindication in iniquity. And therefore although God seems sometimes slacker in bringing on his threatned punishments upon some people upon their kings removall, yet that this removeall is a threatning of punishment may farther appear by *Hosea*; who, thrice in one chapter, threatens *Israels* calamity by that sign: *for now they shall they say we have no King, for we feared not the Lord, and what then should a King do to us?* and again *the King of Samaria is destroyed like the foam upon the water*; and againe, *in a morning shall the king of Israel be cut off*. Hosea 10. 3. Verse 7. Verse. 15.

Nay we may observe this Monarchical administration so much owned by God, as to declare the absence thereof as the fittest and surest token of his dereliction and punishment of a people that had been first false to himself, and were now repudiated by him: as may appear in that other Prophesie, *For the Children of Israel shall abide many dayes without a King and without a Prince, without a Sacrifice, and without an Image, and without an Ephod, and without Teraphim*. And, by the last words we may observe (by the way) not onely a depravation in religion and Church order to follow this no King in Israel, by making use of Teraphim in the Ephod, instead of Urim, *as the man Michah did*; but this disorder should increase, till that remaining Priesthood, who by their consistorial parity, were as the Teraphims in this Ephod, should be taken away also. For this use of Teraphim amongst Israelites was to be looked upon but as a shift in *Jeroboam*, who wanting that order of *Aaron* and his Sons, made use of the meanest of the people: but in the Christian Church, and when Christ, typified in *David*, shall be their King, then also shall those several Kings under him maintain and settle order amongst the Priesthood and in religion it self as *David* also did. Hosea 3. 4. Judg. 17. 5. Teraphim were little Images in the Ephod by which God did sometimes make answer. Hosea 3. 5.

Now, concerning that separate jurisdiction which some Church-men would claim, under colour of dividing our duties into religious and civil, it cannot I conceive but plainly appear, that notwithstanding sacred pretence) this division is but of humane invention, being not to be found in the Scripture: and, as it is (for the most part) made of no other use but to make division and discord: by stating our obedience to the Magistrate under colour of giving it to God. Nor are we without agreement in stating thereof. For while some think that whatever the Magistrate commands it but of civil obedience; and so lyable to temporal reward and punishment onely; and again; what

is of Gods command (that is expreſly ſet down in Scripture) is to be only obeyed out of conſcience of divine authority; and then, leaving men to private judgement what precepts are thence deduceable, or when the Magiſtrates commands be ſuch, they muſt conſequently leave them no certain rule, whereby, either to preſerve duty, or unity. As alſo thoſe other ſort do, who, diſtinguiſhing men in their ſeveral relations by them phancied, ſay that in whatever we do as ſubjects and men linked in Society, the ſame is of civil cognizance and duty; but in whatever we act as Chriſtians, we are to be guided by precept from God alone. In which doing alſo, being neither able to bring from Scripture all things that concern Gods outward worſhip, and finding many precepts of Ethical, Political, and Oeconomical nature, and which do concern our duty and good even as men, although we had not been Chriſtians, they muſt needs fall themſelves, and drive others, by theſe doubtfull precepts, from giving any right obedience at all, inſtead of directing them therein. For although (as to ſome intents) men may be uſefully conſidered in theſe different relations, yet when the ſame perſon is now both a man and a Chriſtian, ſuch diſtinctions as ſhould imply a poſſibility of perſonal deviſion again, ſo as for the ſame Chriſtian to act as a man in any thing without being a Chriſtian, muſt (beſides abſurdity) bring upon us the many inconveniences of rebellion and civil war.

And therefore, although in our being Chriſtian, we loſe not the reality of manhood, more then in being rational creatures or men, we loſe the propertie of ſenſitive Creatures: yet inaſmuch as being rational Greatures, and ſo having a greater and ſurer light to direct our actions, all that we do anſwerable to other meer ſenſitives, is therefore now to be attributed to us in the capacity of men, as of the nobler and higher relation. Even ſo alſo it fareth with us, after, and while we are Chriſtians: namely that all thoſe actions, in which, in execution and direction (I mean ſo far as is humane) we reſemble other meer natural men onely, yet theſe things, being by us now acted under the inſeparable relation of Chriſtians, are, although not of expreſs litteral divine precept, yet, if done in obedience to lawful authority, a Chriſtian duty; or, if acted againſt it, a Chriſtian fault. And it will follow that what was in us (as men) before, but moral vertue or vice, is now righteouſneſs or ſin, even to the degree of an idle word. And ſo again (conſidering us as ſubjects) thoſe things that are onely by the light of nature inveſtigable as civil duties, when they come to be enforced by a Superiour, having his power and office from God, have the obligations of religious actions: as being part of our obedience to that God, who ſaid them to be in that reſpect *Gods alſo, and children of the moſt high.*

Pſa. 82. 6.

Therefore when God ſometimes commands what would concern us and be our benefit as men, although we had not been Chriſtians, (as indeed if we had reaſon enough all precepts for outward direction would appear ſuch) or when (again) many things appertaining to our religion it ſelf, and our outward worſhip therein, are by the Churches authority enjoyned, (whether the ſame be found in Scripture or no) they are both of them to be held as religious duryes to us: and we being not able, while we are Chriſtians, to act in any other perſonal capacity, muſt be obedient and ſubject as in, *and ſo the Lord*: that is, till ſomething be enjoyned to overthorw Chriſtianity, we as Chriſtians, muſt *obey in all things*: and it is as ſinful to diſobey Supream au-

Ephe. 6. 5. Col. 3. 23.

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thority in the payment of taxes, as in the obſervation of the Sabboth. For God not now giving particular precepts as unto the Iewes, but leaving us herein to the direction of the higher power ordained for that purpoſe of him, we are to be obedient to our *Maſters in the fleſh as unto Chriſt, and willingly to do them ſervice as unto the Lord, and not as men*: That is, we are now always to obey him as Chriſts Miniſter and head of our particular Church, and not left at liberty to obey as in a religious tye, no farther then we pleaſe. For the actions and precepts of each State & Kingdom, are upon their converſion to Chriſtianity, to be called and reputed the actings of ſuch or ſuch a Church, and not of ſuch or ſuch a State: the name and notion of Church including that of State, even as (in the particular members whereof it is compounded) the notion of man is involved in that of Chriſtian. Eph. 6. 6, 7.

So that now, as the entire truſt & power of Vniverſal headſhip of the Catholike Church is unto Chriſt reſigned, and he thereupon to be obeyed as under a religious tye in all cauſes whatſoever, by all ſuch as acknowledge themſelves Chriſtians; although they ſeem of never ſo civil a nature: even ſo, his ſupream deputy in each Chriſtian Church or Kingdome, being entirely entruſted, like him from whom his power is derived) is under the tye of religion alſo, to be entirely obeyed by all that acknowledg his Chriſtian jurisdiction: we being no more duely able to divide the ſupremacy of the one, then of the other.

And therfore, the miſtake and inconvenience of their opinion will plainly appear, that would from a ſhort and groundleſs diſtinction, of the ſeveral objects and ends of our obedience, deduce a ſeveral and diſtinct tye, whereby the ſame perſon in the performance of this duty to lawful authority ſhould ſtand diverſly obliged: As if, becauſe the good of men and humane Society were the next ayme of my forbearance to defraud or oppreſs, *&c.* it were therefore the laſt end, and not rather Gods glory, as heretofore ſhewed.

Whereupon, ſince I, as a Chriſtian, had light ſufficient given me to diſcover how God is herein ſerved, by this my advancement of the good of my brother, cannot thereupon but account my ſelf as well ſerving God. When I do any thing as a ſubject to the Prince, out of general tye of conſcience to Gods precept that commandeth obedience to the *higher powers*, then it is, or ſhould have been, if I had done it in obedience to the particular precepts of *thou ſhalt not ſteal*, or *thou ſhalt not covet*. And had *Cato*, or *Stipio*, had the like advantage of inſtruction with us, ſo as to have ſeen through to Gods glory and their owne ſalvation, as the great and laſt end and reward of all our actions, (as they had been obliged in conſcience, ſo) they would (no doubt) out of reſpect and love to God and their owne future good, have performed all thoſe Heroick acts, which, for want thereof, could not have in them higher conſideration then temporary benefits of themſelves or country; and ſo come to be imputed unto them as bare moral vertues and duties, having in their conceipts, neither direction nor intention higher.

But for farther clearing the underſtanding of theſe things, we will inſtance in a particular moſt common amongſt us, namely our food. What the vegetative appetite (as neceſſary to growth and nouriſhment) doth herein covet, the ſame being in ſenſitive Creatures controlled and judged by their pallats and taſts, is aſcribed as an action done by ſuch or ſuch a ſenſitive. And, in the ſame food again, the pallat being for choice and quantity (as all other ſenſes) controlable by reaſon, for what we do therein, we are accountable as

men onely, and not as beasts. And so lastly, when, in this particular of food, a higher authority then our owne doth command, we must be then reckoned in all we do therein, but as in relation, and subordinate to that last and highest authority. For as Christ is above them all, so is our relation as Christians to include and involve that of men or subjects. So that if I now follow too much my vegetative appetite, or sensative taste; and also transgress reason, so as to be drunken and gluttonise; this, being done by me that am a Christian, is a sin endangering punishment hereafter; and not singly a moral or civil vice; as transgressing onely in regard to my health, or the rule of society.

And so farther againe, when abstinence from any, or all sort of food is by lawful authority enjoyned, whereby the use of what was indifferent to us (in respect of any direct former Christian precept) comes to be streigthened, we are then tyed in conscience to the obedience thereof: and that, not onely when a Lent or Fast day shall be enjoyned for an explicite religious end, but also, when abstinence shall be publickly commanded, without such end expressed at all: or although the preservation of Cattel or the like, be the known end thereof. And this, because the person commanding being the same, and alwayes Gods Minister, where our ability of performance is equall, our sin of disobedience must be equal also: and that, without thought of dividing his jurisdiction and authority, and so disobeying the Prince as as oft as we please, by taking on us (as Priests in a separat jurisdiction) the sole interpretation of Gods law.

Whereupon, as every Master of a family is Priest also so far as concerns his jurisdiction, so the appellations of Princes and Priests are in many places of Scripture used as equipollent. But as the King, in regard of the multitude under him, is to use Magistrates to help him in civil administrations, so Priests also, in matters of the Church and religion. How far this their power is to extend, and how, and by what order of them to be managed, will be a proper discourse when the Kings part in government and peace shall be treated of.

Therefore now (to return) by the name of Church we are not to conceive there can be any congregation of Christian subjects by order so distnct from others, as to have immediat power from God over the fortunes or persons of their fellows; without, or against the Soveraigns leave. For since the time, manner, place, and other things essential to the constituting the meeting it self must (as heretofore noted) depend on the leave and direction of the governour in chief, and their authority, as an assembly, can be but subordinate to that from whence they derived it, it cannot in no wise be collected, that their power should be independent.

They of the Romish Clergy, that would clayme a divine right to succeed the Apostles, in the exercise of external jurisdiction and power, by vertue of an uninterrupted ordination from them at first derived, (after the same manner as those ancient *Romans* were superstitious to place the vestal virgins for keeping in of their holy fire in their temple,) and would have the Office and power of high Priest or Bishop, in the Catholike, or each particular Church, depend on like uninterrupted succession to his predecessor under the Gospel, no otherwise then the high Priestship did descend amongst the Jewes, had (no doubt) an ayme, by this peculiar way of puting one another into authority, not only to set up themselves in Apostolical power, but to exclude Kings or Masters of families from having any divine right

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at all; ſince no ſuch uninterrupted derivation of ſucceſſion, can be on their ſide brought. But as they cannot find any text to warrant any claim hereby, ſo they are to conſider, that as to the Iewes their particular Church was the ſame with the Catholike, ſo in order to Gods care for direction and government of that particular onely Church, he did appoint, as well a diſtinct family and linage for their Kingſhip, as he did for their Prieſthood: it being as unlawful to alter the line of *David*, as that of Aaron. But, under the Goſpel, where like appointment was not made, nor outward proſperity was not promiſed, as to the Jewes, it will be very ſevere, to cenſure any particular Church as untrue, and her Paſtors unlawful, upon the hazard of having ſome interruption in ſucceſſion; or for want of intention or the like: whereby (having had ſome ineffectual ordination adminiſtred) all ordinations ſucceeding, and juriſdiction grounded thereupon, ſhould come to be void alſo.

However, before the time that the Magiſtrate was Chriſtian, the claim of immediate ſucceſſion or poſſeſſion were a good plea in it ſelf, and fit to be obſerved by others, to avoide the danger of Schiſm, as it was alſo then reaſonable enough, that in conſideration the Biſhop in each place was alſo ſupream head of the ſame under Chriſt; that thereupon the deſignation or ordination of perſons into offices of power might be at his diſpoſe too, yet ſince, even then this his own ordination or choice, and appointment into office was done by the people; and in the ſame form whereby they conſtituted other Magiſtrates, it will thereupon appear but reaſonable, that as this power to govern, was by them then executed, not as Evangeliſts barely, but as the preſent ſupream Chriſtian heads, ſo ſhould it be afterwards reſigned to him that did ſucceed as ſupream, in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil. And as their ordination, that is, perſonal ſucceſſion and appointment into theſe functions of power (not their conſecrations) doth (or ſhould) depend on his choice or negative voice, as it did formerly on the people and Emperours, it cannot be now thought reaſonable they ſhould claime any outward independent juriſdiction, over the liberties or eſtates of others.

By due conſideration whereof we may know how to diſtinguiſh between thoſe ſeveral ordintions of power and Office, which Saint *Paul* admoniſheth *Timothy* to make uſe of. For by that which in his firſt Epiſtle to him is ſet down as a *gift given by Propheſie, with the laying on of the hands of the Preſbytery*: we may underſtand, that more civil election and ordination, whereby 1 Tim. 4. 14.
thoſe Presbyters or Elders, the repreſentative authority of that Church had (it may be at Saint *Pauls* recommendation) choſen him as their chief guide or inſtructor, even becauſe of that eminent guift of Propheſie or inſtruction they found in him, into which Office we may ſuppoſe him afterwards confirmed, and alſo conſecrated by Saint *Paul*, which he calls the gift of God, *which is in thee by the putting on of my hands*. For thoſe places and ci- 2 Tim. 1. 6.
ties being but partly Chriſtians as yet, whereby Saint *Paul* and other primitive Chriſtian heads could not have entire juriſdiction, it was reaſonable, even for the better obedience ſake of thoſe that did believe, to ſubmit the election of their Church guide, to that very form they uſed in the choice of their other Magiſtrates. And as in theſe laſt alledged Texts, we finde both election and conſecration ſet down in that phraſe proper to Prieſtly adminiſtration onely, namely *laying on of hands*; ſo ſhall we elſewhere finde them both at once compriſed under the expreſſion proper to election of other Magiſtrates, ſignifying *holding up of hands* called there *ordaining*. The which Presby- Acts 14. 23.
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verial way of choice continued ſtill in the Church, after the time that Emperors and Kings were Chriſtian; but not as at firſt, for then, theſe Presbyters did it as Rulers and Repreſentatives of thoſe places, ſome of them being Preachers, and ſome not: whereas afterwards, when whole Cities became Chriſtians, thoſe of the chief of the Clergy of each dioceſs or jurisdiction took upon them to make theſe elections, as the Chapiter of that place: but it was ſtill done, or ſuppoſed to be, according to recommendation or licence of that Prince or Emperour that had ſupream power over them all. And however at firſt, before the people of any place or City were wholly converted, ſo as the juriſdiction could be entire under one Church head, they might well be diſtinguiſhed under the notions of Church and ſtate, as each might be under a ſeparate authority; yet when, and where theſe power ſhall be united, then, and there all election and juriſdiction, in the one ſort as well as the other, muſt be held dependant on this one ſupream Church head.

If we ſuppoſe thoſe of the Clergy, to be ſucceſſors to Apoſtolical power by vertue of ordination received from the hands of one another (as by a kinde of confederacy) then, ſince the efficacy of ordination is the ſame to all of them, there muſt be now amongſt us as many men in Apoſtolical power, as there are men in orders: becauſe ordination having its efficacy as primarily inherent in the Apoſtles, it muſt follow that all thoſe derived ordinations muſt be equal one to another, even as that firſt act of ordination from the Apoſtles received, was the ſame, or equal to it ſelf.

But, of thoſe that would ſet up an Vniverſal Pope, and of thoſe that would ſet up a Pope (by this means) in every Pariſh, I would ask how far they would have their juriſdiction to extend? If they ſay they have right to all the Apoſtles had, then have they right to command and be obeyed in all things: for ſuch right had the Apoſtles, as ſhall be ſhewed anon. If they ſay they have right to no more them was by them practiſed, and ſo claime to ſucceed in the power of excommunication and Church cenſure, ſo far as to extend it to corporal puniſhment, then they will have much ado to make this all one with a ſpiritual juriſdiction and cenſure.

The truth is, that we muſt look on the Apoſtles in their ſentence of excommunication, as puniſhing men in the higheſt meaſure they then could; in regard of the engroſment of all coercive and vindicative power, by the then Pagan Magiſtrates they lived under; and not as thinking their refraining to keep a *Blaſphemer* or an *inceſtuous perſon company*, were a puniſhment adequate to ſuch offences, as by their hainouſneſs and nature, did argue already no regard to their ſociety. And again, this act of excommunication, was not then to baniſh him from them, but themſelves from him: For, as they could not force any to be of their ſociety, or come to their meetings, ſo (as the caſe ſtood then) could not they force them from coming to any their publike meetings as well as others; even when they were to celebrate the communion, although they might *forbear to eat* whilſt he was in the company.

1 Tim. 1. 19, 20
1 Cor. 5.

So that now, if the Church-men claime but the ſame meaſure of power the Apoſtles did, or might then exerciſe, and (againe) allow the perſon now excommunicate the like power with the other, they will then finde the force and terrour of their excommunication (as from themſelves alone proceeding, and without leave and aſſiſtance from the Magiſtrate) to amount to juſt nothing. If they claime all the juriſdiction and power that the Apoſtles as heads of Churches then had right unto, they will have right to all power

whate-

whatever, that is power outward and civil, as well as inward and ſpiritual. For, of that nature we ſhall finde many things, that were taken into cogniſance by thoſe primitive heads, and ſo lyable alſo to the cenſure and puniſhment of the Magiſtrates and civil laws of the Countrey, as was that inceſtuous act; and would, no doubt, upon notice, have been by them that had preſent power puniſhed in a more remarkable and ſenſible degree, then could be by the Apoſtles that wanted it. Whereupon, as we finde Saint *Paul* compriſing, *Fornication*, *Covetouſneſs*, *Railing*, *Drunkenneſs*, and *Extortion*, under the then Church cogniſance and cenſure, as well as *Idolatry*, it is to be concluded that the power and juriſdiction of each Churches preſent head, was Vniverſal and abſolute, as of right in it ſelf, to judge and puniſh in civil, as well as ſpiritual cauſes, Chriſt having then no Church head but them: although in matter of execution, he were (as before noted) many times reſtrained. Upon which conſideration, we cannot any wayes aſſigne the now Goſpel Miniſters, to be ſucceſſours to the Apoſtles or primitive Biſhops in what they did as the then heads of Churches, but muſt appropriate that to Kingly right, as ſhall be more fully declared hereafter. 1 Cor. 5. 11.

All which, no doubt, (with ſome other things elſewhere ſpoken) will diſpleaſe ſome of that order. For although ſelf intereſt (as higheſt) may make them differ about precedence amongſt themſelves, yet to have their order eclipſed in any thing of honour or power, cannot but diſpleaſe: becauſe even ſelf intereſt, though not ſo direct, is yet plainly therein alſo. And therefore, ſince Church-men are uſually the beſt learned, and commonly the onely Writers of Church matters, and of State affairs alſo as often as any other: it is no marvil, if in ſo long a tract of time, ſo many arguments and contrivances for deviding the Kings, and eſtabliſhing their ſeparate authority, have been craftily laid by ſome, and as haſtily entertained by others, in order to the making them more powerful.

Amongſt other things, it may be obſerved how pride and arrogance hath brought thoſe notions of Laicks and Ideots, which were brought in by them whereby to be diſtinguiſhed from other ſubjects, to import rudeneſs, ignorance, and inferiority: when as, by means of their greater learning and favour, divers priviledges and immunities were reſerved to themſelves. The which (God knows) I diſlike not otherwiſe, then as finding it made deſtructive to publike peace and good. For it is an order, which of all other ſhould (I conceive) have the higheſt rank and eſteem amongſt Subjects: even for that their imployment is in ſuch matters, as are apparently in themſelves, and by publick approbation and appointment, held of moſt immediate concern in Gods worſhip and ſervice amongſt us: and is (in many things) of that nature, as is not by others undertakable.

In which regard (truly) as much grieved I am, to finde that preſent contrary, and proportionable want of eminence and eſteem given them, in thoſe places where Monarchy hath been eclipſed or thruſt out, (even by bringing them thereby ſo much lower as there followes to be more above them) as I am offended, at the extraordinary height, and ſucceſs of their Antichriſtian pride, where ſome inſeparable marks of Monarchy and government are held in their owne hands.

But, however their ſucceſs proves, it will concern men that would be truly careful of their ſalvation, and *followers of things that make for peace*, to have an eye to the true fundamentals of religion delivered in holy Scripture, Rom. 14. 19.

and

and not be led away with the uſurped interpretation of any unauthoriſed perſon: whom they ſhall alwayes finde, either directly ayming at their owne intereſt therein, or elſe, in paſſion or emulation to one another, they will (inſtead of ſatisfying our doubts, be ſtill encreaſing & extending their own differences amongſt themſelves, until they have made them fundamentals and neceſſary to ſalvation: Whereupon (by Anathema's to their opponents) they are to be obſerved, to the accompliſhment of their ſeveral dominions and honour in the Church, continually eſpouſing their owne quarrels upon us, and engaging us in civil broiles.

If we do not this, and keep not cloſe to Chriſt himſelf, that is, to that authority which is next and moſt repreſenting him, we ſhall be in continual danger to be made believe by ſubordinat Miniſters, that *not following of us* (that is, not being of our Sect) is all one as not to be Chriſtians, and to be againſt him. And if ſelf conceitedneſs could thus blinde our Saviours owne Diſciples, ſo far as to lead them to this raſh miſtake, and that notwithſtanding known miracles and profeſſion made in Chriſts name, what may we expect from the ambitious aims of men now living; but that *this following of us*, ſhould be continually made (as too good experience tells us it is) the dayly bait to draw us farther from Chriſt, under pretence of bringing us nearer? So that whilſt ſome are declaiming againſt authority, and branding their commands as ſuperſtitious, even in things wherein Chriſts honour and worſhip are neerly concerned, they are yet found ſo reſolute in their own particular ſects and tenents, that they would have mens belief and adherence to Chriſt, to be meaſured onely by their belief and adherence to them: which, to my thinking, is as high and plain Idolatry as any can be.

Luke 9. 49.

But the immediate following diſcourſe of that text, ſhews the temper and ayme of this humor: when thoſe very Diſciples are endeavouring to wreſt *Eliahs* preſident, by drawing fire from heaven againſt that authority which oppoſed them: the which although they were of another religion and juriſdiction too, is yet rebuked by our Saviour, as proceeding from a moſt ungoſpel-like ſpirit: and ſhewing him *to be ſubject to like paſſions with others.*

And therefore, for the true ſtating of theſe things, we ſhall more briefly ſay, that ſo far as they are to perform the work of Evangeliſts, that is, to preach unto us Jeſus, and to prove and declare him to be the only fundamental object of faith and ſalvation, ſo far have they their power from God alone: but ſo far as they have dioceſſan or parochial charge, and are in paticulars to ſhew unto us how we are to obey him as Chriſt and King in any outward deportment, ſo far are they to derive their authority from that Church power which had from Chriſt power to ordain and ſeparate them unto that work. So far as they are entruſted with the guidance of Gods inward kingdom in our hearts, that is, to perſwade men to faith in Chriſt (which was the chief work of the primitive teachers amongſt the Infidels) ſo far are they Gods Miniſters and not mans, but, as they are to meddle with mens abbearances and external behaviour in Chriſts Kingdome the Church (that is to ſhew how to perform obedience to him being converted and acknowledging his power) ſo far are they to have warrant from thoſe his chief deputies in the Church.

Whereupon two things will plainly follow to the advantage of the Clergy above others. Firſt, that, in reſpect of their ordination, they are to be held ſo properly Gods Miniſters, that, in preaching and adminiſtration of the Sacraments and ſome other things, none but they have power to intermeddle:

and

and yet are they not hereby excluded from having external jurisdiction and power over mens persons also, if the authority of the Church wherein they live shall so think fit. Nay, when the representative authority of that Church shall have distinguished between holy and prophane, I conceive that, in all such things as are concluded of religious jurisdiction and cognisance, the Church-members of the Clergy are, by the Church her head, to be therein imployed more eminently then any other subjects; especially if they do therein acknowledge themselves subordinate and subject unto him. All which I have in this part set down, to avoid such umbrage as might have been by some taken at the passed discourse.

And for farther avoidance of mistake, about those persons or orders of the Clergy by me glanced at in any censure here or elsewhere, I shall also now crave leave to say, that, as I profess my self a dutiful son of the same Mother, so do I also highly respect and honour that Classical order of the Clergy which the Church of *England* owns as hers: being men that have approved themselves the true sons of *Zadock*, the type of Evangelical Priesthood, and been as eminent for loyalty as learning. But, the disturbances of Christendome are to be imputed to those of the Romish party, who, in favour to their owne head, are to subject (with *Abiather*) to miscary that arke wherewith they are entrusted; and to make the power and cognisance of those sacred orders, which should separate them from worldly implomens, to serve as a plea and pretence thereunto; as in order to spiritual cognisance and jurisdiction. As also, to that miscellaneous brood, who, as in hatred to their exteram, entring their ordinations at a wrong dore, or not entring them at all, have as shamefully demeaned themselves in the Priesthood, as they did ignorantly and shamefully decline the title it self, and that honour which is thereunto due: and have, by those strange fires of sedition and rebellion which they every where offer, under show of reformation and zeal, approved themselves the true sons of *Nadab* and *Abihu*. These are they that are deare declaiming against Prelacy, on purpose to gain higher preferment: whilst the name of Bishop is by them declined as an unlawful jurisdiction in in the Church, they are grasping after the thing, and striving to exercise E-Episcopacy and oversight over both Church and State, under the claim of power from Christ himself received, as his immediate Ministers: thereby shewing, that their slighting of orders is but because they would not be by them confined to Ecclesiastical superintendency onely.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the head of the Church and of the Scriptures interpretations.

FRom what hath been hitherto ſpoken of our Security whilſt retaining the fundamentalls of our religion, as men may gather courage to reſiſt ſuch ſuperſtitious fears as ſome would put into them on purpoſe to draw them to their owne ſects, ſo may they plainly ſee it their duty (theſe foundations being laid) that their directeſt obedience which they can (as Chriſtians) in other things give unto that perſon Chriſt hath moſt eminently entruſted, and by whom he is moſt lively repreſented, is the ſtrougeſt argument of performance of their duty and obedience to himſelf.

For he being (as the chief *Maſter builder*) to direct us in all things towards our actual edification, upon theſe ground works of faith and charity laid in our hearts, may ſeem to be Gods great accomptant for the ſins of the people, and ſo prefigured unto us under the ſcape goat in the law: who, as denoting the high and uncontroleable power of his office here, was both to be free and unmoleſted in the wilderneſs of this life, and alſo *to bear on him all the iniquities and tranſgreſſion of the people.* For although Chriſt himſelf, (typifyed under the ſlain goat) do onely truly and meritorioufly expiate and make attonement to God for all mens ſins as breaches of Gods law (inſomuch as no man can hope for remiſſion of any ſort of them without repentance and forgiveneſs in his name made and obtained) yet foraſmuch as we are commanded to be obedient unto them, both in matters of godlineſs and honeſty, there is no doubt, but the ſame will acquit us of guilt in all things acted by their guidance: and not contrary to the foundation of faith and love: which is, or ſhould be in our hearts.

Lev. 16. 21.

And therefore to this purpoſe, (as formerly noted) we ſhall find good warrant given from him that ſaid, *Do all things without murmurings and diſputings, that ye may be blameleſs and harmleſs the ſons of God: in the midſt of a froward and perverſe generation, wherein ye ſhine as lights in the world.* Here is no diſtinction made of our duties; here is no referment of us to Scripture; but a general direction to univerſal and ready obedience: which being done, we ſhall be blameleſs and harmleſs for obeying, however the thing wherein we do obey may prove harmful to others; and ſo blameable in the Commanders.

Phil. 2. 14. Verſ. 15.

And that the Apoſtle did hereby entend implicite and perfect obedience, may farther appear by the foregoing occaſion which lead him to this precept: namely for avoiding of diviſions, and *Standing faſt in one Spirit, with one mind:* unto the which, implicite obedience and ſubjection to one head is the onely ready way. And to the end they ſhould *fulfill his joy, and be like minded, having the ſame love, being of one accord, of one minde:* he admoniſheth that *nothing ſhould be done through ſtrife or vain glory, but in lowlineſs of mind, let each eſteem others better then themſelves.*

Phil. 1. 27.

And then he tells the way to it: Firſt, by inward charity and love, *Look*

not

not every man on his owne things, but every man on the things of others: afterward he points to outward ſubjection to make this love uſeful: which he doth by the true example of humility and obedience, our Saviour himſelf: viz: *Let this minde be in you which was alſo in Chriſt Jeſus: who being in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God, but made himſelf of no reputation, and took on him the form of a ſervant, and was made in the likeneſs of men. And being found in the faſhion of a man, he humbled himſelf and became obedient to death, even the death of the Croſs:* A death which was proper to ſuch as were under the higheſt degree of ſubjection, being the uſual puniſhment for ſlaves. Verſe 4. Verſe 5. Verſe 6. Verſe 7. Verſe 8.

And ſo, having ſet forth the reward of this his humility and obedience to encourage us therein, he then proceeds: *Wherefore, my beloved, as ye have always obeyed, not as in my preſence onely, but now much more in my abſence, work out your owne ſalvation with fear and trembling.* Which words do plainly ſhew the means to ſalvation, to be dependent on perfect obedience to Gods Miniſter: for it *is God that worketh in us both to will and to do of his good pleaſure.* That is, as God is himſelf the worker of this inward love, to make us willing; ſo muſt he direct (by his Miniſter) our doing it outwardly to our Neighbours benefit: under whom doing all things as aforeſaid, we ſhall be blameleſs as aforeſaid alſo. Verſe 12. Verſe 13.

For his care and truſt being above mine, the fault muſt light on him; according to his determination that ſaid, *He that ſhall break one of the leaſt of theſe Commandments, and ſhall teach men ſo, he ſhall be leaſt in the Kingdome of heaven:* that is, ſhall have no ſhare in heaven, or be moſt puniſhed hereafter: *But he that ſhall do and teach them, he ſhall be greateſt in the Kingdome of Heaven*, or in heavenly reward. Which words, as they ſhew the following power that ſome muſt have of teaching others, ſo do they declare their greater puniſhment or reward to follow their truſt therein: according to that other ſaying, *Unto whomſoever much is given, of him much ſhall be required: and to whom men have committed much, of him will they ask the more.* Mat. 5. 19. Ibidem. Luke 12. 48.

And that this was meant in regard of power of government intruſted, and that alſo of that particular deligation of power and truſt made to the higher powers in the Church, appears by the occaſion of its delivery: having relation to the foregoing parable and admonition: where the Church, under the notion of the houſe of Chriſt (its Lord) is to be carefully watched by its preſent overſeer put in authority by Chriſt: from whom theſe Stewards are to expect their reward or puniſhment, according to their behaviour in this charge.

Where (by the way) we may note, the Monarchical deſignation of each Churches government; becauſe the Steward or Maſter of the houſe, is ſtill ſet downe and alluded unto in the ſingular number. And we may alſo note, that it could not be meant as appropriate to the Apoſtles or others, as they were Eccleſiaſtical men and preachers onely, but muſt intend ſuch as are to have civil authority alſo: as appeares by that prohibition of *beating the men ſervants and maidens*: which, as it muſt import an Officer of authority to inflict ſuch ſevere and tyrannical puniſhments, ſo theſe puniſhments (being corporal) could not denote the function of any ſpiritual perſon; becauſe they could not pretend any right hereunto. Luke 12. 45.

From all which, our benefit and duty in obedience being apparent; we *are not to be carryed about with every winde of doctrine.* So that, (whilſt ſtriv- Eph. 4. 14.

ing to ſerve God according to his will revealed in Scripture) we might neither, on the one hand, be in danger to be entrapped by the wiſer ſort, and ſuch as have worldly ends; *even by the ſlight of men and cunning craftineſs whereby they lye in wait to deceive*; nor, on the other hand, fall into the danger of ſuch, as may ſeem more ſimple and unintereſted: becauſe *the unlearned and unwary, do reſt Scripture to their own damnation.* But we are to know, that *no Scripture of God is of private interpretation*: that is, to be interpreted by private perſons; but that (its chief drift being to inſtruct us in the fundamentals of our ſalvation, and (in order thereunto) to declare thoſe miſteries and general precepts that were neceſſary to our belief & practiſe therein, it left private men for particular guidance, to the authoriſed interpreters thereof.

Ibidem.
2 Pet. 3. 16.
2 Pet. 1. 20.

At firſt it was, *the Prieſts lips ſhould preſerve knowledge, and thou ſhalt ſeek the law at his mouth:* they having this their law particularly ſet down by *Moſes.* And ſo alſo, when they were to have kings, *he was to have a book thereof, and to do thereafter.* But now in the Goſpel, as theſe particular legal precepts ſtood not of litteral divine authority, but as preſidents uſeful upon occaſion; ſo the *Miniſters thereof were Miniſters not of the Letter, but of the Spirit.* Whereupon it ſtill appears that the whole drift of the Goſpel and new Teſtament, were but to ſet forth Chriſt the foundation unto us; and to leave us unto the preſent higher powers for direction of our practice thereafter; according to the light of Scripture, or natural reaſon. Therefore as we firſt find, the ſcope of each Goſpel, to record the miracles Chriſt did in proof hereof; ſo ſhall we finde the other diſcourſes and doctrines therein contained, uſually to follow but as occaſioned thereupon, For Saint *Iohn* ſpeaks plainly, *That if all that Ieſus did ſhould be written, the whole world would not contain the books that ſhould be written: but theſe things are written, that ye may believe, that Jeſus is Chriſt the ſon of God; and that believing ye might have life through his name.*

Mal. 2. 7.
Deut. 17. 19.
2 Cor. 3. 6.
John 21. 25.
John 20. 31.

And ſo again, for the other part of the New Teſtament, namely the Epiſtles; we are not to conceive that all that was written by the Apoſtles or ſuch as had inſpiration, is now left unto us: for of ſome of them there appears nothing at all, and of ſome very little. Nay, Saint *Paul*, that wrot moſt, we may think yet wrot more then is come to our hands: even as he had more gentile Churches in his charge, then what his Epiſtles do mention by their directions and titles. All which (no doubt) would have been divine and edifying alſo, as well as thoſe that are come; had not want of care in thoſe particular Churches, or the calamitous condition of thoſe times deprived us of them.

But now, however we are to acknowledge and admire, the care and providence of God and the Church, in preſerving and delivering to us thoſe books and Epiſtles left; yet, in and by them, we may obſerve, that they were all but occaſionally written: and that no Writer did undertake to ſet down the whole platform of Chriſtian obedience; or to compoſe an entire and perfect body of Divinity, but in delivery of theſe inſtructions they were ſtill reſpective: and even as they had particular and ſeparate charge of Churches, ſo wrote they unto them ſuch iuſtructions and precepts, as they conceived moſt fit for their proper directions. And therefore we may finde thoſe writers, not onely to differ from one another in thoſe directions, but alſo Saint *Paul*, whoſe Epiſtles we have written to ſeveral Churches, doth in them differ in his directions alſo; according to that exigence and occaſion, which he foreſaw

foreſaw the preſent condition of that people required.

For ſince, at that time, all Churches could not have all his or the other Apoſtles Epiſtles (for if they could, the ſame things needed not at all to have been repeated) it muſt be ſuppoſed, that what was to them already written, was ſufficient to inſtruct them in things neceſſary to ſalvation: and that they, in their other neceſſary Chriſtian behaviours, had direction by *Tradition* from him, or elſewhere; which was the occaſion of that frequent admonition of keeping them. And for what might be wanting in both theſe, he refers them to be guided by the Church, and ſuch as had the rule over them; under the general notions of *whatſoever things are true, whatſoever things are honeſt, whatſoever things are juſt, whatſoever things are pure, whatſoever things are lovely, whatſoever things are of good report: if there be any vertue, if there be any praiſe, think on theſe things*: and this moſt eſpecially he doth, to thoſe he wrot leaſt. Phil. 4. 8.

For it is likely, that they that were to be their guides, had been before inſtructed in the way of Church regiment by Saint *Paul* himſelf; ſo far, as to be able (by tradition) to keep their charge upright, in all things tending to Godlineſs and honeſty; *according to thoſe things which they had learned, and received, and heard, and ſeen in him.* He, in remitting Churches for the reſt, to be inſtructed by thoſe their guides he himſelf had inſtructed, did follow the example of our Saviour himſelf herein: who for that *ſpace of fourty dayes* (he was on earth after his reſurrection) *directed his Apoſtles in things pertaining to the Kingdome of God*, or government of the Church. Nor can we finde any of them undertaking, as before noted, to compriſe all the particulars of Theology, at ſuch time as they write thoſe their moſt general Epiſtles, which were for all mens direction: but kept them (as we may preſume) to be delivered to the heads of Churches (amongſt other things) by tradition, and ſo made uſe of according to the emergencies of their ſeveral Charges. But yet the fundamentals of Chriſtianity, were in all their Epiſtles and Sermons moſt plainly delivered: the leaſt and ſhorteſt Epiſtle containing in it the doctrine of faith in Chriſt, & love to one another: and alſo of obedience to ſuperiours, our neceſſary guide in performance of them both. Verſ. 9. Acts 1. 3.

And that Saint *Pauls* directions in other matters given to the particular Churches, contained neither all expreſly that was neceſſary for them to do, nor what was ſo generally fit and proper for all Churches as that to whom it was directed (being to others in moſt things onely uſefull upon occaſions as preſidents) will appear, in that Saint *Paul* writing a particular ſhort Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, refers them for their knowledge of what is farther uſeful, unto his Epiſtle written unto the *Laodiceans*: willing them that when this Epiſtle is read of you, *You cauſe it to be read of the Laodiceans alſo: and that you likewiſe read the Epiſtle from Laodicea*. Which two Epiſtles, being reciprocally recommended to thoſe particular Churches, as of proper directions for them; and the Epiſtle to the *Laodiceans* being now wanting; it muſt follow, that both the fundamentals were ſet down in all and each of them, and that other admonitions were by the Apoſtles given upon ſeveral occaſions and conſiderations: which becauſe they did as heads of Churches then themſelves, ſo, by them making a diſtinction in each Church, of ſuch as were to rule and inſtruct, from the reſt of the Church; and that under the notion of ſuch as ſhould take thoſe Epiſtles to be read, and ſuch as were to hear them read) we may alſo infer, that though he made the general direction of his Epiſtles to the whole Church, it was but to make their duty of obedience Col. 4. 16.

higher, when their guides ſhould command them. And ſo alſo, when he is ſetting downe general heads for the particular abearance of men in each order, it is not his meaning to ſubmit them to their private interpretation of what in them was their duty to perform as Subjects, (and ſo conſequently leave it to their choice whether they would perform any thing of them or no) but to lay on men a ſtronger obligation to the obedience of their ſuperiours commands; ſince they now finde them to have theſe general divine directions to that purpoſe.

To manifeſt that theſe duties of external Chriſtian behaviour, were indiſputably referred to each Chriſtian head of the Church, and that all in that kind neceſſary was not ſet down in the Scripture, appears in that Saint *Paul* writing more plentifully to the *Corinthians* hereof then to any other Church, doth not yet profeſs to have ſet down all that was neceſſary: but having, as he conceived, ſet down what was expedient for them according to the preſent occaſion, he concludes, *And the reſt will I ſet in order when I come.* Thereby making a plain difference, between his power in thoſe things he was to command them as an head of the Church (in order to their duty of obedience) and thoſe fundamentals of faith and love, which he was to preach to them as an Evangeliſt; or a difference in what he did as a general preacher of the Goſpel, and what he did as their Apoſtle and Teacher: even as one that particularly had authority over them as Chriſts Ambaſſadour, and as being their father in the Faith.

1 Cor. 11. 34.

And that Scripture, and the interpretation and enforcement of the precepts thereof, was committed to the guidance and care of the heads of the Churches (even under the Goſpel alſo) appears by Saint *Pauls* commending them unto *Timothy*: to the end that he, as a guide to the Church, might make them *profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for inſtruction in righteouſneſs; that the man of God* (or the man having Gods authority) *may be perfect, throughly furniſhed unto all good works*: that is, have ſufficient light and authority to command and direct unto all good works. And that this power did belong to *Timothy* as their preſent guide, is made moſt evident from the uſes there ſet down, all of them belonging to the office of the Superiour: Namely to teach, to reproove, to corect, to inſtruct: neceſſarily implying the charge of the Scriptures to be committed to thoſe in authority that were to be eminently active herein; that the man of God, or the chief Officer in Gods ſtead (like *Timothy*) may *know how to behave himſelf in the houſhold of God, the Church; which is the pillar and ground of truth.*

2 Tim. 3. 16.

Verſ. 17.

1 Tim. 3. 15.

And where it is commended, that the men *of Berea ſearched the Scripture, whether the things by Saint Paul alledged were ſo*; it is firſt to be conſidered, that it was before the people had acknowledged Saint *Paul* their guide: and ſo not bound to ſubmit themſelves, as to one that did watch for their ſouls. And then this ſearching muſt not be conſtrued, as if every man had done it in a Bible apart; but they being a Synagogue of the Jewes, the Scripture muſt be ſuppoſed remaining with the chief thereof onely; who are to be underſtood the ſearchers and examiners thereof. In whoſe ſearch the reſt of the *Bereans* truſting, it made the ſearch go in the name of the whole. In effect, ſtill prooving, that the interpretation and cuſtody of Scripture was not common, but belonged to thoſe that were to exerciſe, and not ſuch as were to ſubmit to authority.

Acts 17. 11.

And that the Scriptures charge and cuſtody was entruſted unto the heads

of

of Churches, and not vulgarly diſperſed in copies, may appear by our not having at this day, any aſſurance of the language ſome of the Goſpels and Epiſtles were written in: nor have we any Hebrew copy that we now can relye upon. And all, becauſe the firſt copy coming to be afterwards tranſlated into that language the people beſt underſtood, it cauſed the care of the ſingle original to be neglected; or in time of perſecution to be loſt by the traditors of thoſe times: whereas, had each one, or many men had their diſtinct copies, ſuch a total loſſe could not have happened. And although it may be well thought, that the gift of tongues might have enabled ſuch of the holy penmen as wanted natural learning, to deliver themſelves notwithſtanding in Greek, yet this cannot make it ſuppoſable that all of them (the Epiſtles eſpecially) were ſo written originally; becauſe their addreſs is not to the Grecians or Gentiles: And that Epiſtle to the Hebrews and thoſe of Saint *Peter*, and Saint *Iames*, &c. muſt imply them to be written in that language, which was beſt underſtood by thoſe they were addreſſed unto; and who were to be directed by him. Elſe it were to ſuppoſe a miracle wrought to a wrong end; even that which Saint *Paul* doth elſwhere diſlike; namely the *ſpeaking in an unknown tongue*; by which he means (no doubt) a tongue unknown to the Auditors. In which reſpect, to ſpeak or write in Greek, to them that underſtood not the language, renders the Writer a Barbarian to the Auditor, as well as the Auditor one to him. 1 Cor. 14.

Upon which grounds, I do believe (againſt them that doubt) that the Goſpel of Saint *Matthew*, was (like the other Goſpels) written in Greek; and that becauſe its general addreſs did require it to be ſet forth in that language which was moſt generally underſtood: but for ſome of the Epiſtles, I cannot be ſo perſwaded. And if that firſt exerciſed gift of tongues be marked, we ſhall finde thoſe endewed therewith, ſpeaking to every Auditour in his owne language. And although queſtion be made, whether thoſe auditours of divers nations, might not at the ſame time have been endewed with the miraculous gift of interpreting and underſtanding a ſtrange tongue (to avoyd a greater difficulty of ſuppoſing all of them ſpeaking at once, or any one ſpeaking ſeveral tongues at once (the which Saint *Peters* after-ſpeaking alone may give countenance unto) yet it will plainly appear, that, as that gift of tongues was then uſed to edification and to be underſtood, even ſo afterwards (no doubt) the penmen of holy Scripture made uſe of the ſame, upon the like uſeful occaſions, and none other. Act. 2. 14.

And as for Authors quotation of Scripture texts in this language onely, (none beginning to write till theſe books had been by the Church all collected into one volume, and ſo put into that one moſt intelligible language) it proves no more their writing at firſt in the Greek, then our Saviours and others quotations of the Greek tranſlation of the *Septuagint* proves the old Teſtament to have been written in that language alſo.

Not that we would be underſtood (by what hath bin ſpoken) as forbidding the publike knowledg of the Scriptures: for even the ſame reaſon that makes them chiefly to be truſted to the Church and its head, namly to know the better how to govern all others under them, will, in that regard alſo, make them uſeful to Fathers, Maſters, and many of the Subjects themſelves: who by their offices and callings, ſhall have things or perſons under their power and government. In both which reſpects, if they come not occaſionally to concern every one, as he may have his Neighbors good or ill under his truſt and

power,

power, (even in cases remitted by his Superiour) yet will they concern every one in their general precepts to patience, humility, obedience, *&c.* which (as the proper and necessary vertues of Subjects, and which must constitute government) are fit for the notice of all in general; without exception of the Prince himself: who, as, under the power of God almighty, must submit in a far higher degree, then his Subjects can to him.

The knowledge of which, and other necessary duties, fit to direct us in our charitable abearances, whither in acting upon, or suffering from one another, may also afford sufficient reason why there should be many precepts of all sorts of duties, and concerning all sorts of people, promiscuously set down in the New Testament; notwithstanding that Gods immediate rule was to be inward: even for that our Saviour and his Apostles, having charge and guidance of souls under them, it was needful (for their good deportment sake) that they should leave to them, and unto such as should succeed in the Christian Churches, (besides the fundamentals) such farther precepts and directions, as might keep them in a steady course of Charity and peace one towards another; when they found their duties set forth by so good authority.

For want of due regard whereof, and of that different respect which the Scriptures do carry in their instructions, and for want of that necessary and truly Christian grace of humility, instead of learning and practicing those more proper duties which concern us in our distinct callings and relations (for which onely we stand accomptable before God), we are through pride and partiality too often found to be studious and inquisitive after so much onely as doth concern others, in theirs even such as are above us; for whose faults we are not to answer, that (thereupon) we may appear more fit to teach, then be taught, to govern then be governed. And this is not onely practised in the more civil relation of Subjects or Servants against their Prince or Master, but through this misused liberty, a general usurpation is almost every where now made, for interpreting Scripture against the sence, and authority of the whole Church, and of our more spiritual guides therein, to whose charge they are most particularly entrusted; from which preposterous proceeding what can be expected, but what sad experience doth witness, even Heresie, Schisme, disorder, and civil broyles, to the scandal of Christian religion it self.

But now, when we finde, the persons in authority to be expressed in the plural number, as *Those that have the guide over you, those that must give an account for your souls*, &c. or else our obedience directed to the Church in general; we are to understand thereby, the head of each Church to be chiefly meant. In which respect, as there were many distinct Churches, and thereupon also many heads, (as before shewed) so the Apostle might, in his general admonitions to obedience, put them in the plural number of *those* and *them*. And, as in this sence we are to understand that precept of *tell it to the Church*, namely to the judiciary head thereof, so also are we to interpret and apply the power of the keyes, and of binding and loosing, to be given to the Churches head, and not the diffused body: which can never in all its members meet, nor can otherwise then by their head hear and determine.

Mat. 18. 17.

Vers. 18.

And hereupon, we shall finde this power to be expresly given to the Apostles in Saint *John*: where Christ is saying to them, *As my Father sent me, even so send I you*; thereby giving them authority over their particular Churches

John 20. 21.

and

and truſts. By which means, as he had formerly anſwered *that the Son of man had power on earth to forgive ſins.* So theſe ſons of men alſo may without Blaſphemy (in their meaſure) uſe it, by the vertue of his authority who ſaid, *whoſe ſins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whoſe ſins ye retain they are retained.* Whereupon we may collect, that as the power of the keyes is originally in Chriſt the Churches univerſal head, and was by him given to the heads of Churches onely, ſo it can be in the whole Church or in its ſubordinate members, no otherwiſe then as received from their head: according to that of Saint *Paul, When ye are met together and my Spirit*, &c. And therefore, to make it farther evident that the heads of Churches are to be underſtood in the direction of *tell it to the Church*, we are to denote that the power of the keyes in the next verſe, was directed to the Apoſtles in the word *ye*: when it was ſaid, *Whatſoever ye bind on earth, ſhall be bound in heaven; and whatſoever ye looſe on earth, ſhall be looſed in heaven*; for unto them was moſt of this chapter directed: the which was the reaſon of Saint *Peters* interrogating him preſently hereupon, *How oft ſhall my brother offend?* &c.

Luke 5. 6.
John 20. 23.
1 Cor. 5. 4.
Mat. 18. 18.
Verſe 21.

This power, comonly called the power of the keyes, and by the Romaniſts appropriate to the chief of that Sea only, is that divine obſignation of Chriſtian authority and precept: whereby thoſe laws and edicts of him that ſitteth in the ſeat of judgment, as the head of each Church, that were but civilly or morally criminal in their own nature, and obnoxious to temporal wrath onely for their breach, come now to be ſinful and damnable; as being violations againſt God and the heavenly thrown it ſelf, by whom they are impowred, and whoſe authority they do repreſent: according to that ſentence to be given at the laſt day, *inaſmuch as ye have, or have not done it, &c.*

Mat. 25 40, 45.

Upon which grounds, we may know what to conceive of that article of our Creed, *I believe the holy Catholike Church*: which ſome would wreſt, and make uſe of to draw mens obedience which way they pleaſed, by propoſing unto us what they pleaſed for Catholike doctrine. But we are to conceive, that this primitive form of profeſſion of Chriſtian faith (therefore called the Apoſtles Creed) was offered *to*, and taken *by* ſuch as were to be admitted into the Chriſtian Church, to ſhew and ſtate their beliefe before their admittance; and not to direct their obedience afterwards. For, although to believe in God, in Chriſt, in the holy Ghoſt, do, together with the acknowledgement of their deity, draw on obedience by juſt conſequence, yet was this form of profeſſion of faith (therefore called the Creed) made but to denote their beliefe of their true exiſtence: by which means being received into the Church, their obedience was thence to be learnt. For ſtrange it had been, for the Church to have propoſed to men the matter of obedience *to* any, of whom as yet they had no beliefe *in*.

And therefore, when I profeſs to believe *the holy Catholike Church*, the word *holy* will make it unconceiveable how it ſhould directly import my profeſſion of obedience: and that, not onely becauſe the Catholike Church or Chriſts univerſal body, cannot (as before noted) be ever comprehended under one notion and conception, ſo as to be definitive to me concerning their determinations, but alſo, becauſe I can never rightly ſay of the preſent, or paſt militant Church to whom I ſeek for direction, that they are all holy: nor can men that live in a particular Church, be ordinarily able to know what is, and what is not Catholike doctrine, beſides that which it propoſeth.

Whereupon

Whereupon underſtanding our belief in, or of the holy Catholike Church, to import our beliefe that Chriſt hath a true ſanctified body, which being ſo made by means of the holy Ghoſt in the article foregoing, comes through their union in Chriſt and his Spirit, to be of one communion from the reſt of the world; and ſo to be *the Communion of Saints*, as in the article following.

So that then, although the Creed (as a Creed) cannot of it ſelf oblige to obedience, yet ſince the beliefe of the articles thereof, do by conſequent bring men to Chriſts Church, and, out of deſire to attain *that Communion of Saints*, doth alſo farther prompt me to acts of obedience to that Church to whom I made this profeſſion; it will therefore follow, that that obedience which I cannot give to the Catholick Church, as ſuch, muſt be (to this end) given to that part of it under which I live: ſince that I cannot otherwiſe obey the Catholike, then by obeying the particular.

All which will be cleared by one inſtance of Saint *Pauls*: who (as the preſent head of that Church) gives liberty to the Corinthians in eating of
1 Cor. 8. 8: *things offered to Idols*; notwithſtanding that the then Catholike repreſentative
Acts 15. 28. Church at Jeruſalem (and he himſelf amongſt them) had decreed otherwiſe. Clearly evincing, that the power of binding and looſing, was to reſide in each Churches own head; and that they were to perform their obedience to the ſame party by whom they had learned their Creed; who had been their
1 Cor. 4. 15. ſpiritual father, and *begotten them in Chriſt*.

And that this power of the keyes, was not given to the Apoſtles onely as a collective body of Church heads, and ſo to the Catholike Church onely, but was alſo conferred upon the particular heads of the Churches, appears in
Mat. 16. 19. that it was upon occaſion particularly given to Saint *Peter*: ſo that, whatſoever head or chief governour; ſhould (like him) acknowledge Chriſt to be the true ſpiritual foundation and rock, he ſhould from Chriſt have power alſo to be herein a rock to others, and to bind and looſe. And both places muſt contradiſtinguiſh the perſons binding, from thoſe that ſhall be ſo bound; and the perſons telling, and complaining to the Church, from thoſe that are to hear and have power of redreſs.

And as they were in one place ſpoken to Saint *Peter* alone, to declare againſt conſiſtorial parity: ſo were they elſewhere given joyntly to all the Apoſtles (the then viſible heads of Churches) to abate Popiſh uſurpation. For they were not to be commanding one another, out of their Churches, as they might thoſe within them; which was forbidden them in the perſons of *Zebedees* Children: But in thoſe equalities, they were (in love) *to ſerve one ano-*
Gal. 5 13. *ther*: and in this their parity obeying the precept of *ſubmit your ſelves one to*
Eph. 5. 21: *another*, he that ſhould do it moſt (and thereupon become a *Miniſter and*
Mat. 20. 26, 27. *Servant to his fellows*) will even thereby make himſelf *chief among them*. By which means, being *converted and become as little Children, they ſhall then be*
Mat. 18. 3, 4. *greateſt in the kingdome of heaven*: or have great and kingly power in the Church, from the power of Chriſt that hath taken them into the arms of his
Mark 9. 36. acknowledgement. From whence it will again follow, that *Who ſo ſhall re-*
Mat. 18. 5. *ceive one ſuch little Child in my name, receiveth me*: that is, in hearing and obeying him, he ſhal hear and obey me; but *Who ſo ſhall offend one of theſe little*
Mat. 18. 6. *ones which believe in me, it were better a milſtone were hanged about his neck, and he were drowned in the depth of the ſea.*

As there is a diſtinction of *the greateſt in the kingdom of heaven*, verſe 4

to

to note that these things could not be spoken of Christians universally (for then received and receiving should be confounded and still the same) so to shew it could not be meant of many in each Kingdom or Church that should by us be thus received, it follows in the singular number in the fifth verse, *Who so shall receive one*; and so in the sixth verse, *Who so shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me*, &c. By which last expression of believe in me, as we finde children in the litteral sence excluded, so may we finde our obedience to Christ, to be unquestionably due to such our rightful Superiours as are Christians and believing on him.

But because Christ himself had formerly foreseen, that our owne natural pride and lusts would ordinarily draw us, both to Antichristian disobedience against our Superiours, and unto neglect of the dutyes of love and charity to our neighbours; it was the occasion of his expressions that *he came to send fire on earth, and that he came not to send peace*, &c. For in that consideration, he here saith that *it must needs be that offences must come*; but then, he also gives a *wo to them by whom the offence cometh*: and admonisheth, that it were better to cast from us those lusts and enticements hereunto, although they be as deer to us as our owne hands or eyes, then we should be in danger *of hell, by dispising one of these little ones*; who were by office, to prevent and decide those offences and breaches of charity, which our lusts should produce. And that, because they having charge of flocks committed unto them from Christ, *who came to save that which was lost*: so it was also their duty, to regard the strayings of every particular sheep in their foulds: and it came thereupon *to be the will of God, that none of these little ones should perish*: that is, perish by violence and insurrection.

Mar. 10. 34. Mat. 18. 7. Verse 10. Verse 14.

The farther proof, that these phrases of *little* and *least*, were parabolically meant of persons to be substituted in Christs power, appears in that (through all the three forementioned Evangelists) the immediate following discourses do set out unto us the plain description of some persons by Christ in that sort owned. Saint *Mark* and Saint *Luke* do it as of one that had no direct mission from him, who yet is by Christ owned, because he did his works of power in his name: and owned also according to Saint *Marke*, under the same expression for obedience, as he had formerly set downe to the *little Children*, viz. *whosoever shall offend*, &c. Nay Saint *Mark* takes in that discourse of him that acted in Christs name and authority so, as he intermingles it with the description of these *little ones* as all one. And to ascertain us that by them he intended his Disciples, and his succeeding deputyes, he directs his speech of receipt to them directly: *Whosoever shall give you a Cup of water to drinke in my name because ye belong to Christ, Verily I say unto you he shall not lose his reward*: and *whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me*, &c. by that means making them and these little ones all one.

Mar. 9. 42. Mark 9. 41. Verse 42.

As for Saint *Matthew*, he sets downe the description of the Apostles power of the keyes immediately after the discourse of these *little ones*: so that, by setting downe the chief mark of the power of the Churches head next, we have farther instruction that both discourses belong to the same person.

Our Saviour, in setting downe the office of the Churches heads under these notions of *little ones*, and *little Children*, and of defining their duty of humility answerable thereunto, might have allusion unto the like manner of expressions used by his typical Father *David*, who was usually personated as

the Churches head: as we find it expreſſed in the 131 *Pſalm*, ſaying, *My heart is not haughty*, &c. and again, *ſurely I have behaved and quieted my ſelf as a child that is weaned of his Mother, my ſoul is even as a weaned child.* And as thus he anſwers for his mind and inward behaviour, ſo is it to be noted that himſelf (as the Paragon king) was in his perſon very little: whereas his predeceſſour *Saul*, was not onely haughty, but alſo higher then others by the ſhoulders; and ſo not ſo fit as *David*, to be one of theſe little ones by our Saviour ſpoken of. And indeed this caveat for humility, given by our Saviour to ſuch as were to ſucceed as heads and guides in the Chriſtian Church, is but the ſame in effect that was given in the Jewiſh Church to be put in practiſe by their Kings: *that his heart be not lift up above his brethren.*

Pſal. 131. 1. Verſe 2.

Deut. 17. 20.

And although our Saviour do thus ſet downe obedience to the Church heads under the notion of little ones, to take off occaſion of their pride; yet that he intended ſuch perſons as ſhould be in greater charge then ordinary, appears notably by his telling us (by way of terror) of their power: namely, *that in heaven their Angels do always behold the face of God*: that is, they have in regard of their great truſt amongſt us, their eminent guardian Angels appointed. By which we may know how to interpret Saint *Paul*, concerning *the Angels which ſhould be judged* at the laſt Judgement: that is, that ſuch of them as had been more particularly truſted with the guardianſhip of particular Churches, ſhould give accompt thereof to theſe that had formerly been heads of Churches themſelves; as to the Apoſtles and the like.

Mat. 18. 10.

1 Cor. 6. 3.

And that we were to diſtinguiſh theſe little ones, or the Churches rulers here ſpoken of, from her other members (commonly called Children, but without the addition of *little*) will farther appear by the obſervation of what was ſpoken of before. For unleſs we ſo conſtrue them, I ſee not how that diſcourſe can be direct, in anſwer to the Diſciples queſtion, of who ſhall be greateſt, that is, whom he would make governor over the reſt: which is in three places done. And although he deny them this power over one another, yet doth he not theirs, or others having it over ordinary Church-members: upon condition they muſt be converted from pride, and become humble and little before God.

And by the word little thus received, may we interpret that ſpeech of our Saviours concerning *Iohn* the Baptiſt: *He that is leaſt in the Kingdome of heaven is greater then he.* For as by the kingdome of heaven we are to underſtand the Church, (becauſe in heaven it ſelf every one ſhall not be greater then he) ſo are we not to underſtand that every one here, either, ſhould exceed in greatneſs him that *was the greateſt of thoſe which were born of women*: but becauſe *theſe little ones, or theſe leaſt in the Kingdome of heaven*, have (as elſewhere ſhewed) received from Chriſt the honour and truſt of binding and looſing, (which *Iohn* had not) therefore were they *greater then he.*

Mat. 11. 11.

Ibidem.

Ibidem.

And ſo again, when Chriſt brings in himſelf ſpeaking at the laſt judgement, he uſeth the like expreſſions: *Inaſmuch as ye have done it, or not done it unto one of the leaſt of theſe my brethren, ye have done it, or not done it unto me.* By one of the leaſt, we are to underſtand ſuch a ſingle perſon to be meant, as more eminently repreſenting Chriſt, may (through obedience to him in Chriſts ſtead) make charity extenſive and uſeful to all occaſions; and not think that Chriſt made that charity beſt which was done but to any one ordinary man: or that the particular works there mentioned were all that needed. But rather, that here (as elſewhere) theſe additions of leaſt and little

Mat. 25. 40, 45

are

are added in the ſingular number to *Children and Brethren*, that, (together with the diſtinction of them from other children and brethren) he might both ſet forth that extraordinary humility that ſhould be in all governours, and might alſo relate litterally to that mean eſtate of his Diſciples, the Churches preſent governours: who being probably to be moſt perſecuted of any other, therefore are thoſe inſtances of charity brought in which become men in that condition.

That theſe Epithetes of *little* and *leaſt* (when added to children) do both ſignifie perſons ſubſtituted in Chriſts authority, and was alſo given to teach humility and love (eſpecially one toward another) will laſtly appear by thoſe paſſages diſcribed by the other Evangeliſt Saint *Iohn*: becauſe ſpoken while Chriſt is deligating his Apoſtles, as is related in the 13 chapter and afterward. For in theſe chapters his ſpeech of *little children*, cannot be taken otherwiſe then as a proper addreſs to them. By which, and by that fact of waſhing their feet, we may finde how deſirous he is, that that great power he had given them, ſhould not exalt them above one another: but make them ready (by that his example) to do all loving offices one towards another: ſince none of them could be ſo great over one another, as he that had ſo done, was over them all. Johu 13. 33.

But although here, as elſewhere, he is moſt copious in putting them in mind of that duty of meekneſs and humility which becometh their large power; yet that a great power was delegated unto them, appeares in the beginning of the Chapter. *Now when Ieſus knew that his hour was come, that he ſhould depart out of this world unto the Father*: that is, knowing he himſelf could be no longer the living light or guide of the world, he therefore thought now time to delegate his own which were in the world, and whom for that ſervice he had choſen out of the world. And *therefore Jeſus knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he was come from God, and went to God*: that is, knowing he had finiſhed the work he had to do, and being to return to him that gave him this miſſion and authority, he then thinks it time to take care of his Churches charge in his abſence, and to go on with his miſſion of others in his name, as he had been before ſent in his fathers name. This in the other Evangeliſts, runs, *As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you: and whoſoever heareth you, heareth me*, and the like; but this beloved Diſciple, (after his uſual manner) coucheth all under the notion of love. And therefore their power or miſſion is amongſt other things parabolically ſet downe: As my *Father hath loved me, ſo have I loved you; continue in my love*: that is, as I have power had from God the Father, as his beloved ſon, ſo ſhall you from me, as my beloved Diſciples. And this his deputation or miſſion thus given them, he more clearly expreſſeth in his prayer: *As thou haſt ſent me into the world, even ſo have I alſo ſent them into the world.* Verſe 1. Ibidem. chap. 15. 19. chap. 13. 3. John 16. 23. chap. 15. 9. chap. 17. 18.

All which, and other conſiderations before ſpoken of, (in confirming the Churches power under her owne Miniſters) ſhould methinks be ſufficient to ſtop the haſte of ſuch, as do ſo headily obtrude their owne private interpretation of Scripture againſt that which is publike, and made by lawful authority. For unleſs they can make ſome extraordinary miſſion appear, whereby God hath ſomething to ſay by them, not ſaid before; why ſhould men be ſo beguiled, as to think them not ſubject to like paſſions and infirmities with thoſe that have the interpretation of Gods word already? And truly, their crying out for obedience to Gods word onely, and yet propoſing

it as ſuch, when guided according to their ſence onely, imports none other, then an ayme thereby to engroſs all honour and authority to themſelves only.

And therefore, that command appears at this time extreamly neceſſary; to *put them in mind to be ſubject to principalities and powers, to obey Magiſtrates,* Tit. 3. 1. *to be ready to every good work, to ſpeak evil of no man, to be no brawlers, but gen-* Verſe 2. *tle, ſhewing meekneſs to all men.* And a greater truth cannot be ſpoken, nor a more ſeaſonable admonition given, then to *mark them that cauſe diviſions and* Rom. 16. 17. *offences, contrary to the doctrine which they have learned, and to avoid them: for they that are ſuch, ſerve not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt but their owne belly, and* Rom. 16. 18. *by good words and fair ſpeeches deceive the hearts of the ſimple.* For, ſo long as the foundation is not deſtroyed, ſo long as Chriſt is not deceived, but our faith is entire in him; the proſecution of particular ſects, under that of *Paul,* 1 Cor. 3. 3, 4. *Apollo,* or *Cephas*; *and our hatred, varience, emulations, wrath, ſtrife, ſeditions,* Gal. 5. 20, 21. *envyings, murthers, &c. are works of the fleſh, not of the ſpirit: and are becauſe we are carnal and walk as men.* But yet, becauſe we are to know, that it is not faith alone that is our duty, and can ſecure our ſalvation, but faith and Jam. 2. love, or *faith that worketh holy love*; we will now ſpeak more fully of that Gal. 5. 6. grace of love or charity which muſt be joyned to keep us innocent; and alſo of that other grace of obedience, which is requiſite to make charity effectual.

CHAP. VII.

Of love and obedience, and of our ſtate of innocence thereby.

TO be ſenſible of good or happineſs is to be living, and to be the more hereof ſenſible is to be more living. For as there is a poſitive dignity by ſenſation it ſelf, that is, of ſenſitive above Inanimates, ſo is there a comparative exellence therein again, ariſing from degrees thereof. Whereby each thing ſtands in degree of happineſs and excellence differenced, by that degree of vigour and intenſneſs in apprehenſion, and alſo by degree of ſteadineſs and continuance in poſſeſſion.

Now as experience in the natural courſe of things doth inform, that in all progreſſion there muſt be a perfection and ſummety, ſo in this caſe eſpecially: where perfection of degrees muſt alſo ariſe from perfection of parts: even from that more inward and lively ſence of happineſs and fruition, which the contemplations of its own inherent worth muſt conſtantly afford. For as it is unconceivable how there could be a progreſſion in dignity without coming to an acme and perfection, ſo alſo is it not imaginable that this perfection can be in any leſs degree therein ſtated, then to be cauſally and originally ſo: becauſe if this happineſs or the ſence thereof ſhould depend on the enjoyment of foraign objects and helps (as in man) then, for want of an original of life and perfection, all derivatives muſt ceaſe alſo.

From all which as we may conclude the being of a deity from the neceſſary progreſſion of life & well being, ſo alſo muſt we conclude that nothing under

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God Almighty can be perfectly happy. For as in him alone an abſolute perfection of eſſence can always be found, ſo it muſt be to him alwayes ſo clearly perceptible and known, as to fill himſelf with ſuch full acquieſcence and delight, that, with due regard to his omnipotency, no foraigne want or fear can be ſuppoſed any wayes available to impoveriſh or delete that impreſſion, which the viſion and contemplation of the beatifical glory of himſelf muſt, from eternity, make within himſelf.

When we contemplate our ſelves, or our own happineſs or perfection, there being many things obſervable more perfect and happy then we, and through diverſion of other objects engaging us to farther hope or fear, and through weakneſs of comprehenſion and underſtanding, being alwayes ready to be ſo diverted and foyled in our contemplations, it is not to be expected that this unſteady and weak conſideration of an object ſo unworthy as our ſelves, made within our ſelves, ſhould leave any ſuch noble and firm character there, as to fill and ſettle us with any degree of acquieſcence and delight, or to bring it to an exiſtent perfection. Whereas, in God, that could never be but perfect, and alſo knowingly and delightedly ſo, that reſemblance of himſelf which muſt from eternity have conception & being in himſelf, muſt be ſuppoſed even naturally generating the like exiſtence and continuance of ſuch another ſelf, under the relation of a Son. For all cauſe of extinction or abatement being taken away, that which was from eternity thus naturally begotten, muſt be to eternity thus neceſſary continued.

And eaſily it may be conceived, that were any one ſtated in ſuch an unchangeable degree of eſſential perfection in himſelf, as to have all perfection there centred and confined; and then to be endued with ſuch high and ſteady degree of underſtanding and comprehenſion, as to be hereof alwayes ſenſible, and herewith alwayes delighted; and then laſtly, ſuppoſing this perſon to be alwayes accompanied with omnipotency too, then, as nothing could hinder him from his continual enjoyment of himſelf, ſo alſo cannot any cauſe of change be conceived; whereby that which was thus lively impreſſed, ſhould not have like continuance and ſelf exiſtence alſo.

A ſtrong confirmation and help to our conceipts in theſe things may be taken from our ſelves: who conſtantly and naturally (as ſhewing whence we derived it) are moved in the love and delight we take to any object, according to that impreſs or conception which is inwardly entertained of them; and experience telling us that the fruition doth never anſwer the expectation; becauſe it comes alwaies ſhort of the perfection of the *Idea*, it doth prove that that degree of delight ariſeth from degree of excellence of the object in it ſelf, and from degree of inward perception thereof. In us, as all knowledge is admitted by degrees at the dores of the ſences, according to ſuch feeble repreſentations as the weakneſs of the ſences themſelves and the unworthineſs of created objects will afford, It is no wonder if, by reaſon of ſo large diſparity, ſuch unſteady and unaffecting impreſſions do remain, in compariſon of what we may conceive to be where all theſe defects are taken off: eſpecially ſince, by this foraign way of knowledge (to wit by ſence) we are not able to know or apprehend truly our ſelves, as the divine eſſence is, by means of continual preſence and intuition: and ſo beget, and be poſſeſſed with a continual ſelf-love, which is the ſtrongeſt impreſſion and delight that may be.

As thus to the manner, ſo, to the meaſure of the generation, it will follow, that as this infinite comprehenſion of God, ſtood entirely implyed in the contem-

templation of that full beauty, glory, and perfection of his whole eſſence, ſo muſt the perſon hereby generated be equally God alſo: for where the worker and the ſubſtance wrought upon are the ſame, what is thereby wrought muſt be the ſame too.

Now, as it a natural and neceſſary property of every inteligent and voluntary agent to be to it ſelf regardful in the firſt place, and to other things as they ſtand thereto like and relating, which we call love, ſo, in this caſe, that perfect ſimilitude and eſſential ſame-neſs which muſt cauſe the Father and Son with high and continual entercourſe off affection to be perpetually beholding each other, muſt, as proceeding from, and beſtowed upon perſons of ſuch omnipotency and dignity, produce alſo a third like perſonal exiſtence; even that of the holy Ghoſt. Becauſe (as before ſaid) where the ſubject wrought upon and the worker are both God, that which proceedeth there from muſt be God alſo; very God of very God.

As thus for the coequality of Son and holy Ghoſt, ſo for their coeternity: ſince that perfection of the divine eſſence muſt from the very firſt be, and be by it ſelf conceived, and alſo loved, it muſt follow that theſe two preſons muſt be alſo as much without begining as the other. For although, with us, that have our beings and conceptions imperfect and depending upon foraign helps, and by reaſon that our knowledge was by degrees attained from obſervation of figurate and materjal bodies as they ſtand limitted in time and place of operations, it is not to be imagined that any perfect conception ſhould be made in us of a ſubſtance ſo ſpiritual and ſublime, much leſs any ſuch rational deffinition or diſcourſe made for the ſatisfaction of others of a ſubſtance tranſcending the ſimilitude and compariſon of any other, therefore the beſt expreſſions of himſelf is from himſelf, ſaying, *I am that I am*: yet, were all theſe impediments taken off, we may conceive being and well being to be eternally the ſame; and that omniſcience ſhould neceſſarily ariſe from, and accompany omnipreſence; and that again, being inſeparably accompanied with omnipotence, it muſt follow, that to be, and to know, and to will, and to act, are all the ſame in him, that could never be devided into parts in himſelf, nor circumſcribed nor limitted by any other, in time, place, or meaſure, of energy; whereby, as to theſe perſonal relations, he ſhould not be from, and continue to eternity the ſame that now he is: that is, not onely be really the ſame *three*, but, by this divers manner of exiſtence of theſe three *ones* in the ſame one ſubſtance, we may, through their union amongſt themſelves, conceive deity it ſelf to be more fixed and ſetled in unity or one-neſs then it would be otherwiſe.

From the obſervation of the manner of exiſtence and working of any thing objected to humane ſence, where agent and patient ſtand circumſcribed and limitted by the laws of matter, it muſt be very heard to deduce any ſatisfactory conception how theſe things ſhould be brought to paſs. It muſt needs be hard for us to apprehend how one God ſhould thus be *three*: at the ſame time truly one, as to the Godhead, and truly three, as to the perſons: and this, without diviſion of ſubſtance, or confuſion of pereſons: that he that was begotten ſhould be as ancient as he which did beget him; and againe, that that perſon that had proceſſion from the other two ſhould yet be as much without beginning as either of them. And all, becauſe created bodies being to work according to thoſe rules which nhe Creator did appoint, to the intent that that end which was by him aimed at in the courſe of his

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providence might have a regular and certain effect, it was necessary that they should be ascertained, stated, and limitted, by the laws of number, time, place, *&c.* Forasmuch as, if any one or more of them should not be numerically and separately that very one, or that very number more, a perpetual miscellany and confusion would follow; to the defeating nature in her operations, and to the depriving her of her variety, for want of distinct subsistences and individuals. And should not natural Agents be confined to time and place, whereby that which is now done, or here done, was not at all times, and every where done, it must then fall out, that things thus left at liberty, must work infinitely to the degree of deity: or else, being impeded by the like unconfined operation of others, all must perish by reluctance and disorder: Whereas God, that had thus by number and measure stated and bounded other things, must be looked upon as unlimitted in himself by those limitations which he puts upon others. That unity, that moment, that point, from whose simpleness the numbers, times, proportions, wherewith other things, stand bordered do take their original and derivation (although they were from him, yet) they are not at all afficient on him, he cannot be confined by those confinements he puts on others; but remaines in himself still so much more simple then they, as not to be patible by them. It would be derogatory to him to think him so numerically and determinately *one*, as to say he is but *one*: for that were to say or suppose there were more ones, which this one did not comprehend; and so, he not the whole and incomprehensible *one*. No, he is one, as being all: his oneness is from his allness; his unity from his ubiquity. Not seperately and singly one as in relation to another, but as comprehending all things else, he is totally and universally one, and that, without confinement of time or place.

But however there be coequality and coeternity amongst those three, as considered in themselves, and in relation to that one divine substance whereof they are possessed, and wherein they do unite, yet, as they stand differenced in order amongst themselves according to their relations, so are they, in their emanations and operations upon men and other Creatures, distinguishable by their order of working also. For whatever is done by God the Father, is done in the Son, and through the holy Ghost: who, as last in order, is neerest unto us in the participations of deity here. For that second person in the Trinity, who in his natural and eternal generation, as God, was begotten of God the Father, when he took our nature upon him, and did in it perform the work of our redemption, was then *conceived by the holy Ghost*: by whom also we receive all those spiritual blessings, graces, and favours, which, by means of Christs Mediatorship and merits, are from God the Father to be expected by us, as the earnest of his love in his Son. From whence it comes to pass, that the sin against this person is set downe as unpardonable, as including all the rest: by being a more neer contempt against them all, because none can act alone.

Lastly although by these divers personal subsistencies in the same substance, we may conceive deity, as to inward operations and respects, to be so fully compleated that no farther generation or procession needed (because understanding and will stand hereby always satisfied with adequate objects of truth and good) yet as those incomprehensible rayes of love and glory which before all time were mutually and continually communicated by these three most blessed persons (as coming from omnipotent Agents) could not otherwise

otherwiſe be confined in operation then by their owne good pleaſure, ſo it being the property of glory and goodneſs to be extenſive, and as natural to do good as be good, it came to paſs (in time) that that inward contemplation which was at firſt the generation of him that was the *Image of his Fathers glory*, and thereupon of that love which was from them both proceeding, was, for the farther manifeſtation of the ſame glory, the cauſe of all thoſe effects of his love which appear in the whole creation; and of thoſe ſeveral inferiour participations of divine reſemblance heretofore ſpoken of.

2 Cor. 4. 4.

In the former way of working, the divine ſubſtance it ſelf is wrought upon and communicated; in this, only the attributes thereof are imparted, according to matter newly created. The working of deity in the firſt way, was natural and neceſſary: but in this, voluntary. For the Father could not be ſaid to will to beget the Son; nor could the holy Ghoſt be thought to take voluntary proceſſion from the other two: becauſe none could be ſaid to will that to be done, which at no time was, or could be undone. The cauſe of the operations in the firſt caſe was perfect love, ariſing from perfect ſimilitude; in this, as the ſimilitude was more imperfect, ſo the intercourſe of affection alſo was more properly an expreſſion of charity or gift upon objects of want, then *an ayme at fruition through ſence of likeneſs and ſame-neſs*; the which we may make the definition of love, and thereby ſomewhat difference it from charity: becauſe the one ſeeks to enjoy, the other to beſtow: though uſually they are taken for the ſame, and fall into one another. For that, whoſoever loves is alwayes ready to beſtow, and none was ever bountiful to any thing unloved, or unlike.

In declaration of theſe ſublime miſteries much more might be ſaid: but, when we have ſaid all we can, it is not to be conceived that the feeble brain of man can ever attain any ſteady degree of comprehenſion of that inacceſſible light: it being more eaſy to loſe our reaſon in a curious ſearch, then ſatisfie it in any full diſcovery. And therefore, our ſafeſt courſe is to confeſs we know him not: having indeed no warrantable rule for our direction herein, but what God himſelf, hath of himſelf, in the holy Scripture ſet downe. The which, had it not ſtiled the ſecond perſon the *the Image of the invisible God, the brightneſs of his fathers glory, and the expreſs Image of his perſon*. And ſo leading us to conceive of the proceſſion of the holy Ghoſt, I ſee not how the true perſonal exiſtence of *thoſe three that bear record in heaven* could have been apprehended.

Col. 1. 15.
Heb. 1. 3.
1 John 5. 7.

As for that hypoſtatical union of the two natures in that one perſon of our Saviour (a myſtery alſo neceſſary, in ſome ſort to be comprehended and believed) it is learnedly done by others; eſpecially by the pen of Judicious *Hooker*; and is not to our preſent occaſion ſo proper. But ſo much I thought neceſſary to premiſe in this place, for the better conception of the perſonal ſubſiſtance of deity, by way of ſupply to what was briefly ſpoken of the unity thereof, and its operations, in the entrance of the firſt book; and what ſhall be ſpoken thereof, in the laſt chapter of this book: this being as neceſſary to be known to ſtate us Chriſtians, as that was to remove us from Atheiſm: and alſo for the better underſtanding the original and nature of love it ſelf, whereof we are now to treat. For hence we may perceive how *God himſelf is ſaid to be love*, as being the foundation thereof: and that alſo, *if we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is made perfect in us*. The which is not onely true in the natural ſtate, wherein all creatures had exiſtence and perfecti-

1 John 4. 8.
Verſe 12.

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on from the love of God manifeſted in Chriſt *by whom he made the world*, and had that thereby alſo recourſe back towards God again, by occaſion of thoſe natural propenſions to mutual love and beneficence ſeated in men and other things, by means of that bleſſed ſpirit *which moved upon the waters*; but alſo true in the ſtate of grace and regeneration; wherein God the Father was pleaſed to love men again as in his beloved Son, when they had now loſt that Image and likeneſs wherein they ſtood lovely as his creatures before; even by *the love of God ſhed abroad in our hearts by the holy Ghoſt which is given us*. By whoſe bleſſed influence we are not onely holpen and directed in our love and obedience upward, whereby to meet the God of love more directly (even to the degree of a miracle-working faith where it is ſtrong enough) but alſo ſtand inwardly affected towards the aſſiſting him in his courſe of providence; by love to thoſe his Images now preſent amongſt us: men being not otherwiſe capeable of approving themſelves to be Godly or God-like, then by the expreſſion of this their love according to ſuch rules of obedience as Chriſt himſelf hath appointed, and in Scripture plainly ſet down. For as we are inwardly made preceptive, and participant of this love by the grace of faith, even by having our underſtandings cleared concerning the reallity of God and his goodneſs, and of the communication thereof unto us, of which we have ſpoken in this laſt diſcourſe, ſo again, do we ſtand outwardly confirmed and conformable herein by the grace of obedience; even by ſignal teſtification of our true love to him, by our ready and conformable expreſſion of it according to his direction; of which we ſhall now ſpeak in that which follows.

Heb. 1. 2. Gen. 1. 2. Rom. 5. 5.

As the general praiſe of love is moſt plainly and largly diſcourſed of by Saint *John*, ſo is he moſt of all copious to ſhew how love and charity (being the general precept for Chriſtians) are the fulfilling of the law: and how they ſecure us in a ſtate of innocence. And therefore, commending love to us, he ſaith, *I write no new Commandment unto you, but that which ye have heard from the beginning*: meaning, from Chriſt himſelf, who had ſhewed that this precept of charity or love was (as hath been hitherto ſhewed) the ſum and ſcope *of all the Law and the Prophets*: that is, of thoſe particular precepts ſet down in the Law. Again (ſaith he) *a new Commandment I write unto you, which things is true in him and in you: becauſe the darkneſs is paſt, and the true light ſhineth*. That is, true in him that hath thus rid us of ſtrict legal obſervance, and from the darkneſs and multitude of litteral precepts: and hath enlightened us with ſo much ſupernatural wiſdome, as to ſee this one performance of love to be the ſumm of their meaning: they, without it, not being able to ſtate us innocent: *For he that ſaith he is in the light, and hateth his Brother, is in darkneſs even until now: but he that loveth his brother, abideth in the light, and there is no occaſion of ſtumbling in him*. Which laſt words point plainly to the ſtating of our condition of innocence by love: he concluding all Chriſtian foundation and commandment in theſe words; *That we ſhould believe in the name of Chriſt Jeſus, and love one another*.

1 John 2. 7. Matth. 22. 40. 1 John 2. 8. Verſe 9. Verſe. 10. Chap. 3 23.

And therefore is this Goſpel ſingle light, hinted unto us as a *ſingle eye, which enlighteneth the whole body*. This ſtate of innocence through love, may be alſo compared unto the *ſtrait Gate*: both for its ſingleneſs of precept, (in regard of thoſe many precepts formerly given us) and for its difficulty too: as for loving of Enemies and the like. This is that *wedding garment*, which whilſt we have on, we need not doubt our ſelves true members of, and

Mat. 6. 22.

truly fitted for Christs Church and kingdome: but if wanting it, we are then to be rejected and cast out. For without this roab of charity, we shall be ready to devide this his kingdome against it self, by breach of peace and order; this being the *leaven* that must season all we do. This is that *rock*, on which we founding our Christian duties, through faith in Christ, they shall stand unmoveable against the stormes and tempests of the world: whereas else, *prophesie, miracles, mighty works*, though *done in Christs name*, and with never so religious pretences, shall not make him owne us, without its being their ground work. And to this purpose he saith, *If ye keep my Commandments ye shall abide in my love, even as I have kept my Fathers Commandments and abide in his love*: and then he ads, *this is my Commandment that ye love one another, as I have loved you.* And least any one should think, that this Commandment was but a single precept, and not general, and including all the rest of his Commandments, he farther adds; *these things I Commanded you, that ye love one another.* Where the command of love is put in the plural number, as the sum of all the Commands we are to keep, as truly his. So that then, no love to Christ without keeping his Commandments: no keeping his Commandments without loving one another. For as Christ, in his actions, stood *excepted from sin*, notwithstanding his likeness to us in the frailty and infirmities of nature; even becaus of that perfect love to men, and perfect obedience to God with which they stood accompanied and directed; even so is each one in degree innocent, according to that degree of love and obedience they bear towards their brethren, and to him their head.

John 15. 10. Verse 12. Verse 17.

And indeed none speaks so home herein as our Saviour himself, both to make *love the fulfilling of the law*, and also to make obedience our secure direction herein: for in three several places, *Matth.* 19. 19. *Mark* 10. 19. *Luke* 18. 20. being recorded to give the summ of the Commandments to be observed *by him that should inherit eternal life*, he puts the command *honour thy Father and Mother*, as a complement to the other particular precepts. And farther, to banish that pharisaical error of *Corban*, whereby religious pretences had usually been made a cloak to disobedience; he mentions in none of those places, any of these four precepts, which we onely attribute to be written in the first Table; but puts this command of obedience to Parents last, least it should be taken but as equal, and part of the number of the other six. Not improbably inferring it to belong to the first Table; by which means, they may be presumed to be by us respected under their proper relation of Gods; and not in the equality of Neighbours, to be loved but secondarily to our selves.

Mat. 19. 16.

And then, this command being set downe as last of the first Table, it must be supposed put for the rest: implying, that our love and honor to God himself, (now absent) is best discovered in what we do to these his deputies present amongst us.

And take it as of the first, or second Table; yet his words are expres, for making this obedience the fulfilling of the law, Matth. 19. 19. *Honour thy Father and thy Mother, and thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self*: shewing thereby (as heretofore noted) that the precepts of *Do as thou wouldest be done unto, and love thy Neighbour as thy self*, can never have right proportion and valew, without the authority and coynage of a just and common superiour to us both: by the standard of whose precepts it is to be impartially estimated.

ted. For Chriſt had before recited the particular precepts of our love to our Neighbour: but now he ſumms them up to be perfected and fulfilled in love; even as that love is to be compleated and directed by obedience to ſuperiours.

Elſe when we think our ſelves leaſt biaſſed with ſelf reſpect, and do moſt really examine our thoughts before we act, how that they are none other but what (with like circumſtances) we would be content to have received from him or others, we might yet be deceived. For ſince firſt, all the intervening circumſtances could not be by us throughly conſidered, nor what meaſure of concern they had unto that perſon and me, and all other parties beſides: it cannot be avoided, but that taking the judgment upon mine owne ſcore herein, I muſt have failed, in doing (through ignorance and miſtake) wrong to my ſelf, to that my Neighbour, or to ſome other. For although I have but don as I would be done unto, as to my judgment did appear, yet when it muſt fall out, that no one man can foreſee and ſtate all other mens concerns fully, it muſt follow that judging upon wrong evidence, he hath made wrong judgement: and ſo not *loved his Neighbour as himſelf.*

And therefore all innocence muſt proceed from obedience: for at the laſt judgment, when all things ſhall be truly ſtated and laid open, and it ſhall be made appear, how in this or that particular, I did to my ſelf or ſome other an evil which I thought not of, it will not be a ſufficient excuſe, for me that took upon me to judge herein, to ſay I was not aware thereof; or that I was ignorant it was at all, or in ſuch meaſure any harm; or that ſuch perſons were therein at all, or ſo much concerned. For ſince every one is to be alike loved as my Neighbour, my intent of loving and regarding, ſome one or few herein as my ſelf, will not (though rightly done) aſſoyle me of ſuch failings and dangers, as muſt hereby happen to others alſo: by whom (when it comes to be truly ſtated) I muſt acknowledge I have not done as I would be done unto: for I would be loath that another ſhould injure me, under colour of doing right to another.

And therefore that admonition of Saint *James*, is to be carefully remembred by all Subjects, that in their deportments towards others, would keep themſelves unblameable: *My Brethren be not many Maſters, knowing that we ſhall receive the greater condemnation:* clearly evincing that guilt ſticks ſo cloſe to all our commerce with others; that ſo far as it is not authoriſed by direction, or permiſſion of a lawful ſuperiour, it cannot be warrantable: who alſo cannot be excuſed of partiality and guilt, otherwiſe then as having whole and entire intereſt deputed unto him from God: whereupon, there are not to be many Maſters, as heretofore noted. James 3. 1. 11

And therefore was it not ſin in the Iſraelites, (*according to the words of Moſes*) to borrow of their Neighbours, with an intent to deceive them: becauſe he that commanded it, had from God (by his office) perfect propriety in the diſpoſe of their actions. For though it might be objected, that they would not have been ſo dealt withall by the *Egyptians* themſelves: this was true as to the uſage of the thing, conſidered ſeparate from that authority by which it was done, but not in relation to their equal obligation to ſuperiours in matters of obedience. For although they would not themſelves have been content to have been ſo deceived; yet, in obeying a ſuperiours command, they did but unto him as they would be done unto, had they been in his caſe. For Exod. 12. 35.

he having whole intereſt, is thereupon to be wholly looked on, as in relation to the performance of the divine precept of *do as thou wouldeſt be done unto.* For as it is eaſy, ſo alwayes juſt, for a man to diſtribute and give to others of thoſe things that are all his owne: Whereas he that hath but an uncertain ſhare, and that mingled with many, muſt in his deciſion (through partial and uncertain intereſt) give a partial and uncertain judgement: and ſo many times falls ſhort of the rules of charity, and loving others as our ſelves, when he moſt intends it.

Nay, if our Saviours words be well weighed, (who gave us this rule) we ſhall finde publike allowance appointed to be our guidance therein: and that the uſage of others, was not left to each ones private judgement. For although men of late (out of arrogance, and to valew their ſingle judgments) have put it into the ſingular number of *do as thou wouldeſt be done unto*; yet from the beginning it was not ſo. But when it was ſet downe as a rule for fulfilling *the law and the Prophets*, it was put in the plural number; *whatſoevey ye would that men ſhould do unto you, do ye even ſo to them, &c.* plainly ſhewing that no man had warrant from hence to act any kind of wickedneſs, if he could gaine a third perſons conſent; but the words *men* and *them* muſt imply publick approbation, or that perſons approbation that hath publike charge.

Mat. 7. 12.
Luke 6. 31.

When the precept of love is ſet downe, it being each mans duty to be affected therewith, and ready to perform to the utmoſt of his power, it is therefore commanded in the ſingular number, *thou ſhalt love thy Neighbour as thy ſelf.* For this being not onely in the firſt place neceſſary, as the root of that tree on which our outward charitable works muſt grow, but being alſo hidden in our hearts, where none on earth can have cogniſance, it could not refer to the approbation of others. But becauſe in the outward exerciſe of this love, I might tranſgreſs in quantity, and ſo (as heretofore ſhewed) do otherwiſe to ſome of my Neighbours, then I would be done unto my ſelf, even whilſt I am vehemently loving others as my ſelf, therefore am I not to act by private light, and as a ſingle man in this caſe; but as having direction or leave from that publike perſon that hath common intereſt. For although this root of love, be onely or chiefly to be watered by the dew of heaven, as having its formal ſeed from thence alone, yet is the plant it ſelf of that nature, as without the culture of the gardner, not onely to become barren or adulterate in its fruit, but alſo by its manner of growth, to diſorder and overſhadow the reſt of the trees of the ſame garden. Every man therefore is to love every man as himſelf, as they are to be conſidered in their general equallity of men; but ſince under policy and government, we cannot be externally ſeparate from thoſe different relations which the rule of that polity hath ſubmitted us unto, therefore is the guidance of private mens actions in theſe different relations, to be regulated by him that hath the charge of the whole Kingdome: who is to order every one under him, as the general Oeconomy thereof ſhall require: and who, according to their joynt and common relations unto him, as ſubjects, may *do to men as he* (in his publike capacity) *would have men do to him.*

And if we do not interpret the meaning of this rule againſt private judging, we make it deſtructive, and contradictory to the Antecedent, and conſequent diſcourſes (uſed by Saint *Matthew* and Saint *Luke*) of mens taking on them to judge one another, and to ſpye the moats in their brothers eye: the which things

things are plainly in thoſe places ſet downe as bringing condemnation and not innocence. The which innocence, by the precedent context in Saint *Matthew*, is placed on implicite reliance and obedience to thoſe above us, for that which we would have done unto us. So that becauſe we are to relye upon the greatneſs of the knowledg and care of God & our Fathers in the fleſh, therefore no man ſhould preſume to be wiſer then they: nor, by judging others without their leave, to do by them otherwiſe then he would be done unto. Wherefore without this interpretation, I ſee not how the coherence of *therefore* in Saint *Matthew* can be made good. And although Saint *Matthew* have the inſtance from reliance on God moſt eſpecially, Saint *Luke* hath it for ſubmiſſion to humane authority: for we cannot think Chriſtians obliged to give to other *askers*, or ſtand ſtill to their *ſmiters*, then what are warranted by authority, as elſewhere noted.

And if we mark the ſubſequent texts, they will clearly inform us againſt mens reliance on the obliquity or variety of their owne guidance, by bidding us enter in at the ſtrait gate, (meaning that of obedience) and avoid that *broad gate and wide way* of morality which men are ſubject to enter at, when they are to act any thing. And ſo Saint *Matthew* goes on to warn men againſt theſe falſe Prophets, that ſhall hereafter be ſo prone to ſeduce us by their ſpecious precepts to innocence, by reliance on doctrines by themſelves brought in: who are to be known by the fruits of diſſention and civil war, even becauſe none but ſuch fruits can be expected to come from a Tree whoſe root is not love to their brother, and obedience to Chriſt. Nay implicite obedience too, for though they ſhould Propheſie, or work miracles in his name; yet ſince theſe might have been done but out of ſelf likeing and regard onely, there is nothing but founding obedience on him (as on a rock) that can ſecure our foundation. For we are to know, that ſince Chriſt *the maſter of the houſe is now riſen up* (and hath finiſhed legal and moral righteouſneſs) *and hath ſhut to the dore*; that is, *bound up the law and the teſtimony*, and their meaning, *among his Diſciples*; it is not then for men to knock more at that dore of entrance: But if their works were not done in obedience to him *as Lord*, they were *workers of iniquity*, though they called him ſo when they did them: neither communion with him in the viſible Church, nor hearing his Goſpel can excuſe them.

Mat. 7. 13. Luke 13. 25. Iſa. 8. 16. Luk. 13. 26, 27.

Again, the ſubſequent text in Saint *Luke* joyned thereunto (*for if ye love them that love you what thank have you, for ſinners alſo love thoſe that love them*) doth plainly alſo ſhew, that mens private wills and judgements were not to be relyed upon, for performance of that precept tending to love: whoſe performance that way could render men but ſtill ſinners. But we muſt be made capable of loving our enemies as our friends, by ſubmitting our wills to the will of a publike perſon, unto whom they are of equal concern with our ſelves: and ſo doing by him as we would be done unto, we ſhall do by all others as we would be done unto alſo. Elſe, if we blindly act by our owne judgements, and ſingly lead one another by our private lights, we ſhall both fall into the ditch.

Luke 6. 32.

And therefore, we can then onely ſafely reckon our ſelves innocent, (as before noted) whilſt obeying our Superious direction in commands and prohibitions: and in caſe none appear, we are to guide our ſelves the beſt we may, by applying the ſaid Maxim between our Neighbour and our ſelves. Which truly done, our failings are to be excuſed upon our Superiours permiſſion given

given us herein: as having to the best of our consciences and judgements *loved* and *done*, as we *would be loved and done unto*: both in relation to our Neighbours owne interest, and also in the upright managing that trust of impartial dealing, by God or our Superiour committed unto us. And this, because his authority is equal in both; and the same to permit as enjoyn. For where authority leaves any thing to be ruled by my conscience and discretion, it is the same as if he had commanded me to order them after the same manner: and it shall thereupon follow, that I performing my utmost devoire therein, am in my actings to remain still innocent, as having but obeyed my Superiour.

And from this necessary referment of the managery of many actions to the power of particular Subjects, and because of the necessary submission of some deportments also to the guidance of fathers and Masters of families, (as proper to their charge and duty) grows the reason why we finde in some of the Epistles and places of Scripture, such general direction and intimation of duty: namely, because those, or some of those precepts, or presidents in them contained, may be upon occasion as we said, usefull to the general direction of the several persons contained in each Church; when he shall either stand by his proper office, or by power and leave from his Prince, under no positive restraint but of God alone. At which time, and at all times when he is not by the Church debarred, it seems highly expedient, that the same person thus entrusted with the execution of affairs, wherein himself or others may be concerned, should have liberty to have his recourse to the Scripture, for the farther enabling him in his demeanor, in things and persons submitted to his trust and power: and that upon the same reason and grounds, that were formerly given to shew their sole custody and power of interpretation given to superiour powers: namely for them to have assistance of divine guidance, in execution of their charge of government also.

Upon which ground and consideration, it became in particular manner necessary also, to have the general rules of *do as ye would be done unto*, and *love thy Neighbour as thy self*, to be commended in common to each ones observation: to the end that each one, having his Neighbours good or harm more or less in his separate power, might by this conscientious rule and tye of examination, be more readily provoked and directed in his sociable abearance. For the rule it self being but a general rule for inoffensive living, by introducing a common and equall sensation, or fellow feeling of each others wants and benefits (that thereupon (as to our selves) the good of others might be sought, and their harm avoided) therefore is it by our Saviour placed as the sum and fullfilling of the law. Meaning, that as God had formerly by *Moses* and the Prophets, given particular precepts and directions for the sociable abearance of the nation of the Jewes, so the onely standing divine rule to us Christians now, was this summary direction for the good of Society: whereby preserving the good of our Neighbour, we should also thereby to our power, maintaine the glory and service of God.

So that the said rules, of *love thy Neighbour*, &c. and *whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you*, &c. importing generally, as if it had been commanded to all sorts of men to be ready according to their severall

stati-

ſtations and degrees, to promote the good, and to eaſe and ſuſtaine the harms of one another; it muſt therefore follow, that thoſe perſons that have publike and whole truſt and power in each ſociety, are in the firſt place to have the interpretation and application of this rule: and ſo each one under him, as he ſhall entruſt them therein; in order to the good and welfare of that ſociety. For ſince the care and truſt of the Prince is more then that of others, it muſt alſo follow, that the application of that rule which is directive therein, muſt be primarily in him too: the ſubject having onely liberty to guide himſelf in what he is to act on another, as ſuppoſing the rule a freſh ſaid unto him from Chriſts Miniſter ſet over him. Becauſe elſe (as before ſhewed) generall harm may be the conſequent of general liberty independently to act by theſe rules: whereas in our aſſiſtances to them, and in our ſubmiſſive deportments, (*if we bear one anothers burdens*) *we ſhall fulfill the law of Chriſt*; Gal. 6. 2. in maintaining the good of ſociety, the end of that law.

The rule of *do as thou wouldeſt*, &c. being thus hard to be kept (as from private direction onely) cauſeth it to fall out, that our works (as our works) cannot juſtifie us before God: becauſe they cannot, as proceeding from ſeparate perſons onely, have throughly, and on all hands charitable and perfect performance; but as done in Chriſt; that is in obedience to his, or his deputies authority: and failing in the faith hereof, or in our impartial dealing with our Neighbours, in things by authority permitted unto us; it will follow, that *whatſoever is not of faith is ſin.* But if in conſcience to Chriſts authority, (commanding obedience to him and in him) we do that which may privately make our *conſcience condemn us, yet God is greater then our conſciences and knoweth all things*: to wit, knoweth, that as his glory is to be increaſed by humane preſervation, ſo humane preſervation is maintained by obedience and ſubmiſſion. Rom. 14. 23. 1 John 3. 20.

For if we muſt be judging of morallity, and being under lawful authority, act their commands on others no farther then the ſuppoſal of our caſe and ſuffering to be theirs will give leave, I would fain know, whether the Judge, and other officers and executioners of civil Juſtice, that joyne in the ſentence and infliction of death on any their fellow Subjects; or whether the Souldier, that for preſs or pay doth the like on his owne country men or others, do either of them imagine themſelves in their caſe; and ſo acquit themſelves, by not being inſtrumental in infliction of more, then themſelves would have again ſuffered from them? If they do not, nor need not, then doth their innocence follow their obedience: even by Imagining themſelves to have been in their ſuperiours caſe, & him their ſubject: for as then, they would have expected obedience to what themſelves had conceived fit to be done, ſo are they now to give it. In which caſe (by my obedience) doing as I would be done unto by him that hath whole concern and repreſents all, it muſt follow, that I do as I would be done unto by all men elſe; and ſo by my obedience have fulfilled the law of Chriſt.

Whereupon as we finde *Abrahams* faith imputed for righteouſneſs, and he called Father of the Church or Faithful; ſo was this attributed unto and made appear in a matter of obedience: *In thy ſeed ſhall all the Nations of the earth be bleſſed, becauſe thou haſt obeyed my voice.* For although *Abraham* had at other times obeyed, yet was he herein exemplarily the Father of the Faithful; becauſe the proof of his obedience was performed in a particular, wherein both the injury to another and himſelf, might have been ſo highly diſputed Gen. 22. 18.

ted out of private judgement and interest. Whereupon, that which is here attributed to *Abrahams* Obedience, is interpreted by Saint *Paul* his Faith: who in the first Chapters to the *Romans* largely sets forth the necessary guilt accompanying legal precepts, not done in Christ; who throughly fulfilling all moral righteousness; our faith and obedience in, and to him, makes it imputed unto us: *for as by one mans disobedience many were made sinners, so by*
Rom 5:19. *the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.*

He tels us there, that Circumcision is *that of the heart and Spirit, not in the*
Rom.2.29. *letter*: that is, men are now to be justified by love (*the work of the law written*
Verse 15. *in their hearts*) and not by the observation of the letter according to their owne sence. For against such, he pronounceth a necessity of such sins, as
Rom.1.22. attended such as *professed themselves wise*: saying, *Thou art inexcusable O man whosoever thou art that judgest: for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemn-*
Rom.2.1. *est thy self: for thou that judgest doest the same things.* That is, inasmuch as thou takest upon thee to guide others and thy selfe by thine own judgement, thou must consequently break Charity, the end of the law: and so involve thy self in the guilt of thine owne, and others sins, that must follow thereupon. *For now we are delivered from the law, being dead to that wherein we are*
Rom.7.6. *held*: that is, being released (as heretofore noted) of the penalty of observing legal precepts, as of immediate divine authority; because *we should serve*
Ibidem. *in the newness of Spirit* (that is by love) *and not in the oldness of the Letter.* For while we were taking upon us this litteral performance, the law of our owne members and concupiscence (pointing at private interests) caused it to prove to us the law of sin, and of death.

So that then, the law of God being to be served with the mind inwardly, and not by fleshly wisdom, to make it the law of sin, it follows, *that there is no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus: which walk not after the*
Rom.8.1. *flesh, but after the Spirit.* That is, because *they that act after the flesh* (or take upon them self guidance) *do minde the things of the flesh* (their owne interests):
Verse 5. *but they that walk after the Spirit, mind the things of the Spirit*: that is, being alwayes guided by the fruit of the Spirit, inward love, they alwayes mind the effects thereof: in which they could not err, whilst remaining obedient.

For else, authority and law onely defining and measuring in particular acts what is murther, adultery, theft, *&c.* and rating accordingly the punishments thereupon due, we should, in our particular biassed interpretations, commit often the same, or worse faults, then those we went about to amend. And this, because God, who from himself and in his owne name gave these precepts at first, gave also a continual succession of Prophets, Urim and Thummim, and other divine ways of revealing his pleasure in their interpretation upon doubtful occasions; so that being both wayes expresly divine, their observance litterally (as so) was each mans duty then: but now, being not to be litterally and particularly so construed by private men, they break or keep them, when they break or keep their substance, charity and inward love; and are more or less obedient to Superiours therein.

And therefore although there could be but one truth, amidst those different exercises of Christianity between the Jewish and Gentile Churches; yet the Apostles being to promote and encourage Christianity all they could, and Christians again to obey implicitely in all things not fundamental; the one might justly command, and the other be also obedient, although in things differing and contrary: which otherwise in the commanders, must have been

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Hereſie on the one ſide or other. And beſides, muſt have been Schiſm and Scandal in each ſort of the diſagreeing Subjects, that in abſence of their common head, obtruded upon each other their differing conſtitutions: having no other authority to act, or impoſe to the diſlike of one another, then in relation to their joynt authority; as thereby *holding of the head*: under whom they were to be eſteemed but as one, by means of joint communion and ſubordination. Col. 2. 19.

But when done in juſt purſuance thereof, error is avoided: *for that a divine ſentence is in the lips of a King, and his mouth tranſgreſſeth not in judgement.* In the original it is in the future tenſe, ſhall not tranſgreſs: which I note to avoid the Expoſition that might be made againſt the allowing the judgement of Kings in general to be ſuch; as thinking it only appliable to *Solomon* himſelf, becauſe particularly inſpired above others. Pro. 16. 10.

And this place of *Solomon* is a good comment and confirmation to another of like ſort: namely, *to puniſh the juſt is not good, nor to ſtrike Princes for equity.* Where we may finde, that a Prince in his definition, is held the ſame with a juſt man, (as formerly noted in the title of juſtice): and that then we can no more puniſh or accuſe the one then the other, for want of juſtice or equity. Upon which reaſons *Elihu* (in *Iob*) brings in that ſaying, as a truth uuiverſally agreed upon: *is it fit to ſay to a King thou art wicked, and to Princes ye are ungodly?* Pro. 17. 26. Job. 34. 18.

Therefore, by the words *ſhall not tranſgreſs in judgement*, we are to underſtand that they ſhall not cauſe ſubjects to tranſgreſs in their obedience; becauſe the ſentence is divine, which in the Original imports *divine Oracle*, or *Divination*, as having whole intereſt by divine deputation and precept: but erroneous it may be, and is in him (as he ſtands in relation accompteable to God) ſo far, and ſo often, as he againe tranſgreſſeth his law, who hath whole intereſt, both in thoſe perſons, and him, and all things elſe. For if he take upon him to preſcribe rules according to his owne judgement, where God hath made poſitive ones already; or do in thoſe caſes left to his care, (through paſſion or intereſt) reſpect himſelf, or ſome one party above another, and not reſpect Gods ſuperiour intereſt before his owne ſubordinate intereſt (doing by God as he would be done unto) he doth not do as he would be done unto. For as he would not have his Judges, and ſuch as he truſts do the like by him, ſo is he not to deceive and abuſe Gods delegation; in forgetting that all his power is but uſurpation and injuſtice, when not according to the beſt of his judgement and conſcience, directed to Gods honor above his owne: as alſo, to the general and impartial good of his ſubjects.

So that Subjects juſtice or juſtification, conſiſting chiefly in ſubmiſſion to the judgement of their Superiour, we may well know how to interpret that wiſe King and Preacher: *be not righteous over much, neither make thy ſelf over wiſe, why ſhouldeſt thou deſtroy thy ſelf? Be not over much wicked, neither be thou fooliſh, why ſhouldeſt thou dye before thy time?* By which words, we are not to think that either increaſe of righteouſneſs or wiſdome is forbidden, or increaſe of wickedneſs or folly commended, as in themſelves; but muſt apply them unto their manner and object of uſage and imployment. For ſo (in the firſt verſe) he that will be ſo ſeemingly righteous and wiſe, as to think his owne conſcience and diſcretion ſufficient and warranted judges of his actions, againſt, or above that of his Superiour, he will endanger his owne guilt and deſtruction, by being ſo *over righteous*, and *overwiſe*: That is to ſay, by private uſeing and applying the rules of *do as thou wouldeſt be done unto, and love* Eccle. 7. 16. Verſe 17.

thy Neighbour as thy ſelf, not left unto him by the higher power. Whereupon, being over wiſe, *that is wiſe in his owne conceit*, he neglects the precept that ſaid *Honour thy Father and thy Mother and thou ſhalt love thy Neighbour as thy ſelf*, and ſo doth not as he would be done unto. And againe, he that Mat. 19. 19. hath not theſe charitable rules deep enough in his heart, but ſhall act contrary in things remitted to him; or ſhall ſtrain the letter of the law to countenance his malice or private intereſt onely; he is *over much wicked* and a *fool*: and, offending againſt charity, puts himſelf into the ſame danger alſo. For although obedience be in it ſelf matter of Apoſtolical precept and rejoycing; Rom. 16. 19. *yet ſhould we be wiſe unto that whis is good, and ſimple concerning evil.*

For alas the uncharitable deſignes of ſelf intereſt, do ſo often intermingle in what we do, even in order to ſuperiour command; that we ſhall not need to fear men will not have ſins enough to anſwer for. We are all of us (God knows) ſo far the ſons of *Adam*, as to be too prone to yeild to the temptati- of *taſting of the forbiddin fruit of good and evil* in what is commanded; whereby we loſe *the innocence of doves*: and not to be wiſe enough again, in doing that good to our Neighbour, which is left and referred to our owne diſcretion and power; whereby we fail of *the wiſdome of Serpents*.

But however, if we will be innocent it muſt be by caſting of our owne wiſdome, and by implicite following Chriſts precepts for obedience and charity to our neighbour: and for what we have done otherwiſe, we muſt re eſtate our ſelves in innocence by repentance, even to the degree of little children; who we know obey implicitely, and act without malice. And this is the ſcope of Chriſts thanks giving; *that theſe things were hid from the wiſe and prudent* (that is ſuch as truſted in their moral righteouſneſs), *and were revealed unto Babes*: that is, to ſuch as (conſidering the load of legal precepts) Mat. 11. 25. ſhould, like men regenerate again in Chriſt, take his eaſie yoke upon them. and by *lowlineſs and meekneſs* (the two concomitants of obedience) *find reſt for their ſouls*. Verſe 29.

And this is the effect of our new birth: whereby being, as the ſons of God in Chriſt, reſtored to a ſtate of innocence, we come to be freed of the *old leaven*, and that guilt of morality incurred by the *old Adam*. And in this ſence, are all thoſe and the like places to be underſtood, how the children of God ſin not: *Whoſoever is borne of God doth not commit ſin, for his ſeed remaineth in him, and he cannot ſin becauſe he is born of God.* 1 John 3. 9.

Which places may well allude unto, and are explained by our Saviour himſelf in his anſwer to the Phariſees (a people that uſe to mak religious pretences to diſcountenance lawful obedience; and would have made their unauthoriſed interpretations of the law, (in ſuperſtitious obſervation of the Sabboth and ſome other things) act their militious deſignes againſt Chriſts honour, and their neighbours good) *If ye were blinde* (ſaith Chriſt) *ye would have no ſin; but now ye ſay we ſee, therefore your ſin remaineth*: if they had John 9. 41. not oppoſed their owne prying humour, in the literal morality of the law, againſt Chriſts authority, obedience had kept them innocent: *but going about to eſtabliſh their owne righteouſneſs, have not ſubmitted themſelves to the righ-* Rom. 10. 3. *teouſneſs of God.* For by means of their inſubjection unto that manner of *judgement for the which Chriſt came into the world*, they (truſting to their own may of ſeeing) *came to be made blind*: whereas others, that pretended not to ſee of themſelves, through obedience to him, *were made to ſee.*

And if the forementioned places of Saint *Matthew* be well conſulted, we

ſhall

ſhall find the interpretation and guidance of religious precepts and duties left wholly to the ſupream Magiſtrate: and that Chriſt, by this liberty in the great legal injunction of the Sabboth, ſhews that offices of *Charity, (or judgment, mercy and faith)* are the end *or weightier matters of the law: & mercy better then ſacrifice.* And therefore although he aver his owne authority in Church matters, as being *greater then the Temple*, yet he ſaith *the Son of man is Lord alſo of the Sabboth.* If he had ſaid the Son of God had been Lord thereof, it had been but to aſſert what was not queſtioned: but as he here calls himſelf *Son of man*, to countenance his deputies, and ſtop the mouths of ſuch as (under colour of the weakneſs of humane authority) would deny the ſupream Magiſtrates power herein, ſo he did before inſtance what men they are that have it: that is, Kings perſonated in *David*: and Prieſts, alluded unto in *Abiathar*, in whoſe dayes it was done; both of them having ſole truſt of law. And therefore as they in the law, ſo he, as a great King and Prieſt in the Goſpel, had this power alſo. Mat. 13. 7. Verſe 6. Verſe 8.

Whereupon ſince the obſervation of legal precepts (as barely ſuch) cannot have (as from us alone) any ſuch exact performance as to be juſtifiable and meritorious, but this being done by Chriſt, the morality of our works can be juſtified but as through him: that is, as done in obedience to his authority, who hath bin fully meritorious therein already. Hereupon it muſt be plain, where direct precept is; or according to the general precepts of love, in things remitted to us. And this was *the great myſtery of Godlineſs, God manifeſt in the fleſh:* through obedience to which manifeſtation we come *to be juſtified in the Spirit.* For Chriſt ſaith of himſelf, *as long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world:* but being we are bidden to be obedient to our Superiour *Maſters in the fleſh as unto Chriſt: and in the Lord* (that is, in his ſtead) it follows *that he that diſpiſeth them, diſpiſeth him that ſent them.* And therefore Chriſtians, in their obedience and diſcipleſhip to Chriſt, are compared to ſheep: a creature beſt ſetting forth their duty of obedience, by their ready, ſimple, and implicite following their Shephard, and alſo the general duty of Chriſtian love and charity; by their inoffenſive and harmleſs deportments one towards another. 1 Tim. 3. 16. John 9. 5. Eph. 6. 5, 6, 7. Luke 10. 16.

And to prove that this obedience to Chriſts Miniſter is to be the pre-required condition that ſhould juſtifie men in their Chriſtian deportments, we ſhall finde that the Apoſtles, and ſuch as he was to delegate as his Ambaſſadours, are by Chriſt not onely called *the lights of the world, a City on a hill*, and the like, to ſhew the largeneſs of their illumination, but farther to ſhew the neceſſity of the conformity of our outward deportments to their directions, they are alſo by Chriſt appointed to be *the ſalt of the earth.* And he expreſly ſayes, *that every one ſhall be ſalted with fire*: that is, every mans faith ſhall be tryed by the fire of afflictions and temptations, and *every ſacrifice ſhall be ſalted with ſalt:* that is, as every ſacrifice under the law was to be ſo ſeaſoned; ſo he *that came to fulfill the Law and the Prophets*, had now made the precept of love (ſeaſoned by the obedience to thoſe that were to command in his ſtead) to be the ſure way of making each Chriſtian duty lawful: and after the ſame manner that each Chriſtian himſelf, was to be made acceptable by his baptiſm of afflictions. Mat. 5. 14. Verſe 13. Mat. 9. 49.

And although it were reſerved for the clearer light of the Goſpel, to diſcover that all wickedneſs proceeded from malice, and other the works of the fleſh: and on the other ſide, that love was the only thing to eſtate men righ-

teous: yet we finde the same in many places hinted at in the old Testament. And *Solomon* in particular is very expres to this purpose, when he saith *hatred stirreth up strife, but love covereth all sins.* Which is answerable to our Saviour reason of the corruption of the last times, *viz. because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold.*

Prov. 10. 12.
Mat. 14. 12.

This accomplishment of our innocence through this saving grace of love or charity, is *that more excellent way* by Saint *Paul* shewed to the *Corinthians:* who had before shewed, how all the several gifts of the holy Ghost were given for mutual edification, and bestowed severally on several members, but for compleating and adorning that one body, the Church. In which respect, since the more ordinary and common members, which were useful to the body (as the feet or the like) could not expect to have those more eminent endowments, (for then should they not be eminent if ordinary) therefore is a whole Chapter spent in shewing this more excellent and ready way of Charity: whereby those more *feeble* and *less honourable* members, that could not attain to be Apostles, Prophets, Teachers, or the like; might yet, by means of this common band of union and perfection, finde an equal capacity, with those that were highest gifted, to attain to the edification and support of the general body. This way being to them also the most excellent and sure, because that without it, all their other endowments will prove but as *sounding brass, and tinkling Symbals.* Of which bond or union, and also of the union of the other Christian graces, we shall farther discourse in the ensuing Chapter.

1 Cor. 12. 13.

1 Cor. 13. 4.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Coincidence of Christian graces.

How the affection of unity is accompanying the whole race of things, hath been abundantly declared (as a metaphisical or supernatural speculation) by such as have not had any other light to direct them in the inquiry, then that which meer nature would afford, being drawn from contemplation of her procession in things here below. But, in us Christians, who have from above been confirmed in the knowledg of deity, and also of its unity, as the ground of our divinity must grow more firm and steady in knowledge of God himself, so will the contemplation of that unity (as considered in him that is the cause of all things) lead us by a plain way of demonstration, to discover why in each thing by him made, the same affection should be also necessarily implanted: not only in order of resemblance herein to its Author, but to the formal stating of it such, or such.

Concerning some of the neater resemblances of deity in the things of life (which we call individuals) we have formerly spoken; as also of mans above them all. But this affection of unity, is so much more closely accompanying them, that it not onely formally constitutes them, but thereby also differenceth them from inanimates: who can receive no formal unity, but what must arise from the definition of their whole Mass: whereas, in the definition of any species of individuals, that natural unity which appears therein, can have no other true existence or perfection then what was first really inherent in, and constituted by the individuals themselves: as being the obstinable properties in them severally abiding.

As therefore all things, together with their creation and existence from God proceeding, received from him this affection of unity also, as necessarily constituting them distinct from the whole race of things; so, to the end that the Makers praise might yet receive addition and increase, though the increase of the several objects of his bounty and goodness; and that this division of the whole Mass, might not (by civil war and dilution amongst themselves) prove the overthrow of one another, (but that one thing might be a continual support unto the good and preservation of another, and thereby all conspire to the same end Gods glory), we may observe all those friendly instincts and properties, bestowed by God on natural Agents, as heretofore noted. By means of which propensity, and benigne aspect of one thing towards another, ariseth that other affection which we call goodness. So that, when the separate existencies of things (which states truth) are by this affection of goodness made agree in things to their own mutual preservation and to Gods glory also, then doth the prevalence of union appear herein again; as joyning good to truth, and creation to providence; and making the Creatures end, or preservation, conspire to that of Gods, his owne glory: and Gods glory to meet in direct points with their good.

But now, although these benevolent inclinations of things might suffice to mutual preservation in Inanimates, and such sensitives as had none, or small

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cauſe of diviſion, through largeneſs of private appetite and will, ſo, to the end that voluntary Agents (which were moſt to ſeek it) might not be ſubject to recompence their owne higher ſence of felicity from God received, with the ingrateful diminution of his glory in the diſturbance of the courſe of his providence, it was onward neceſſary, that for maintenance of the ſame unity (which was made as aforeſaid by inward inſtincts in other things) there ſhould not onely be an inward natural appetite to union implanted (which we call love) but alſo ſuch outward directions given to them; that through the due obſervance hereof, their union and meeting amongſt themſelves might tend to the like end with the other things before ſpoken of: namely the preſervation and maintenance of Gods glory, and their own good.

All which conſiderations, will now make manifeſt the great reaſon, not onely of that ſimplicity and fewneſs of the Goſpel precepts, as in order to our more eaſie performance, and for their approaching ſo much neerer to the perfection and unity of him that gave them, but alſo of that plain coincidence they have amongſt themſelves: whereby they come, like the whole race of things themſelves, (the object of their directions) to unite and conſpire in the common end of all things, Gods glory; and (the ſubſervient end thereof) each particular things natural preſervation: For as there is an union in the end, ſo muſt there be alſo in the means and directions leading thereunto. All which we ſhall declare by inſtance; it being a thing not only uſefull in it ſelf, but alſo neceſſary for to underſtand thoſe many texts, where ſometimes love, ſometimes faith, ſometimes hope, ſometimes obedience, or the like, are ſingly ſet downe as comprehenſive of all duty and perfection beſide: and not conſtantly any one grace alone. After that I ſhall give farther evidence thereof: by producing ſome places of Scripture, cleerly ſetting out their conjunction and harmony.

When the threats due to ſin or the breach of the law, are by any in ſuch ſort reſented, as to cauſe him to have recourſe unto the remedies laid downe in the Goſpel, or elſe, when the enjoyments and promiſes by the Goſpel it ſelf ſet forth, do of themſelves invite; then is the firſt putting forth of appetite to attend theſe objects as good, called by the name of *hope*. After which, the rational faculty comes to be ſet on work, for the entertainment or contrivance of the means: which being apprehended as feaſable, doth then become the object of our faith; and ſo of our reaſonable appetite called will. For although the ſenſitive appetite, (as more general and as next unto life or individual being) do readily at firſt attend every thing (as its object) that is preſented under the Claſſis of hope or fear; yet, when underſtanding hath had leiſure to work, the reaſonable will proſecutes no farther, in attainment or avoidance of theſe objects of hope or fear, then as the conſideration of thoſe mediums lying between them and us, makes theſe objects (by their neerneſs of approach to us) to be afterwards, in a ſecond meaſure, hopeful or formidable.

In which conſideration, hope and faith doe alwayes accompany one another: and although hope, as more general, do inchoat in order to the end, (namely the enjoyment of bliſs and avoidance of torment) yet faith, in order to the means, to wit, our laying hold on Chriſt) doth ſo inſtantly follow, that ſome have believed theſe graces to come together: Which may be true in relation to that one divine ſpirit which (entring at the ſame time) was the cauſe to both; but yet it hinders not, but that this ſpirit might produce its effects

effects in their natural order, as before shewed. It being afterwards true indeed, that these graces are mutually encreased and strengthened by each other: the hope and beliefe, or beliefe and hope of the end, (by its valew) exciting the beliefe and hope, or hope and beliefe of these means that are tending thereunto.

Which means coming hereupon to be more constantly and fully pursued; hope or beliefe to be therefore accepted, grows by degrees (in each one) into stronger hope and beliefe that he is accepted. Which beliefe, or strong faith of Gods acceptance and love to us; doth againe increase on-ward, in our love to him. Unto which onely hapy estate, being by these blessed degrees once come, then doth hope and faith become silenced and swallowed up by this most high and compleat grace of love: for we now live no longer by desire, but fruition.

But because, in this life, and whilst we carry this treasure in earthen Vessels, we cannot arrive at any perfection, much less at any degree of continuance and perseverance in this happy enjoyment of God by love, we are therefore (as elsewhere noted) to cherish in our selves all those means, whereby our faith and hope may be kept in or restored unto their pitch and vigour: so that, notwithstanding our many relapses, we may be still reintegrated again to a state of love. In which regard, we are next to consider of that which is the general grace of supply and sustentation to all the rest: namely the grace of obedience.

For from the efficacy of this grace it is, that hope and faith gather their joynt and mutual strength: even from conscience of our continual actings, and endeavours in performance of the commands and directions of God. For these things must follow as necessary conlequents of one another: First to obey out of fear to displease, and hope to kept favour; and then farther, still to obey, even as we believe our obedience accepted and available. And lastly, obedience will still increase it self, with that increase of grace it brings: and as it hath perfected our first feeble hope to strength of faith, so will it accompany our state of highest perfection; even our state of love. For then shall our readiness in execution of Gods commands be doubled: because being united to him by this affection, we shall not onely do his will as his, but as our owne too. So that when faith shall fail, obedience shall not: being a grace so proper and necessary to each Creature, that it cannot (in order to its subordinate relation) be truly such without it. And this, not only in the will, but also in act, so far as lyeth in its power. For although none wil deny the omniscience of God Almighty, so far as to doubt his inspection into the most inward thoughts and inclination of his Creature; even to the discerning that proportion of faith and love, which is in their hearts; yet, it being the most natural for justice, to proceed in rewards and punishments (especially such as outward) according to overt acts, we shall still finde God himself recompencing those that were endowed with strongest measure of these graces, proportionable to that publike estimate thereof which they in their life times, by more remarable obedience did make apparent: as our Saviours obedience to the death of the Cross, and *Abrahams* in the death of his son, and divers others examples in holy Writ do declare.

As for the duties of prayer, preaching, almes, sacraments. &c. they are the several objects and expressions of our obedience: through perseverance in which

which Christian precepts, (as outwardly administred in Christs kingdome the Church) Gods inward kingdome of grace in our hearts, is made to have its efficacy and growth. And as for the Theological vertues of *meekness, humility, patience, gentleness, long-suffering*, &c. they may all be comprehended under the aforesaid grace of obedience: serving as necessary qualifications to the stating thereof: as shall in their due place be declared.

From all which, as the simplicity of the Gospel may plainly appear, so will it be farther manifest, how by this coincidence of Christian graces (sum'd up in love and obedience, or in love alone, or obedience alone, (as presuming they cannot be one without another) that men now under Christ the second *Adam*, are come (as before noted) to be stated in a capacity of Innocence, upon almost as easie tearms as under the first: and how we are again brought to be more resembling his condition, while implicite obedience is our perfection now, as it was to him then. To the farther confirmation whereof, we might also add the coincidence of the sins opposite to these graces: as contrarily tending to diminution of Gods glory, and humane good: Even declaring how infidelity and uncharitableness, are ever accompanied with, and heightned from the sin of obedience. But I shal now proceed to Scripture proofs in these things: and in farther confirmation of the precedent chapter, beginning with some out of the New Testament.

Saint *Paul* having declared somewhat to the *Ephesians* of his knowledge
Ephe. 3. 4. *in the mystery of Christ*, doth it, that thereby *all men may see what was the fellowship of the mistery*: that is, both the fellowship of Christian precepts amongst themselves, and our fellowship or communion with Christ through obedience. *Which (mistery) from the beginning of the world hath bin hid in God,*
Verse 9. *who created all things by Jesus Christ*: that is, heretofore hid under the legal observations, but is now (as the unsearchable riches of Christ) preached amongst the Gentiles. *To the intent that now unto the principalities and powers*
in heavenly places, that is, unto the higher powers seated and deputed by Christ, *might be known by the Church*, (that is, by the vertue of illumination and authority, given to them through Christs headship of the Church) *the*
Verse 10. *manifold wisdome of God*. And therefore Saint *Pauls* prayer was, that *Christ might dwell in their hearts by faith: so that they being rooted and grounded in*
Verse 17. *love, they may be able to comprehend with all Saints, what is the breadth, and*
Verse 18. *length, and depth, and height: that is, this mistery of the love of Christ which*
Verse 19. *passeth all knowledge*. Namely, that they may know how it should be effected and kept up, by *those that walk worthy of the vocation wherewith they are*
Chap. 4. 1. *called*: who must *do it with all lowlinesse and meekness, with long suffering,*
Verse 2: *forbearing one another in love: endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in*
Verse 3. *the bond of peace*: that is, in obedience to our owne Christian head, which is the only bond of peace. For by means of the building and foundation laid by
chap. 2. 20. these Christian heads, *Apostles and Prophets*, (as then they were called) *given for the perfecting of the Saints, and for the work of the ministry*; we come to be united as Citizens of the houshold of God, or Catholick Church; *of which*
Ibidem. *Christ himself is the chief corner stone*. The body of Christ being in this sort
Verse 21. to be *framed and built together* in this life, till we come to be past fear of being *tossed to and fro of every winde of doctrine*: even by being *come to the unity*
chap. 4. 14. *of faith, through the knowledge of the Son of God*: or to have attained that
Verse 13. *measure and stature of fulness*, which is to be from Christ himself expected.

Of which Christian submission and obedience, having set downe positive

pre-

cepts in the names of *Husbands*, *Parents*, and *Maſters*, he finally exhorts them to be ſtill *furniſhed with the whole armour of God*, that is, faith, love, and obedience: *that they may be able to ſtand againſt the wils of the Devil:* That is, Epheſ: 6. 11.
theſe his moſt crafty wiles and inſinuations, whereby we come to be tempted 2 Cor: 11. 13, 14
by him *as an Angel of light*, under religious pretences, to acts of obedience: even *by the Prince of the power of the aire, the ſpirit that worketh in the children of diſobedience.* Epheſ: 2. 2.

For (ſaith he) *we wreſtle not againſt fleſh and blood*, meaning againſt fleſhly rules or Maſters (for againſt the works of the fleſh we muſt wreſtle) but *againſt principalities and powers, againſt the rules of the darkneſs of the world* (that is) *againſt ſpiritual wickedneſs in in high* (or heavenly) *places.* Or againſt the wills of the Devil, working in ſuch as under the colour of legal or moral precepts, (called uſually darkneſs) by their owne high power in the Church, would countenance diſobedience: and ſo *overthrow the myſtery of Chriſt, by the myſterie of iniquity.* chap: 6. 12 2 Theſſ: 2. 7.

For theſe are to know, (as Saint *Paul* ſaith to *Tymothy*) that the *end of the commandment is Charity*; or peaceable ſubmiſſion and obedience for charity ſake: out *of a pure heart, and a good conſcience, and faith unfeigned.* From which (ſaith he) *ſome having ſwerved, are turned aſide unto vain jangling*; that is, unprofitable queſtionings of legalty: *deſiring to be Teachers of the law* (when they ſhould hearers) *underſtanding neither what they ſay nor whereof they affirm.* But *we know that the law is good, if a man uſe it lawfully:* that is, an obeyer of legal authority, whereby to retain innocence, and not as judge, to become guilty. *Knowing this that the law is not made for the rsghteous* (or juſt) *man*; that is, to condemn a juſt or obedient man; but *for the lawleſs and diſobedient, for ungodly and ſinners*, &c. Where, all wickedneſs being reckoned after, as ſubſequent and attendant on diſobedience, and by oppoſing the diſobedient and lawleſs againſt the righteous man, we muſt underſtand obedience and righteouſneſs to be contivertible: For as the *fruit of the Spirit is love*, ſo the fruit thereof again, *is joy, peace, long ſuffering, gentleneſs, goodneſs, faith, meekneſs, temperance: againſt ſuch there is no law*; that is, law of condemnation. 1 Tim: 1. 5. Verſe 6. Verſe 7. Verſe 8. Gal: 5, 22, 23.

And this miſtical way of accompliſhing our innocence, is farther repeated to the Colloſſians: *that their hearts might be comforted, being knit together in love: and unto all riches of the full aſſurance of underſtanding, to the acknowledgement of the miſtery of God, and of the father, and of Chriſt: in whom are hid all the treaſures of wiſdome and knowledge.* In which words we may plainly ſee, that our greateſt comfort ariſeth from love in our hearts: and from hence have we the full aſſuranc of underſtanding of right obedience to Gods law, to the acknowledgement of the miſtery of God: even the miſtical way of juſtification; whereby, being inwardly made ready and pliable to perform all acts of benificence, we (by our conformity and obedience to this one precept) ſhould contrary to the doctrine of the darkneſs of this world) be eſtated truely innocent. In which words, the general name of *God* is firſt attributed to the holy Ghoſt: for that he is the more proper efficient in the underſtanding of this miſtery, as alſo of the acknowledgement of the Father and of Chriſt. ſo that, in participation of the Godhead by this miſtery, we are made comprehenſive of all the reall treaſures of wiſdome and knowledge, in being thereby guided through Gods light, and not our own. Col: 2. 2. Verſe 3.

Which, as the Apoſtle ſpake *leaſt any ſhould beguile them with entiſing words*, Col: 2. 4.

Verſe 5. (that is, Religious pretence, which is moſt enticing of any) *ſo he joyes in beholding* (the fruit of this inward love) *their order, and ſtedfaſtneſs of their faith in Chriſt*; that is, their peace and agreement in the faith. And thereupon proceeds to admoniſh them, *leaſt any man ſpoil them through Philoſophy and vain deceit*: meaning, through the Greekiſh popular Philoſophy of their Country, (teaching righteouſneſs to be attaiued by their many precepts of morall juſtice), or vain legall deceit of the Iews amongſt them: *after the Tradition of men, after the Rudiments of the world* (or worldly
Verſe 8. wiſdome) *and not after Chriſt, in the ſimplicity of this Goſpell precept of obedience.* For we cannot offend God whilſt we are obedient to him; becauſe
Verſe 9. *in him* (that is, in Chriſt) *dwelleth all the fulneſs of the Godhead bodily.* Where the word *bodily* is added, to expreſs our reall participation of his corporeall fulneſs, that are to be *rooted and built up in him*; according as in the following words is expreſſed: And yee *are compleat in him, which is the head*
Verſe 10. *of all Principality and Power*: That is, in obeying him, as King of Kings, by our ſubmiſſion to the Prince his Deputy, we are compleat in him; as therby obeying his Kingſhip and Chriſtſhip.

And ſo alſo, being grounded in love in him, *we are circumciſed with the Circumciſion made without hands, in putting of the body of the ſins of the fleſh*; or the obſervation of the Law that cauſeth ſin, *by the circumciſion of*
Verſe 11. *Chriſt; buried with him in baptiſm*: That is, following him by our patience in thoſe afflictions, which love to our neighbours, and obedience to our Superiours muſt produce, we ſhall then, like as *the Captain of our ſalvation was made perfect by ſuffering*, and was thereupon exalted; ſo we (proving our ſelves able to endure our ſhares of *that baptiſm which he was baptized with*)
Verſe 12. *ſhall riſe with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raiſed him from the dead.* For we *being dead in ſins, and the uncircumciſion of the fleſh*; That is, kept under the bondage of ſin, through the weakneſs of our fleſh, *hath he quickned together with him: having forgiven us all treſ-*
Col: 2.13. *paſſes, blotting out the hand writing of Ordinances that was againſt us, which was contrary to us*; that is, to us Chriſtians: *and took it out of the way, nail-*
Verſe 14: *ing it to his Croſs*: That is, made legall righteouſneſs to be perfected only by taking up our Croſs and following him, by patience and humility in obedience. *For having by his Croſs ſpoyled principalities and powers*; that is, the principality and power of death, (and the Law that cauſed it) *he made a ſhew*
Verſe 15. *of them openly: triumphing over them in it.*

Whereupon the admonition follows, *Let no Man therefore judge you in Meat or in drink, or in reſpect of a holy day, or of the new Moon, or of the Sab-*
Verſe 16. *bath dayes*: That is, be not ſubject to Ordinances now as of immediate Divine precept, although men ſhould go about to prove them as expreſly Di-
Verſe 17. vine as theſe: for *theſe were ſhadows of things to come, but the body is of Chriſt*; that is, they, in their particular tendencies to moral perfection and obedience, did foreſhew that the body and drift of them was to be abreviated and com-
Chap: 3.14. pleated by us in Chriſt, *by putting on of charity, which is the bond of perfectneſs.* He therfore proceeds, *let no man beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humility and worſhip of Angels*: that is, let no private man bereave you of heaven, (the reward of obediedce to Chriſt) by making you believe that your own voluntary humility to any ſuch Miniſter or Meſſenger, that like Angels would appear moſt divinely authoriſed, can excuſe you of default in not giving your rightfull obedience to him that holds his power by direct office from Chriſt:

Intruding into thoſe things which he hath not ſeen; that is, proceeding by his preſumptuous and ſelf-willed refuſall of Chriſts authority in the fleſh, under colour of ſpiritually ſerving him: *being vainly puft up by his fleſhly minde*; and *not holding of the head* (or right chief;) *from which all the body*, or the Church, *by joints and bands*, (that is, by juſt degrees of ſubordination) *having nouriſhment miniſtred and knit together*: or being nouriſhed by her own Angels and Miniſters (in the bond of obedience united) *increaſeth with the increaſe of God*: that is, receives Gods bleſſing, following Divine order and ſubordination under Chriſt. Chap: 2. 18. Verſe 19.

Wherefore if we be dead with Chriſt from the Rudiments of the world: that is, if we confeſs *the ſting of death and the Law* nailed to his Croſs, and worldly wiſdome to be aboliſhed in our Chriſtian perfection, *Why as though living in the world, are we ſubjects to Ordinances?* meaning to ſuch as hold not of the head of that Church whereof we are Members: For to humane Ordinances that doe hold of *the King as ſupreme under Chriſt*, *we muſt* (*for the Lords ſake*) *be ſubject*: when as thoſe things which by any elſe ſhould be put upon us, as under a Religious tye and precept of *touch not, taſte not, handle not*; *are all to periſh with the uſing, after the commandments and doctrines of men* That is, the Precepts in theſe things are not otherwiſe of Divine authority, then as commanded by that ſupreme Officer and Head in each particular Church, ſubſtituted by Chriſt the Churches univerſall Head: *Having indeed a ſhew of Wil-worſhip, and humility, and neglecting of the body, not in any honour to the ſatisfying of the fleſh*: That is, they have but a ſhew of ſpirituall ſanctity, or form of godlineſs: as though they did not intend the honouring of the fleſh, and their own ſelves, in this their ſeeming obedience and worſhip of Chriſt after their own wils and deviſings; when yet it was their only aim. Verſe 20. 1 Pet: 2. 13. Col: 2. 21, 22. Verſe 23.

For this worſhipping or obeying Chriſt, or Chriſtian Authority, according to the wayes and forms of our own wiſdomes only, is not truly worſhipping or obeying him, or them, but our ſelves; whom we Idolize in his, and his Miniſters ſtead. For whilſt we take the interpretation of the Morall Law on our own ſcores, and will, as by and from our ſelves preſume to hear God himſelf only therein (as once generally heard from Mount Sinai) *We ſacrifice to our own nets and ſnares*: and do forfeit that glorious liberty of the Goſpel, whoſe myſterie is to fulfill the Law in this one word, *Thou ſhalt love thy Neighbour as thy ſelf: and are again entred into bondage.* Rom: 13. 8, 9, 10.

For ſo St *Paul* interprets our literall obſervation of the morall Law, as given by Moſes *from Mount Sinai*, even as *anſwering to that Jeruſalem which is in bondage with her children*; and not to that freedome which is to be reſtored unto us, by the head of that *Ieruſalem which is above*: whom we are now to hear in all things in *Moſes* ſtead; as hath been noted from that propheſie ſet down by *Moſes* himſelf concerning it: *The Lord God ſhall raiſe up unto thee, a Prophet from the midſt of thee of thy Brethren like unto me; unto him ſhall ye hearken: according to all that thou deſireſt of the Lord thy God in Horeb, ſaying, Let me not hear again the voice of the Lord my God; neither let me ſee this great fire any more, leaſt I die.* By which words we may plainly underſtand, that all Command and Precepts are to be by us obeyed as Goſpel-precepts under the Kingſhip of Chriſt; and not as formerly delivered by *Moſes* from God the Father: and that without exception of the Decalogue it ſelf. Gal: 4. 25. Verſe 26. Deut: 18. 15, 16

The which fault St *Paul* complains of in his giddy and disobedient Corinthians, being *jealous over them with a godly jealousie*; least, by listening to others, *they should through subtilty be beguiled, as the Serpent beguiled* Eve, *from the simplicity that was in Christ.* That is, least, as *Eve*, in a desire and presumption of farther knowledg, was by the Serpent tempted to disobey God; so they, by listening to such superstructures as were taught by others, might be drawn to neglect those Fundamentall directions which he, as their Master-builder, had laid; and wherewith he had espoused them to Christ: and so *suffer themselves* to be *brought into bondage*, by relying on the wisdomes of such *false Apostles, and deceitfull workers, as transforming themselves into the Apostles of Christ*, would, under colour of Mission and authority immediately received from God, be directing men in their Christian Morall duties, contrary, or above the direction of their own generall and authorized head: who must now be in danger to be accounted *as a fool*, in comparison of these *transformed Angels of light, and Ministers of righteousness.*

2 Cor. 11.2,3.

Verses 19, 20.

Vers. 13,14,15

To warn us against which seduction, and to shew that the interpretation of Divine rules and precepts were by God and Christ now referred to that person who was next representing them, it is observable, that whensoever Christ is urged with the text of the Law, or when himself is expounding it, he always makes the sense thereof other then was formerly received: releasing it to the generall law of reason or morality, and not tying himself to the Letter as it was particularly morall to the Jews: as by making Murther and Adultery to be inward, and releasing by his Power, sometimes, the outward acts, as by dispencing with that strict precept of the Sabbath, and other instances may appear: These precepts binding the Jews as Divinely Morall, but Christians no farther then as rationally or politically so.

And St *Paul* having thus largely in the fore-recited, and in the next Chapter, spoken to the Colossians of our participation of God through Christ, and of Christ through Christian obedience (in this precept of love) he then particularly instances how this love is to be outwardly stated, and made perfect by obedience to rightfull Superiours in Christ: naming such Masters in the flesh as were then Christians, and saying, *Whatever yee doe, doe it heartily as to the Lord, and not unto men: Knowing, that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of his inheritance; for we serve the Lord Christ:* that is, we serve him by these in his stead: *But he that doth wrong*, that is, disobeys, or serves him according to his own will (which must cause wrong) *shall receive for the wrong which he hath done, and there is no respect of persons:* Clergy and Laiety, high and low, are made culpable by disobedience.

Col. 3.23,24.

Verse 25.

And in the next Epistle (being the first to the Thessalonians) having set down some particular commands for them to follow, (saying, *Yee know what Commandments we gave you by the Lord Jesus*) he after adds, *He that despiseth, despiseth not man but God; who hath also given to us his holy spirit*, meaning this authority which *he might be bold in as the Apostle of Christ.* And this he doth, as presuming them inwardly guided and instructed from God himself in the generall precept of love; saying, but *as touching brotherly Love, ye need not that I write unto you; for your selves are taught of God to love one another*: Meaning, that this precept onely is of immediate Divine direction and injunction; being able, if rightly performed,

1 Thess. 4.2.

Verse 8.

Chap. 2.6.

Chap. 4 9.

formed, to eſtate us innocent: according as he noted in his former prayer for them, ſaying, *The Lord make you to increaſe and abound in love one towards another, and towards all men, even as we doe towards you: to the end he may eſtabliſh your hearts unblamable in holineſs before God, even our Father, at the coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt with all his Saints.* At which time it will be found, that *Charity ſhall cover the multitude of ſins:* or make us innocent. chap: 3. 12. Verſe 13. 1 Pet: 4. 8.

And ſo far would he have them ſeek Peace (the fruit of this love) *That they ſhould ſtudy to be quiet, and to doe their own buſineſs*; not taking upon them to cenſure the actions of others, eſpecially of thoſe that are their Superiors. And the means to accompliſh and perfect this, he after ſets down, *We beſeech you, Brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admoniſh you, and to eſteem them very highly in love for their works ſake.* That is, count them directors of your love (ſo far as it is operative:) *and be at Peace among your ſelves*: Which is the ſame with the precept of *ſtudy to be quiet.* Becauſe being obedient to them, we ſhall be at peace with one another: but if we follow and beleeve them not in the manner how Chriſt is to be ſerved, and this our love to be exerciſed outwardly, as well as we have already believed that theſe things are to be inwardly embraced, it will follow that our private Will-worſhips to him, and private apprehenſions of love to our Brother, will, by their Croſſings and thwartings one upon another, prove to be their mutuall ſubverſion: and upon occaſion of diviſion and diſcontent hereabouts, rankor and malice will break in, to the reall overthrow of both true Faith and Charity. It being impoſſible that any voluntary particular act of my love to any Neighbor, can be ſo great and extenſive, as that more generall good to all, which obedience muſt produce. 1 Theſſ: 4. 11. chap: 5. 12. Verſe 13.

Whereupon follow directions, both to Superiors and others for effecting it: *Warn them that are unruly, comfort the feeble minded, ſupport the weak, be patient towards all men:* that is; *ſee that no man render evill for evill unto any man*, or take upon him to avenge his own wrong: *but ever follow that which is good, both among your ſelves, and to all men:* That is, let your Obedience be continuall, that your Charity may be Univerſall. For if you ſhould be ſo *unruly* as to raiſe Civill commotions and quarrels upon the ſcore of your own particular enmity and revenge, how would this confuſed *return of evil for evil* by the ſeverall Members of a Kingdom one againſt another, diſſolve all bonds of Peace and Charity; whilſt every man ſhould be both perſecuting and perſecuted. Whereas by a joynt ſubmiſſion and *acknowledgment of them that are over them in the Lord*, and acquieſcence to them in their publick Charge and Truſt, all rankor will ceaſe, and generall Amity be preſerved. Verſe 14. 15

And theſe two fundamentall precepts of Faith and Love, (wrought by God in the Theſſalonians) he again mentions in his ſecond Epiſtle to them, as he had done in his former Epiſtle: for as there he *thanks God alwayes for them in his prayers, remembring without ceaſing their work of faith, and labor of love:* So here he ſaith, *We are bound to thank God always for you Brethren, as it is meet, becauſe that your faith groweth exceedingly, and the Charity of every one of you all towards each other aboundeth:* So *that we our ſelves glory for you in the Church of God:* That is, for your good example; for *your patience* (the effect of love) *and faith in all your perſecu-* 2 Theſſ: 1 3.

Verſe 4. *ſecutions and tribulations that ye endure: which is a manifeſt token of the righteous judgment of God,* (or of theſe graces of God in you that makes you righteous) *that yee may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God:* (both to the participation of him in his Church here, and hereafter:) *for*
Verſe 5. *which yee alſo ſuffer:* That is, thoſe tribulations which ye endure in obedience to Authority, according to that righteous judgment of God, who now will have righteouſneſs and peace meet together in the good and peace of the Church, is a plain argument that you your ſelves are true Members of that Church; even by that plain demonſtration given of your ſenſe of fellow-feeling of thoſe miſeries which muſt attend her, in caſe the direction of her authorized guides ſhould be rejected.

For although the Law it in ſelf were *holy, righteous, and good*; and would have proved effectually ſo to us alſo, if we had had ſufficiency and integrity enough to have been fully comprehenſive and obſervant of every particle thereof, yet *ſin, taking occaſion by the commandment,* through *thoſe motions which were in the fleſh unto ſin,* made us come to loſe Charity and Peace, the end of the Law, through a miſtaken interpretation of keeping the Law according to the Letter thereof; and ſo made it to be the Law of ſin and of death. And therefore are we to eſteem our ſelves *as dead unto that wherein*
Rom: 7.6. *we were held;* that is, unto written precepts, *being now to ſerve this husband in newneſs of Spirit, and not in the oldneſs of the Letter.* Meaning, that through *obedience made from the heart to that form of Doctrine which was*
Rom:6.17,18. *delivered unto us, we ſhall now be made free from ſin, and born the ſervants of righteouſneſſe:* That is, by having our righteouſneſs perfected after *this new and living way,* even by obedience to that life and ſpirit of Chriſt, thoſe Precepts and directions which from the holy Ghoſt are received from thoſe that repreſent him in Authority here amongſt us. By which it ſhall come to paſs, that what the *Law could not doe in that it was weak through the fleſh, God ſending his Son in the likeneſs of ſinfull fleſh, and for ſinn, condemned ſin in the fleſh; that the righteouſneſs of the Law,* or that right-
Chap:8.3,4. teouſneſs which the Law aimed at, *might be fulfilled by us, who walk not after the fleſh, but after the ſpirit: for they that are after the fleſh,* that is, doe truſt to their own fleſhly wiſdomes in the interpretation of literall
Verſes 5, 6. precepts, will, from thence, take occaſion *to minde the things of the fleſh,* and ſo make it prove the law of ſin *and death, and not of life and peace.*

Nor is this Doctrine of the ſimplicity of Goſpel-precepts, and accompliſhment of Innocence by Chriſtian ſubmiſſion, other then what was formerly propheſied to be the eſtate of the Chriſtian Church: viz. *In that*
Iſaiah 28.5. *day ſhall the Lord of Hoſts be for a Crown of glory, and a diadem of beauty unto the reſidue of his people:* and *for a ſpirit of judgement to him that*
Verſe 7. *ſitteth in judgment; and for ſtrength to them that turn the battell into the Gate:* That is, to him that ſhall judge them and fight their Battels, which in the Jewiſh phraſe ſignifies Kingly office. In theſe words we ſee the ſpirit of judgment is plainly propheſied to reſide in him that *ſitteth in Judgment:* who being alſo mentioned by him in the ſingular number, and the glory and beauty of the Church being expreſſed under the notions of *Crown* and *diadem,* it cannot but perſonate the Kingſhip of Chriſt and his adopted
Iſaiah 32.1. ſons; according to the following propheſie, *Behold, a King ſhall reign in Righteouſneſs, and Princes in Judgment.*

Chap. 28.9. Then the Prophet goes on, to ſhew whom he would teach Doctrine and Know-

Knowledge, that is, *ſuch as are weaned from the Milk, and drawn from the breaſts:* Meaning ſuch as are content to obey the voice of Chriſts authority as little Children. But the perſons uſually erring in this caſe, and that think the ſimple food of Milk too weak for them, and therefore muſt taſte the Tree of good and evill, (called *ſtrong drink and wine*) are decyphered Verſe 7.
under the notions of *Prieſts* and *Prophets*, the uſuall leaders in diſobedience. For whereas the Lord ſaid, *This is the reſt, wherewith yee ſhall cauſe the weary to reſt; and this is the refreſhing, yet they would not hear: but the* Verſe 12.
Word of the Lord was unto them (that is, to their apprehenſion) *precept upon precept, precept upon precept; Line upon line, line upon line; here a little, and there a little: that they may goe and fall backward, and be bro-* Verſe 13.
ken, and ſnared, and taken: that is, refuſing the ſimplicity of Goſpell-light, theſe conceited wiſe men ſhall be taken in their own craft: being ſnared in the Law of ſin and death; called *their Covenant with death and hell.* Verſe 18.

Upon which ground it is, that God there threatens to *ſpeak with ſtamme-* Verſe 11.
ring lips, and another tongue to that people: meaning, that dark paraboli-call way of delivery, uſed in Scripture. The which ſhould be alſo encreaſed by theſe mens own deviſed phraſes and ſelect words of interpretation uſed among ſt themſelves: whereby (as by a ſort of Canting) they ſhould ſpeak as with ſtammering lips and another tongue: and ſo be puniſhed with darkneſs, becauſe of their incredulity and diſobedience to him; and for having truſted to their own Morall wiſdomes: and becauſe alſo through dark and intricate inſtructions of legality, they thought to have made *lies and falſhood* Verſe 15.
their refuge. But it is there declared, who ſhall be the ſure foundation of the Churches ſafety: namely, the *Corner ſtone*, or the ſeat of Judgment; *He that believeth ſhall not make haſte*: That is, Chriſt (by his owning this Verſe 16.
Throne of Kingly Judgement) will be *for a ſpirit of Judgement* to him that undertaketh to be the Line and Plummet of Iudgement and Righteouſ- Verſe 17.
neſs. The which ſhall increaſe in ſtrength, to the *treading down and over-flowing theſe hiding places: from the time it goeth forth it ſhall take hold, for morning by morning ſhall it paſs over, by day and by night:* That is, Verſe 18.
it ſhall ſo grow in power, that it ſhall be to theſe ſorts of people *A vexation only to underſtand the report:* To hear of the daily increaſe of Kingly Of- Verſe 19.
fice and power, notwithſtanding their ſeditious contrivances. For, the *bed is ſhorter then that a Man can ſtreteh himſelf on it, and the covering narrower, then that he can wrap himſelf in it*: There is no room for lyes, Verſe 20.
nor refuge for falſhood, to be had in the ſimplicity of the Goſpel precepts. It is God that now calls for this reſpect and obedience to his Vicegerent: For, *the Lord ſhall riſe up as in Mount Perazim, he ſhall be wrath, as in the valley of Gibeon; That he may doe his work, his ſtrange work, and* Verſe 21.
bring to paſs his act, his ſtrange act: That is, God ſhall be powerfull preſent in aſſiſting his Vicegerents, as formerly with *David* and *Ioſhua*; and *by theſe that ſit in Iudgement*, and turn the battail to the gate, ſhall cauſe the *waters of Mount* Perazim *to overflow their hiding places, and the hail-ſtones of his wrath to ſweep away the refuge of lyes.* Verſe 17.

And then ſhall thoſe Prophets, Rulers, and Seers, finde themſelves ſo *confounded, by the ſpirit of deep ſleep from the Lord*, that their deluſive ſpeculations ſhall afford them no better ſatisfaction, then the *dream of Meat or* Chap: 29. 10.
drink to him that is hungry or thirſty. And all, becauſe of theſe pretenders to ſerve God in another way then by the direction of their Superior, *Do but draw*

neat

near to him with their mouth, and honour him with their lips, but their hearts is far from him: in vain (making ſemblance of) *worſhipping him, teaching*
Matth: 15. 8. *for doctrines the commandments of Men:* That is, preferring the rule of righteouſneſs or judgment of their own ſetting up, before thoſe ſet up by my authority; which was our Saviours own interpretation of this propheſie, who no doubt beſt knew the meaning thereof. The like alſo doth St *Mark* ſet down to be the interpretation of this propheſie; namely, that this phariſaicall pretenſion of legal or traditional ſanctity, (under the notion of *Corban*)
Mark 7. 6, &c. ſerves but to defeat the poſitive precept of Gods Vicegerent.

Therefore ſaith the Prophet, *behold I will proceed to doe a marvailous*
Iſaiah 29. 14. *work amongſt this people, even a marvailous work and a wonder: for the wiſdome of their wiſe Men ſhall periſh, and the underſtanding of the prudent Men ſhall be hid:* That is, the wiſdom of theſe pretenders ſhall come to nought.
Verſe 15. And therefore it is added, *Woe to them that ſeek deep to hide their counſell from the Lord, and their works in the dark: and they ſay, Who ſeeth us, and who knoweth us:* That is, they finde ſuch multiplication of contrivances, as if they would out-wit God Almighty. But he ſaith, *Surely your turning of things upſide down* (a fit expreſſion for ſuch as will be judging their Iudge) *ſhall be eſteemed as the Potters clay: for ſhall the work ſay of him that made it, he made it not? Or ſhall the thing framed, ſay of him that framed it, he had*
Verſe 16. *no underſtanding:* That is, ſhall man be wiſer then his Maker? Will they not allow God his own way and ſeaſon for things? Why will they be again ſeeking to be under Morall righteouſneſs, and legall bondage, as when the Lord himſelf led them by the hand? and ſo would have God tyed to harder conditions then the Plowman: *Who, when he hath made plain the face of*
Chap: 28. 25. *the Earth, and caſt in his appointed grain*; doth not then continue ploughing himſelf ſtill: but (expecting ſuch Crop as this prepared earthy Heart of man will yeeld); he doth afterwards (by divers afflictions) cauſe thoſe ſeverall ſorts of Grain, to be cleanſed and made acceptable.

But as for them that think there can be no fruitful place where God is not the immediate holder of the Plough, and where are not many Precepts from him given; he adds, *Is it not a very little while, and Lebanon ſhall be*
chap: 29. 17. *turned into a fruitfull field, and the fruitfull field ſhall be eſteemed as a forreſt? and in that day ſhall the deaf eares hear the word of the Book; and the eyes of the blinde ſhall ſee out of obſcurity, and out of darkneſs:*
Verſe 18, That is, the Jewes that had heretofore had Gods precepts and worſhip ſo plentifull amongſt them, ſhall be darkned: and the Gentiles, formerly ſitting in darkneſs, ſhall have a marvailous light appear: and by reaſon of that precept of Love by God inwardly taught them, they ſhall know and perform the words of the Book, or precepts of the Law: and ſo being made obedient to the Goſpel, and become of the number of *Meek and Poor, they ſhall*
Verſe 19, *increaſe their joy in the Lord: For the terrible one is brought to nought,*
Verſe 20, *and the ſcorner is conſumed; and all that waiteth for Iniquity is cut off:* Even ſuch kinde of men, as would ſcare men with the multitude and ſtrength of their Precepts, as if they were all expreſly Divine; and doe again ſcorn the ſimplicity of the Goſpel-rule; and ſo make themſelves workers of iniquity: *That make a Man an offender for a Word; and lay a ſnare for*
Verſe 21. *him that reproveth in the Gate; and turn aſide the juſt for a thing of naught.*

Which

Which verſe cleerly expreſſeth all their practice: firſt by making Religious, and Divine precepts to ſtretch to every thing, they cauſe men to be in danger to be offenders to God for ordinary matters: and ſo make him that is in the ſeat of judgement, appear a ſtumbling block or rock of offence: ſeeming to them an uſurper of authority, in offering to direct and reprove us: thereby cauſing the juſt, or the rule of Juſtice, to ceaſe and deſiſt upon no occaſion. As *though a King ſitting in the ſeat of judgement*, did *not ſcatter away evil with his eyes*; as *though he that doth righteouſneſs were not righteous*; as though judgement and righteouſneſs, had not a certain *line and plummet* for their meaſure; or that the weight or meaſure of juſtice appointed by Cods Vicegerents, were not to be the true ſtandard; but that men might make divers weights and meaſures thereof. For when ſubjects take on them to interpret and judge of righteouſneſs and juſtice, by any other way and rule then that ſet up by Chriſts deputy, they then make him a ſtumbling block to them, as Chriſt himſelf (being laid as the *chief corner ſtone* for the Churches direction) was made unto the Jews: who would be ſtill following legal righteouſneſs, and not ſubmit to that *which was of faith in Chriſt*. Prov. 20. 8. 1 Joh. 3. 7. Rom. 9. 32, 33.

By means of theſe *ſnares, laid for him that reproveth in the gate*, we may alſo interpret that theſe *Prieſts and Prophets* ſhould not onely *(through ſtrong drink) err in viſion and ſtumble themſelves in judgement*, but that they ſhould thereby ſometimes enſnare thoſe perſons ſitting in judgement: and ſo cauſe them *alſo to err through wine and ſtrong drink*: that is, in too much liſtening to their ſhews of Divine revelation and authority. But generally the enſnaring there ſpoken of, is in regard of thoſe vulgar errors which ſhould prevaile in the Chriſtian Church, notwithſtanding this judgement ſeat of Chriſt executed by his deputies: even as it formerly had done amongſt the Iſraelites, called there *the drunkards of Ephraim*. Chap. 28. 7. Verſ. 3.

Therefore ſaith the Lord who redeemed Abraham, concerning the houſe of Jacob: Jacob ſhall not now be aſhamed, neither ſhall his face wax pale. In which words God expreſſing himſelf under the notion of Redeemer, ſhews the condition of the Chriſtian Church (the houſe of *Iacob*) under Chriſt their Redeemer, typified under *Iacob* himſelf: namely, that all cauſe of fear and ſhame ſhall be baniſhed, through the ſucceeding glory of the Chriſtian Church. For ſo it followeth, *But when he ſeeth his children the work of mine hands in the midſt of him* (that is, ſuch as are begotten to him through the power of mine inward Kingdom) *they ſhall ſanctifie my name: and ſhall ſanctifie the holy one of Jacob, and ſhall fear the God of Iſrael*: that is, ſhall walk righteouſly and obediently according to their calling. *They alſo that erred in ſpirit*, that is, ſuch as were not yet thus inwardly guided but were led by multitude of litteral precepts, *ſhall come to underſtand* (that is, to know this right way of ſanctifying me) *and they that murmured* (that is, ſuch as were made ſtubborn by relyance upon their own interpretations of legality) *ſhall learn Doctrine*: that is, ſhall learn the doctrine of obedeince, a fit leſſon for murmurers. Chap. 29. 22. Verſ. 23. Verſ. 24.

As this Office of Teaching or Inſtruction, is to be underſtood here ſet down as in the firſt place proper to Chriſt (*who was anointed to preach good tydings*) ſo, becauſe this could be but in ſmall meaſure done and ſupplyed by himſelf (at leaſt amongſt the Gentiles, in the glory of whoſe Church it is to be underſtood that of the Jews was propheſied) it is therefore to be ſup- Chap. 61. 1.

poſed, that Chriſtian Princes are to be his chief deputies in this office of inſtruction alſo. For as they (under him) *Shall build the old waſts, and raiſe up the former deſolations* of the Jewiſh Church, by this advancement of Chriſts kingdome amongſt the Gentiles: ſo *Theſe ſtrangers ſhall ſtand and feed the Churches flock, and the ſons of the Aliens ſhall be her plowmen and vine-dreſſers*: all which are the Goſpel expreſſions for Chriſts Shepherds or Paſtors.

Verſe 4.

Verſe 5.

Nor can it appear otherwiſe then reaſonable and neceſſary, that thoſe that are to be in the ſeat of judgement under Chriſt, ſhould have in chief the power and office to teach and inſtruct, as well as to cenſure and reform. Which, although not fit to be perſonally practiſed by Kings, in that ſence of preaching as now underſtood (eſpecially having under them perſons in holy orders to that purpoſe ſeparately ordained) yet is that general Office of inſtruction to be eſteemed ſo properly their right, as that (for the matter and meaſure thereof) it is alwayes ſubordinately to be executed by others. For as they are to be the keepers of both tables, ſo upon extraordinary and exorbitant occaſions, they may alſo (no doubt) as Gods Miniſters entruſted in chief with the advancement of his glory and ſervice publikely and perſonally alſo, perform that Office under the Goſpel, much more rightfully then good *Joſiah* under the Law. Who, to his great commendations, had formerly done the like, *In the ears of the Prieſts and Prophets, and all the people both ſmall and great*: and yet was the cuſtody and interpretation of the Law much more appropriate to the Prieſthood then, than now.

2 King. 23. 2.
2 Chron. 34. 30

Nay indeed this Office muſt both be in the ſame perſon, and in the firſt place ſetled alſo: or elſe I ſee not how they ſhould have power or ability to reprove, in ſuch things where they had no power or right to conſtitute and ordaine. And therefore we may obſerve, that the firſt Miſſion of power which our Saviour gave, was under the notion of this Office of Preachers or Evangeliſts: and by vertue thereof, and obedience thereunto, did the Apoſtles at firſt claim obedience from their Churches in other things; as ſhall more fully appear anon.

But to return, ſo much of the propheſie as concerns the Church her encreaſe and proſperity, is to be interpreted as not made good fully in Chriſt himſelf, nor in ſome time after: that is, whilſt the Church was ſo under perſecution, that thoſe deputies of Chriſt in the ſeat of judgement, had not power and honor enough to preſerve the members from ſhame, or fear. But it is to be compleated *unto the reſidue*, or latter time of the Church: when God ſhall more eminently appear like a Crown and diadem: in being the ſpirit of judgement and ſtrength, to them that have the crown and diadem. That is, when *Chriſt as King ſhall raign in righteouſneſs*, and *his deputies as Princes ſhall rule in judgement: then ſhall a man* (the Prince in Chriſts ſeat) *be for a hiding place from the winde* (of divers doctrines wherewith they were formerly toſſed) *and a cover from the tempeſt* (that is, of perſecution) *he ſhall be as rivers of waters in a dry place*: That is, (from the ſpirit of *truth now met in the ſeat of mercy and judgement*) he ſhall cauſe inſtructions *to flow forth as waters in a dry land*: and by means of ſtrength (to him that is to turn the battel to the gate) *he ſhall be as the ſhaddow of a great rock*; even for ſtrength and defence to the Church, formerly wearied with perſecution. And ſo the Prophet goes on, to ſhew how the eyes and ears of them that yet ſee and hearken to his inſtructions, ſhall be reclaimed from their former raſhneſs, and come to underſtand knowledge.

Iſa. 32. 1.

Verſe 2.

By

By this word *man* ſet down in this ſecond verſe in the ſingular number (ſaying, *A man ſhall be*, &c.) we may gather, firſt, that there ſhould be but one at once in each Church that ſhould ſupply the place of a rock and ſpirit of judgement: although, in reſpect of the whole number of Chriſts deputies in the Catholike Church, they were to be *Princes* in the plural number, under him the Churches univerſal head and King of Kings. And then again; this perſon being ſet down under the notion of *a man*, will denote unto us that it could not be meant of Chriſt himſelf neither.

But this (as before ſaid) ſhall chiefly come to paſs, after the former Palaces of the Jewiſh Church *ſhall be forſaken*: and by means of the *ſpirit from on high*, to be powered on the Gentile Church, *judgement ſhall dwell in the wilderneſs*: that is, in the Gentile Church, formerly a wilderneſs, *and righteouſneſs remain in the fruitful field*: meaning the now flouriſhing Gentile Church. *And the work of righteouſneſs ſhall be peace, and the effects of righteouſneſs ſhall be quietneſs and aſſurance for ever.* That is, by means of righteouſneſs looking down from heaven, and ſo cauſing righteouſneſs and judgement to kiſs each other, *The Church ſhall dwell in a peaceable habitation, and in ſure dwellings, and in quiet reſting places*: that is, the Church by the means of this bleſſed protection of kingſhip, ſhall be no more in danger of perſecution as before.

Verſe 14. Verſe 15. Verſe 16. Iſa. 32. 17. Verſe 18.

Theſe bleſſings of peace and proſperity, to come to the Church by means of Gods *judgement and righteouſneſs given to the King and the Kings ſon*, (that is, Chriſt and his ſons of oile,) *David*, under the type of himſelf and *Solomon*, at large ſetteth down in the 72 *Pſalm*. Where, it being ſet down to laſt ſo long as *the Moon ſhall endure*, we may know how to interpret *Iſaiahs* prediction *of quietneſs and aſſurance for ever*: and ſo be confirmed that theſe promiſes import temporal happineſs, to acrew to us by a temporal Saviour.

Pſal. 72. 2.

All which propheſies were to be fullfilled, after thoſe propheſies concerning Chriſts humiliation in his own perſon ſhould have an end: and alſo his own propheſies concerning thoſe miſerable times of calamity that ſhould (for ſometime) befall his Church after his departure. In which reſpect it is, that he is come to ſend fire on earth and a ſword, *&c.* meaning perſecution: and alſo to ſet men in neereſt relations at variance one againſt another: meaning that for fear thereof they ſhould betray one another. For if we be not regardful of the true times of compleating the propheſies of univerſal peace of the Church, we ſhall be at a loſs to finde their accompliſhment. For I conceive the propheſies of univerſal peace (as of *beating ſwords into pruning-hooks*, &c.) to have accompliſhment at the general peace, when Chriſt the Prince of peace came: and our Saviours propheſies of his Churches perſecution, to have an end in *Conſtantines* time. After whom, I look on the Chriſtian Church, in her relapſes under *Julian* the Apoſtate, *&c.* as in a temporary trembling motion: till ſhe fix in her ſtate of quietneſs and aſſurance.

For we are not to expect that Chriſt *ſhould cry, or cauſe his voice to be heard in the ſtreets* of the world as a King, *Untill he had ſent judgement into victory*: that is, untill by means of victories obtained by theſe his deputies in the ſeat of judgement, he ſhall have made himſelf notable for his power. For the expreſſion of *ſending judgement into victory*, muſt import his doing theſe things by others: even by theſe anointed perſons under him. In

Matth. 12. 19. Verſe 20.

the mean time, those his former Deputies, Apostles, Bishops, Patriarchs, &c. that like weak and feeble reeds, were *shaken to and fro of the winde* of per-
Matth. 11. 7.
Matth. 12. 20. secution, *he should not break, or quench the smoaking (or dimmly burning) flax*: That is, should both powerfully defend them against others breaking; and should also promote the encreasing state of his Church: which like to smoaking flax, should shortly burn forth brightly under Monarchy: and by
Matth. 12. 18. means of these nursing fathers of the Church, should *shew judgement to the Gentiles.*

This fault of mens adding precept to precept, and of *Forsaking the fountain of living water, and digging to themselves broken Cisterns that can hold*
Jer. 2. 17. *no water*, we may finde plentifully reproved by other of the Prophets also: but most of all by this Evangelical Prophet, who in the latter part of his eight Chapter is censuring thereof, and warning us against this covenanting
Isa. 8. 12. with death and hell, almost in the same words. *Say ye not a confederacy to all them whom this people shall say a confederacy, neither fear you their fear,*
Verse 13. *nor be afraid. Sanctifie the Lord of hosts himself, and let him be your fear and your dread*: that is, sanctifie him according to the precepts of faith and love, his inward law written in your hearts. And then *He shall be for a san-*
Verse 14. *ctuary* (a place of safety to you) *but for a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel: for a gin, and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. And many among them* (that is, all such as will trust to
Verse 15. their own light and neglect the simplicity of Christs Gospel-light) *shall stumble and fall: and be broken, and be snared, and be taken.*

And then he proceeds to tell what this new, and living way is, and how the letter of the Law is to be made lively, and effectual by means of a living keeper: and so he brings in Christ speaking *Binde up the testimony, seal the law among my Disciples*: that is, let judiciary power be in those that rule in
Verse 16. Christs name and stead: *And I will wait for the Lord, that hideth his face*
Verse 17. *from the house of Jacob* (that is, such of them as sacrifice to their own snares)
Verse 18. *and will look for him. Behold I and the children whom the Lord hath given me, are for signs and for wonders in Israel*: because our way agrees not with the interests of their moral contrivances.

After which, the admonition comes against our listening to these diviners and such as would finde Christ in *the secret places. When they shall say*
Matth. 24. 26. *unto you seek unto them that have familiar Spirits*, (such as make frequent brags of their own gifts and illuminations) *and unto them that peep and that mutter*, such as have canting ways and expressions of their own, do not follow such: for, *should not a people seek unto their God?* Is it fit
Isa. 8 19. that they should seek *for the living* sense of the Law, *to the dead*, letter? But if they do seek *to the Law and to the Testimony, if they speak not according to this word* (namely shewing how all Law is fulfilled in this one word of love) *it is because there is no light in them*: that is, because God hath suffered
Verse 20. the *God of this world to blinde their mindes*. Else they might see that these Pre-
2 Cor. 4. 4. cepts of love are plainly there set down, as the sum of the Law also: and o-
Levit. 9. 18. 34 &c. ther particular Precepts, as they were litterally delivered, were but appro-
Deut. 30. 6. priate to the Jewish Nation onely: and not universally binding as divine. And therefore they that thus *dig deep to hide their Counsels from God, shall pass through it hardly bestead and hungry*: they shall be caught in their own snares and be as him that dreameth of meat and behold he is an hungry. *And*
Isa. 8. 21. *it shall come to pass when they be hungry, they shall fret themselves: and curse*

their

their King and their God, and look upward. That is, the shame and confusion of their own deceitful way, shall drive them into so great desperation, that instead of amendment by obedience to God, to be shewed to the King his Minister, they shall curse the parties themselves; that is, curse God by cursing their King: whereby they shall curse upward, as well as *look upward.* The which is the issue of all such blinde guidance: namely to finde trouble, darkness, *dimness*, *anguish*, and the like; which way soever they shall *look.* Verse 22.

And this consequence *of dimness and anguish*, as we finde by example to have been the issue of the absence of Monarchical direction, in the Idolatry, Civil war, and other wickedness of the Israelites, *When they had no King, but every man did what seemed good in his own eys* (that is, interpreted and followed the letter of the Law as he thought good) so, is it also foretold to happen to *Israel*, and in them to the Christian Church, when she shall *be an empty Vine*, or *fruitless*, *by bringing forth fruit unto himself*: that is, serve God after his own invention, signified by *increasing his Altars and goodly Images.* For then, when *their heart is divided*; that is, are not single and entire in their service and obedience, *they shall be found faulty, and their Altars and Images shall be broken down*: which is the same as to *be snared and taken.* They shall then finde their sin of disobedience to prove their punishment. *For they shall say we have now no King, because we feared not the Lord, what then shall a King do to us?* That is, since we have refused to fear or serve God, as he appointed in the King his Minister, *and have spoken words swearing falsly in making a Covenant* (the Covenant of our own works with death and hell) therefore do we deserve to have *judgement springing up like Hemlock in the furrows of the field*: that is, to have this common and uncertain weed of judgement, that is now growing every where for want of a formal root, to be made as poysonous unto us as Hemlock is. Hos. 10. 1. Verse 2. Verse 3. Verse 4.

We shall also finde the Prophet *Amos* imputing it as a fault in *Israel* and a sure sign of their calamity that *they hated him that reproved in the gate, and abhorred him that speaketh uprightly*: that is, they despised and slighted that sentence of Judgement and Equity which was in Gods Vicegerent, and did *desire the day of the Lord*: as thinking to be found upright before him according to their own ways. When as it should be *as if a man did flee from a Lion, and a Bear met him and went into the House and leaned his hand on the wall, and a Serpent bit him.* For which cause God there threatens to withdraw his publike presence (a sure sign of his direction of any place) and to *abhor their Offerings, their Feast days*, and other solemn ways appointed for his own worship: because, under colour of serving him, they *had turned judgement into wormwood, and left off righteousness in the earth*: or had made *it spring up like Hemlock*, as formerly noted. Amos 5. 10. Verse 8. Ver. 19, 21, 22.

Nor need there farther instances be given of that simplicity and coincidence of Gospel Precepts, and how that Faith and Love, or *Faith that worketh by love*, and Love made useful by Obedience, are asserted in the New-Testament, as necessarily, and onely fundamental; since, if the whole Scripture be diligently examined, they will be found the usual drift of them all. So that as salvation is sometimes, and in some places promised to such *as believe the Gospel*, so in other places, to such as *obey the Gospel.* Faith uniting us to Christ, and Obedience uniting us to his Church. He that with prepossession of this Doctrine, shall read the holy Scriptures, shall finde the difficult

places

places thereof to aſſent to a ready opening and interpretation; offering themſelves to unlock eaſily with this Key: it being the door of entrance into moſt of the myſteries thereof, which are uſually turning upon theſe hinges.

Which plenty and readineſs of diſcovery, as it hath been the occaſion of my paſſed tedioufneſs in theſe Diſcourſes, ſo muſt it be the excuſe alſo; both for my want of order, and alſo for any repetition that ſhall be found therein. For as the known benefit ariſing by peace (through obedience) made me attentive to ſuch remarkable Texts as did confirm this duty, ſo theſe Texts again, by the abundance of matter accompanying them and leading to that ſubject, cauſed me both to fail of method, and to tranſcend my intended bounds in the Treaty hereof. And yet, to avoid this tedioufneſs, I have neither undertaken to Comment on many places (neither in Old nor New-Teſtament); and in ſome of thoſe I do undertake, it may be obſerved that I have but curſorily gloſſed: leaving the farther diſcovery to each mans eaſie obſervation that will attend it.

I know many will look ſtrangely at the firſt, upon this Doctrine of mens innocence by implicite obedience in all we do: that is, to Chriſt himſelf in things fundamental, and which formally ſtate us Chriſtians, and to our Prince (his deputy) in all things neceſſary for the ſecurity and advance thereof. But when the ſcope of Scripture, and the good of Peace and common Charity (thereby, and no way elſe to be attained) ſhall be well conſidered of, the apparent benefit, will in reality (I hope) exceed the ſeeming novelty. For without it, how ſhall we be able to ground and ſettle our ſelves, upon ſuch a conſtant courſe for Unity and Agreement, where private judgements (under the colour of Conſcience) ſhall not be able to interrupt Gods appointed way of providence, by ſetting him to act againſt himſelf? Even to interrupt and abate of that glory which ſhould be given *to God in the higheſt*, by not providing for this *Peace one earth, and good will towards men*: according to that heavenly Hymn ſung at the birth of the *Prince of Peace*. And if ſuch a thing as Government muſt thereupon be acknowledged neceſſary, and that obedience again is a duty neceſſary to eſtate Government; then muſt there neceſſarily a difference follow (in point of guilt) between him that performs it, and him that doth it not: and ſo conſequently he that hath been more implicite and ready in his obedience, muſt be confeſſed to have better performed it, then he who hath therein but obſerved the Dictate of his own ſence and Conſcience, and not that of his Superior.

Nor can I ſee, how men, generally granting Superiors to be accountable for the ſins which were acted by vertue of their commands, can thereupon avoid the acknowledgement, that as this guilt lights on them becauſe the other obeys out of ſenſe of duty, ſo muſt it proportionably abate in the obeyer: unleſs they can make obedience no duty at all, or (that which is more abſurd) can make men never the juſter for having done it.

But ſo hard a thing it is to overcome that thirſt of rule and inſubjection that is naturally graffed in us, that ſome objections muſt always be expected to ſhake off implicite reſtraint, and to leave us ſtill to the liberty and condition of our firſt Parents, in examining the Ground and Reaſon of each command, before we come to act. It faring with men, in the rendring of their obedience, as it doth in their Charity. For although none will deny that Charity lies upon him as a duty, even as they will grant that Obedience doth alſo,

alſo, yet when we are to act this Precept of Love or Charity we ſhall finde intereſt and covetouſneſs, ſo to ſway us in making of Objections againſt ſuch as do really need it, that it will in the end amount to very little: even as in like manner Pride and Intereſt are always ready to defeat the duty of Obedience; by one objection or other againſt the perſon commanding, or the Command it ſelf. Thus, Children and Servants, being told of thoſe Texts of *obey in all things*, or the like, will preſently anſwer, that, by *all things*, muſt be underſtood onely things lawful: "For elſe, our Father or "Maſter may command us to do contrary to the Laws of our Prince and "Country; he may command us to Kill, to Steal, &c. And the like anſwer we muſt alſo expect from ſome who live under the notion of Subjects, but have no minde to be ſo: to wit, "That no man is bound to ſuch implicite "obedience, as is by me formerly ſet down; nor the ſubject obliged to obey "his King commanding contrary to the Law of God and Nature. And then, aſſuming to themſelves a liberty to know, interpret, and apply theſe Laws, they have made that Precept of *obey in all things*, equivalent to *obey in nothing*: ſince that I do no more for him, then I would have done for a friend that ſhould have entreated me: even to have ſatisfied his deſire as far as my own Conſcience or judgement did lead me.

But they have not well conſidered, that as the reaſon why Children and Servants cannot follow implicite directions, is, becauſe the Prince their common Superior, hath nowhere left the Father and Maſter to this liberty, by ſaying obey in all things, or the like, but on the contrary, doth expect immediate and particular obedience from them, as Subjects, to many of his Laws: which, had he not, but had bidden them to *Submit to thoſe that had the rule over them, & to do all things without murmurings and diſputings*, &c. It cannot be doubted but an implicite obedience to their Parent or Maſter would have excuſed them againſt their Prince: inaſmuch as in all thoſe caſes, where no reſervation was expreſly made, obedience to them was but obedience to him.

Nor have they well conſidered the condition of humane frailty; which is, and will be, while man continues in this vail of miſery, obnoxious unto ſundry unavoidable inconveniences and miſchiefs. It is not for men to fancy their happineſs can be in any thing ſo ſtated here, as not to be lyable to croſs and adverſe accidents: all they can do, is to bow and ſubmit to that way and courſe by Providence appointed them, and where theſe things are leaſt to be feared.

And therefore, to thoſe that ſhall object againſt the degree of arbitrarineſs we have aſſigned to Princes, "What if Kings ſhall command their "Subjects to commit murther, or lye with another mans wife, or the like: We may make anſwer by another Queſtion; Whether they think it more probable that thoſe things ſhould come to paſs and be acted in Civil war and Anarchy (the uſual remedy of this fear) when each man is left at liberty to perform what he is by natural inclination provoked unto, or when their actings, are, in that caſe bounded by one that can have no ſuch ſelf-delight therein. Where there is a King ſet up with due power, that can have no pleaſure in any mans revenge or luſt, it is not ſuppoſeable that this one perſon ſhall be alike prone to command in that kinde (nay, even to any one perſon) as that, the neerer provocations of Anger and Concupiſcence

ſcence where no irreſiſtable power is, ſhould univerſally inſtigate to be committed, in order to that liberty in which each one is left.

If men do really hate theſe and the like evils, and do accordingly deſire that the moſt ſure way ſhould be taken for their avoidance (for to do it in ſuch degree that they ſhall not be ſuppoſeable to happen is impoſſible) they ſhould then (me thinks) not countenance thoſe maxims and courſes that tend to Rebellion and Civil war. For, where it is but poſſible that under a Monarch equally obeyed, ſome things may be, at ſome times commanded; in caſe of inſurrection and Civil war, it falls out of neceſſity that ſuch things muſt be often, and more generally perpetrated.

And where, in the firſt caſe, it can never happen but with ſome knowledge and remorſe of the thing as evil, (whereby through Conſcience or ſenſe of honor the execution may be prevented or mitigated) here Conſcience it ſelf comes many times to be ſo blindely engaged, that each diſagreeing party is ready to believe that their revenge and rapine againſt each other, is but as done againſt Gods enemies; and ſo is both duty and ſervice to him. In which caſe, to ſpare out of any natural or moral relation of Father, or Maſter, or the like, is all one as to prefer worldly reſpects to divine, and the love of men to that of God: too ſad experience telling us, how men, in this caſe, are wont to heighten one anothers rage by the abuſed applycation of this or ſuch like Texts. *Curſed be he that doth the work of the Lord deceitfully: and curſed be he that keepeth back his ſword from blood.*

But for fuller ſatisfaction in theſe ſcruples, men are to conſider that as Murther, Theft, Adultery and the like are in themſelves Vices notoriouſly deſtructive to humane preſervation and peace, ſo in the eye of divine Providence it was found neceſſary, not onely to forbid them by expreſs Laws and Precept from himſelf, but alſo to ſubſtitute amongſt men ſuch living Magiſtrates as ſhould have the charge for the interpretation and enforcing of them. To ſay that any man may commit Murther, Theft, or the like, and yet commit no ſin, were not to ſpeak like a Chriſtian; but then again, to ſay that the determination of what is, or is not Murther or Theft, is not left unto him that is to interpret and enforce this Law, is as erroneous and unbecoming a ſubject. When *Moſes* commanded to *ſlay every man his brother*, and to borrow of the Egyptians rayment, Jewels *&c.* the *Iſraelites* that were to look on him as the keeper and interpreter of the Law, thereby Obedience to him aſſayl'd both of Murther and Theft. For as theſe Laws (aswe ſaid) were made for the good of Society, ſo is their definition and particular enforcement entruſted to him that hath ſhare of each Society. In which conſideration it may often fall out, that the putting of ſome to death by publike command, is neceſſary to the ſaving of more from being murthered upon private revenge; and the confiſcation of ſome mens eſtates, the ready way to ſecure other ſubjects in a more quiet poſſeſſion. And if thoſe that are by Princes in theſe kindes to be imployed as executioners of Juſtice, are not obliged to enter into the examination of the legality of the Precept or Sentence whereby any is bereft of life, liberty, or eſtate, even becauſe of thoſe great inconveniences that might follow ſuch delay or refuſal; why ſhould not Subjects in the general be held excuſable by implicite obedience alſo? For it is nowhere found but the Subjects of the one ſort do

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ſtand equally, and as ſtrictly obliged as the other; and therefore, if the Prince his particular employment of ſome certain of his ſubjects this way, did, for his very Precept ſake, tye them to ſtricter obedience, and alſo excuſe them therein; what and if another ſubject ſhould upon occaſion be willed to act this part? What and if as many ſubjects as ſhould make an Army ſhould be called together to execute his commands upon ſuch numbers of others as could not be awed by the ordinary way of Juſtice, (for an Army is nothing elſe but an extraordinary levy of men for publike vindication)? Are ſubjects in this caſe to refuſe liſting, till they be farther ſatisfied in the juſtice of their Soveraigns proceeding then what his Declarations doth intimate? Or may they afterwards ſuſped execution in every new Command, until they be fully ſatisfied in the juſtneſs thereof? If this be thought unreaſonable, as the ready was to defeat all Military Diſcipline, ſo muſt it likewiſe be held deſtructive in Civil proceedings alſo; which is but a more ſtationary and ſetled Army; as the Army is a more moveable Commonwealth, in a more warlike poſture: Obedience being the Life and Soul of both.

But, if the Prince, upon ſome Reaſons known to himſelf; command any of his Subjects to carry a Reprieve, or be otherwiſe inſtrumental in the ſaving of any perſon condemned for Murther, or Theft, or the like, is that perſon, that hath the life of this man now in his power, to ſuſpend or deny the proſecution of this Precept, becauſe, for ought appears to him, the condemned party is not guiltleſs? If the condemned party ſhall be ſaved by his Obedience to his Prince his Command, and ſhall afterwards commit more Murthers, or Thefts, or the like; on whoſe ſcore ſcore ſhall all theſe light? For it is (certainly) as well a fault to *juſtifie* and acquit the *wicked*, as to puniſh or *condemn* the *juſt*: but ſurely it is imputable to him that is by Office to command, and not to him that is by his Relation to Obey. Which caſe, well applyed and conſidered, will inform us that it is not Juſtice (as it is truely and really ſo) but that, in theſe kindes of determinations, we are carryed away with the natural ſenſe of pity, and ſenſe of honor and vulgar reputation: inaſmuch as it appears more noble to be inſtrumental in the acts of mercy and benificence, then in puniſhments or condemnations. Prov. 17. 15.

But if after all this, the truth of what hath hitherto been delivered finde but ſlow belief and practiſe; it is not to be wondred at. Conſidering firſt, that the thing it ſelf is a myſtery; *even hid from the wiſe and prudent, and revealed unto Babes*: that is, to them that (like Babes and Sucklings) can be content innocently to relye on Chriſts ſincere milk of the Word, (his Precept of Love) and to draw it from the Breaſts of the nurſing Fathers and Mothers of the Church. To theſe humble ſouls, will God give his Grace: but will reſiſt the proud in their prudent ſpeculations. For how is it otherwiſe to be hoped, but that ſince men do fancy themſelves to have ſufficiency of diſcretion and integrity, (which all more or leſs do) ſo proportionably, they ſhall alſo balk all guidance but their own; or (which is all one) ſuch onely as themſelves like of? For, ſince the Reaſon why I decline the others guidance to follow theirs, is onely becauſe I firſt found their Principles, and Com-

mands were such as were agreeable to mine own judgement or interest; it must then be granted, that I follow therein but my self, and also obey none other. They therefore that can well be content to acknowledge that Faith in Christ is necessary for making us capable of the blessing of Deity, will yet make a stand to confess it to be solely that Faith that worketh by love, or is always ready so to do: and that then, as we cannot be Members of Christ otherwise then as by being Members of his Church, so neither of his Church, otherwise then by obedience to that power therein residing in his stead.

But now, for Conclusion of this Discourse, we will see how far these things stand good and justifiable in the very light of Nature also: to the end it may finde readier entertainment, when they shall appear reasonable in humane prudence, as well as divinely positive, both that there should be an inward Plantation of Love and Charity in the Creature, to serve towards mutual affordment in the work of Providence; and that, to make this love effectual to the same end, there should be Order and Regulation appointed: lest through the pursuance of benificence separately and unlimitedly undertaken, the contrary might be produced. For as we have in this whole work propounded Scripture and Reason for our onely proof and Authority, so in this particular (as well as in all the rest) it is our endeavor to let men see the agreement of those two: and that Scripture is nothing but Reason enlightened and rectifyed, and so bringing sundry sorts of truth more neer to our understanding.

Chap.

CHAP. IX.

Of Charity as it ſtands in Nature.

AS ſome there are, who in their height of admiration of thoſe many excellent endowments and Prerogatives of mankinde, have left unto us their Eloquent and abundant diſcourſes of his perfection and felicity; ſo others again there are, who in contemplation of his many weakneſſes, pravities, and imperfections, have been as exceſſive in their pathetick expreſſions of his miſery and wretchedneſs. And obſerve whom you will that write of this Subject, and do conſider man in a ſeparate condition, and you ſhall finde them falling into intemperance on one hand or other. Not that man is not the ſame he was, but the object of the compariſon they ſtill make unto him, having between him and them ſuch large degree of perfection, or meaneſs of beatitude or goodneſs, we need not wonder, if from ſuch different conference, man ariſe with ſuch like different cenſure and eſtimation. For one ſort comparing him to God, or ſuch things as are in their ſpecifick degree more happy or perfect, it cannot be expected but that from ſuch a compariſon he ſhould ariſe other then a Creature of low and moſt miſerable condition and eſteem. The other again, comparing him to other ſenſitives and Creatures below him, muſt in contemplation of thoſe many abilities of his (in Underſtanding and Will) above them, and of his more lively Image of his Maker in the appetite of good, make their Diſcourſes high in his comendations.

But however his Felicity or Vertue, be thus abaſed or extolled, we cannot but juſtly eſteem him poſitive in both: and that, though from God he differ moſt highly in all things in degree of perfection, yet in reality of reſemblance, he doth moſt remarkably retain his image and favor, and that in both kindes.

As for that ſtate of felicity which is proportionable to his degree, and proper to him as a man, none can make doubt of, that attentively conſiders him: nor can thoſe miſeries that befall him, be aſcribed to other then accidental cauſes; and not as ariſing from his natural incapacity.

And let this pravity and corruption of manners be again weighed, and they will for the moſt part be found accidental, and unnatural alſo: inſomuch that there is no man (nay no ſenſitive) that hath not his Will wholly averted from evil, as known to be ſuch.

And further, ſince nothing can be ſin or evil, but wherein mine own or ſome other Creatures prejudice is reached, (to prove it is not primarily natural in us) it is to be noted that there is no Creature, but doth unfainedly and continually covet the good of both. And although the good and benefit of others, be (for reaſons heretofore ſhewed) in caſe of preſent competition poſt-poſed, yet are they poſitively and continually exiſtent in our Wills: even ſo, as there was never Creature in the world, that did, or could, conſiderately, and unprovoked by ſelf-reſpect, act, or intend the harm and prejudice of another.

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Which natural quality of Love and Charity, (belonging unto ſenſitive Agents, and Creatures, as ſuch, and according to their approach to divine reſemblance, and that degree of Will and Underſtanding which the divine fountain of theſe things hath made them partakers of, in order to be the aſſiſting inſtruments in the courſe of his Providence, appears moſt eminently in man; as having moſt of God in him: that is, of this love and deſire of benificence. And although Women and Children, (for want of intention or underſtanding ſufficient) do not place their Love and Charity on ſo high and worthy objects as men, (unto whom the true ends of Society and honor are more apparent,) yet, that this affection of love and benificence is naturally and perpetually exiſtent in them, is manifeſt by their conſtant exerciſe thereof towards Dogs, Birds, Monkeys, and the like. Nay, we ſhall finde girls (that cannot in judgement reach ſo high as thoſe) providing apparel and food for their Babies, with moſt high and great indulgence: as ſuppoſing they do hereby as really pleaſure and benefit theſe, as their Parents do them. Obſerve we again in them, what averſion they have (on the other ſide) to the doing of harm: even ſo, that from the time they do once begin to know what death is, they will not be induced to kill any thing: eſpecially, if it have not been repreſented or made known unto them as a Creature very harmful to others; at which time, their appetite of more general benefit may well be ſuppoſed to lead them thereunto. And when any doth carelesly and in ſport kill innocent Creatures, it is onely want of remembrance, and full apprehenſion of the true loſs and ſuffering thereof: for had we not by incogitancy and cuſtom been led thereunto, a man ſhould no more kill a Fly, then a ſouldier without other engagement would kill a Man.

Nay farther, that vindicative proſecution of other things, (as it hath its aim in Juſtice, and intends natural ſecurity) is a part of our divine reſemblance: and that pravity of our Wills therein, may ſeem to ariſe from the want of right underſtanding of right and wrong, and of the true intentions and provocations of others to our prejudice: and not out of premiſed purpoſe of harming them, without ſelf-reſpect. For it is no more poſſible for any man, to intend another any ill, otherwiſe then out of ſelf-conſideration, then it is for him to un-man himſelf.

The particulars of our failings, and deviations from divine exemplar in harming of other things, (ſo as to cauſe ſin) is therefore chiefly incogitancy: either harming them ignorantly, or above the meaſure of the harme received.

So that ſelf-reſpect, is ſo far from being the ſole fault that miſleads us in the puniſhment of other things, that it is all the warrant or reaſon we can have for doing it. Nay ſo far as we do it not, we are then tranſgreſſors of Natures Law: being then onely become unlike to God our pattern, when without, or beyond, juſt ſelf-conſideration, we neglect their good, or procure their harm.

And as the ſtate of things did thus ſtand good in point of Nature and Reaſon, ſo ſtill, God *having given every man charge concerning his neighbor*, and bidden us *love our neighbors as our ſelves*, it alters not the firſt end and intention of loving my ſelf beſt, but rather directs a way to it, when it doth by conſequence make others good to be mine. As for example, God having now, by the Light and Precepts of Religion, reſerved to himſelf all execution of injury and revenge, and (the better to provoke our reaſon-

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able Wills to the obedience hereof, and to the entertainment of patience,) having annexed promises and threats of highest nature, to encourage and deter us herein, it will follow, that since divine command is now slept in, the case of benefit arising by private revenge stands altered in true Reason, and will, (if pursued,) prove a ready course to bring upon my self the like, or greater mischief it strived to inflict: by making me lyable (in that regard) to the vengeance of an irresistable and all-powerful deity. Whereas, if I love and serve God, or do good to my neighbor as my self, as God requires, I shall thereby, most assuredly do and seek mine own good, as Nature enjoyns.

Now, as all Sensitive Agents have (as we said) so much of God in them as to have a continual readiness and inclination to acts of beneficence, (as may appear by their readiness in acts of pity and succor) so man hath it most as most resembling him: Insomuch as there is not any one, but had he unlimited and irresistable power, would make it his whole endeavor (after personal supplies are satisfyed) to be continually undertaking such acts, as should procure to others greatest benefit, and to himself (thereupon) greatest thanks. Nor can he act or intend the harm of any thing as it stands a Creature in Nature, but onely as in consideration of its inclination and readiness to harm others: which must still carry on the proof of mans general intention to beneficial performances. Nay, in our most fierce pursuits of revenge against any one or few, it is still by us designed and intended, as a way to acquire advantage to the atchieving a more high and general benefit to others. For let all our endeavours be observed, (for the attaining power or riches, beyond personal use or expence), and they will be found of direct intention that we may thereby be able to lay obligations on others.

As this (I say) will be found true in the first intentions of all such as do set themselves for the gaining any eminence of honor or greatness, so from hence, we may discover the ground of that peremptory desire and presumption of success, that each one concludes should answer the reasonableness of their own designs. Which, as it is made good use of by Fortune-tellers, in their constant promises of good luck, so is it the great cause of State alterations: even because each one, being to himself more presuming of his good intentions and deserts, then of the contrary, he is thereupon more ready to entertain hopes of increase by change, then fear of miscarriage therein, from the examples of other mens misfortunes happening upon like occasion: of whose good intentions he could have no knowledge at all, but might well have observed them, to have done both imprudently and ill. In which, or the like enterprizes, being again by the will of others hindered, hence it is also, that those passions, first of Anger, and then of Revenge, do in each one arise namely from the testimony of his own Conscience, of the benefit and goodness of his own ends by him designed, when he shall be seated in his power. For although Custom of Revenge, do (like Custom in all other sins), beget many times prosecution, even out of the pleasure thereby onely arising, yet this must be ascribed to the pravity of imbridled Custom, and not as growing out of pure Nature; which hath in each Creature primarily placed a desire of beneficence; even so eminently and apparently, that we may confidently affirm, that in the worst of actions which was ever yet perpetrated by any, the project and design of good and beneficence was still in intention: and that, that very act of Revenge it self, was but executed as proceding of discontent in being therein hindred.

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Where is then mans fault, if it be not in the Will to good, but for want of knowledge which he could not remedy? Nor ſeems the diſturbance of other things to be his fault either, ſince they firſt make a diſturbance to him, and what he doth, is but to remove it, that thereby the intended good may proceed? Yes, he hath his fault in them both: even becauſe, through pleaſure of preſent revenge, he neglects to conſider of the prejudices and ſufferings of other things through his means; and this in moſt things he hath ability enough to do. In which courſe if he fail through want of knowledge and ability, it excuſes not, but adds to his fault: becauſe (as heretofore declared) he preſumed upon the guidance of his own knowledge herein.

Another fault is want of equity, in fancying his deſires and actings higher, then the poize of his equality with other things would bear: and from thence comes his injuſtice, in ballancing diſtributory and vindicative proſecutions. For man being placed amongſt others his equals, cannot, but, with the ſame appetite that leads him to affect himſelf above others, (in regard he knows his own good intentions and not theirs,) come alſo in his acts to be unjuſt to others; and this, becauſe he muſt be partial. For, taking upon him to be judge and director, according to this particular light and intereſt, he muſt in his proceedings be unjuſt. Whereas onely God Almighty, that hath whole, and equal intereſt and knowledge in all things, and is not capable of perſonal injury or wrong (otherwiſe then by having his Creatures wronged) cannot in his puniſhment of his Creatures be unjuſt: becauſe he doth it for their ſakes, in that he had the onely conſideration of their general benefit the cauſe and meaſure thereof. But man muſt be ſo far partial and unjuſt, as he is patible in the cauſe he judges, or differently intereſſed in the parties.

And were any like *Adam* at firſt, put to be amongſt all ſorts of Creatures ſo far below him, where his actions without impeachment might take place, and in whoſe benefits he had entire and equal ſhare, he would no doubt proceed in all things with great juſtice, according to his meaſure of knowledge. But becauſe there is no man, but (let alone), would be like a God alſo over all his fellows, and would (if his wiſh might take place), ariſe from one degree of eminence unto another, until he had gotten abſolute power of conferring all benefits and receiving all honors, it became neceſſary in ſtay of thoſe prejudices that might hereby grow, for God to come in with his poſitive Precepts of lowlineſs, humility, brotherly love, and love to our neigbour as our ſelves. Whereby we come to be put in minde, that as the honor and thanks of beneficent actions, is onely at his diſpoſe that is the fountain of good; ſo others are of as great concern as our ſelves: none having farther power of acting therein then from God received. And that however this appetite of ſearch of honor and pleaſuring others, were divine and uſeful, we ſhould notwithſtanding (in the particulars wherein anothers intereſt is concerned as well as our own) not proceed without leave of him that hath whole intereſt.

For if men can at all be differenced from one another in their actings, in reſpect of good and bad, juſt and unjuſt, (ſo far as to make them warrantable or not), it muſt ariſe from the difference of that additional light and warrant they ſhall be helped to from without and above themſelves. For ſince all men (as bearing Gods Image) are by that higher part of their minde (which we call Synteryſis) univerſally and continually aſſenting unto

to the general Rules of Juſtice and Probity (which we call the Laws of Nature) if they be not by others farther helped in the exerciſe of theſe generals, (at ſuch time as they come to make them frameable to uſe), it will happen, that ſince each ſingle perſon did from divers inſtances and inductions of his own framing and collection, raiſe and conclude theſe maxims to himſelf, they muſt alſo diverſly, as well as fallibly, demean themſelves, when they come to deſcend to the particular application of them, in thoſe emergencies which concern our moral duties and ſociable abearances, as heretofore noted.

As for example, all men of ordinary diſcourſe and reaſon do knowingly and unfeignedly aſſent to thoſe general moral maxims, of God to be worſhipped and ſerved, Parents to be honored, Theft, Murther, Adultery, and other vices to be puniſhed, and the like: yet ſince this they do, as thereunto lead from their own ſeveral obſervations, of the miſchiefs following or to be feared from the contrary practiſes or neglect of theſe things, it muſt follow, that as men come differently to raiſe theſe concluſions, ſo muſt theſe prejudices and prepoſſeſſions differently byaſs and direct them again, when they come to refer back and apply them to particular uſe and action. Whereupon, although all men do agree to the reaſonableneſs of Gods worſhip and Service, and the puniſhment of Vice, and reward of Vertue; yet will it be hard to finde any conſiderable number directly to agree wherein, and in what ſort this worſhip is to be manifeſted: and ſo again, how to ſtate and bound each Vertue or Vice, and to proportion their juſt rewards or puniſhments.

In which regard, as a divers ability, intereſt, and prepoſſeſſion, will make men diſagree in what is Adultery, Murther, Theft, *&c.* and how far puniſhable; ſo may the like conſiderations generally cauſe averſion, from entertaining other moral maxims as neceſſary as theſe: nay more (indeed) as being their ſupport and foundation. As for example, in that of implicit obedience. For as publike preſervation and good doth depend on the due reward and puniſhment of Vertue and Vice; ſo doth the ſame again, depend on the maintenance of his Authority that is to have the truſt therein: And therefore by right reaſon, ſhould this have been ſet down in the firſt place, and next to our obedience to God, had not thirſt of licenciouſneſs made men (in all concluſions and maxims of ſubjection and obedience) to fancy the greateſt number of reſtraints and qualifications, to be obſerved in the commands of ſuch Superiors whoſe places themſelves ſhould never probably act, (as to Princes or the like) and on the contrary place more implicite obedience towards Parents, Maſters, *&c.* which Offices themſelves always did, or were likely to ſupply. As if thoſe that had the greateſt command and truſt, were upon good reaſon to have the leaſt power to ſee the ſame performed.

But theſe things ſeem naturally to fall upon us: for as every man doth ſubmit to Government in general, out of conſideration of his own private good to be therein enjoyed; and not out of care to advance the publike, otherwiſe then in order thereunto; ſo muſt it again fall out, that in all deliberations for the manner or meaſure of exerciſe thereof, that form of adminiſtration ſhould be ſtill choſen, that in each parties judgement affords to himſelf moſt full and free enjoyment: placing his firſt reſpect to his

his own particular, and regarding the publike but in order thereuto: from whence ſuch difference of judgement in forms of Government do ariſe. And from hence alſo it comes to paſs, that the Subjects in Polarchies are always (upon experience) more complaining and deſirous to return under Monarchy again, then they were at firſt to abandon it: even becauſe they now finde themſelves deluded, and defeated of that ſhare and degree of Power and Government, which they upon their princes removal did before vainly expect.

By all which it will appear, that intention of good according to our own light, cannot eſtate any guiltleſs, for then all would be ſo: but publike good muſt ariſe by joynt ſubmiſſion unto one Judge of common good. Elſe it will prove that this ſtrong deſire to do good, will be the continual cauſe of harm. For malice it ſelf being but in order to envy and revenge, if men are no farther enclined to ſuch like proſecution (as before noted) then as being hindered in their own way of doing good, it muſt then follow, that to do good diſorderly is the ready way to be malicious. For though the will to good muſt always reſide in private and ſeparate perſons, yet the underſtanding and direction thereof, muſt be conform to ſuch as are in Authority: and the judgement of ſuch as are under ſubjection, is to be imployed in knowing what, but not why to obey.

By which means we ſhall preſerve and maintain undenyably that which is the moſt general and higheſt ſtep to Providence and general benefit, namely publike peace. Whereas purſuing our neighbors benefit according to rules and ways of our own framing, the truth of our private ſpeculations towards beneficence, can be but as contingent (if not more) then that of Authority: and muſt by the diſtraction of mine own and others obedience, (through exemplar encouragement for each one to follow his own judgement in ways and acts of benoficence), unavoidably defeat all publike good and Charity: in defeating the bond of peace, that unity of direction that ſhould have led thereunto.

For upon the ſame warrant I follow mine own, or others private judgement againſt publike command now, I may do ſo again: as often as I pretend, or really conceive, my neighbors good to be thereby encreaſed. And the ſame liberty being taken by others alſo, what can follow, but that men differently acting and obeying, according to different Conſciences and Intereſts, they muſt force difference to ariſe amongſt themſelves in their ſervices one towards another: to the final overthrow of Charity and publike good?

As for example, I, that am unknowing or heedleſs of the good and benefit of ſtrangers and ſuch as are more remote, in compariſon of thoſe neer me and ſuch as I converſe with; and which muſt again, make ſuch difference between thoſe which are of my neighborhood, in reſpect of that different affection I ſhall caſt towards them, as they have in particular friendſhips and kindneſſes deſerved at my hands, or do in affections or intereſts ſimpathize and comply with me; cannot thereupon, but out of this my unequal regard, diſpenſe ſo unequally of my Charity, that thoſe I know not ſhall have no ſhare or proviſion at all, and of thoſe I do know, either through contrariety of humor, or thwarting of deſigns, ſome will come to be eſteemed and proſecuted as enemies: even for that they ſtood contrary in affection

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The which considerations well weighed, might methinks perswade any to the obedience of Christ in his deputed Minister, for direction of their Charity. Namely to consider, that since love and propension to acts of beneficence, were placed in us for publike good sake, and for that of others more then of their own; it is therefore reason, we should submit to be therein guided by the publike direction of others also. Whom obeying according to Christs Precept given to that very end, of *doing all things without murmuring and disputing*, why should we doubt *of being blameless and harmless the sons of God*: and having really loved others as our selves, and so performed the moral Law, since we have submitted to act according thereunto? Phil. 2. 14. Verse 15.

Wherefore the summe of all is, *That God made man upright, but he sought out many inventions.* And that therefore publick good acted by private direction onely, is always evil: and the more intently and confidently so done, the more evil. That private equity, is publike iniquity. That that natural former inclination to beneficence, which leant on the principles of our dark fleshly wisdom, ayming at, (and so corrupted through) original pride and presumption of our own managery, is to be now abandoned: and *we renewed in the spirit of our minds through love* (and its fruits) *Meekness, Gentleness, Patience, &c.* Which inward root of love, as it comes from God onely, so is it at his onely dispose: being made perfect by obedience to him, or Officers holding direct Authority from and under him. Eccles. 7, 29.

By which means, we may perceive how Nature comes to be perfected by Grace, and how that natural and original intention to beneficence that through out fall was defeated by pride, comes to be made useful by the Gospel light and directions of Obedience, Humility, Long-suffering, Patience, Meekness, Gentleness, *&c.* this inward root of love being always ready to bridle us against envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitable actings against others, even so far, as according to the light of our own Conscience, (not otherwise authorized) we are to *abstain from all appearance of evil.* By which means God that could never act contrary to to himself, or to the defeating of his own work or end (which could never be but perfect, and in it self worthy of preservation), doth by Grace restore and rectifie what in our fall had been corrupted. Thus that love which Nature provokes me to express out of inward delight, Religion enjoyns and directs me to execute according to explicite precept. That good which, for Honor or Vertue sake, I seek to act as a moral man, I must now, for Duty and Conscience sake, re-inforce and prosecute as a Christian. 1 Thess. 5. 22.

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That degree of beneficence, which in nature I might arbitrarily and differently dispense, according to mine own relations of Family, Friends, or the like: I must now, according to the tye of conscience and subjection, distribute indifferently, or according to such rules, as he that hath publike charge shall direct.

For our state of *innocency* consisteth more in negative, then in positive acts, that is, more in being harmless, then beneficial; because innocence (or abstinence from harm) is always a praise, and compatible to all men (inferior as well as others) but to be positively beneficial, is the attribute and sole honor of the Fountain of good; and is to mankind no otherwise communicable and proper, then as impowered and deputed from him, and acting in his stead. And therefore is *Love* said *to be the fulfilling of the Law,* Rom. 13. 10. *because it worketh no ill to his neighbor:* And, in that Chapter, as obedience to the *Higher Power* is most strictly enjoyned, and may be understood compleating the Precepts of the first Table, and so inclusive of that Law of, *Honor thy father and mother*: So is the *love of our neighbors as our selves,* set all down in negative Precepts, *Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou* Verse 9. *shalt not steal, &c.* Nay, our justification, and the forgiveness of our offences and sins against God, is made to depend most on our forgiving one another: which was chiefly hinted at in that perfect model of Prayer, *Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those that trespass against us:* Heaven it self being the reward of our innocence, not of our merit, and that because we cannot without derogation to Gods honor, take on us to act in matters of beneficence without him. And so again, the Devil being the father of malice, the more we take upon us to act therein, the more we shew our selves his servants: Of which his delight in malice, contrary to the Precept of love, we have a plain instance in Witches, who spend their whole power in things destructive and mischievous, being wholly swayed by desire of revenge, which as it did at first grow from being crossed in their own designs, so they had beneficence in their aims. And therefore, so far as any is malicious to others (that is, is wilfully set to prosecute his own ways of doing future good by present evil) so far hath he listed himself under this Destroyer, and thrust himself out of Divine favour and protection, by 1 John 3. 14. renouncing Divine obedience; whereas others may know they *are passed from death to life, not only because they love the brethren*; but also for that they are obedient to Gods minister in the manner thereof.

For without God, every one may be truly said to act, that hath not from him as great and full direction and authority as was in his power to procure, even in that particular in which he acts; but doth relie only on such general directions, as were (for ought he knows) not proper to the cause in question: And so not being by Gods Minister interpreted and warranted, as to license therein, he must remain still, as much as before, without true warrant to act on another; and the other again, without just cause of suffering at his hands. For since both of these, having from Reason and Scripture alike power to judge, interpret and impose upon each other, he must be concluded to have been most innocent, and obeyed God most, that hath most obeyed his Vicegerent, and stuck to his direction therein. And this, because the positive Precepts of Scripture and Religion, coming only to supply, and make more applyable those general and ambiguous rules of natural reason, to which end determinate Interpreters were again put to see

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the meaning of these Scriptures applyed to these cases and persons unto which they are proper) it must thereupon follow, that as those that undertake to judge cases by the light of nature only (without regard therein had to Scripture) cannot in so doing be guiltless; so also they that undertake to be their own judges from the immediate rules of Scripture, and do balk the the direction of the authorized Intepreter and Keeper, they must thereby become lyable to guilt also.

So that now, to sum up all these Discourses concerning love and obedience, it is still to shew how men under the second *Adam*, stand (in respect of works) in a like condition for innocence as they did at first. For as then, the only Precept was to forbear tasting of the knowledge of good and evil, even so it is the only Precept still. For so much (in brief) our Saviour explains, saying, *For judgement am I come into this world, that they which see not, might see; and they that see, might be made blind:* Iohn 9.39. And again (as before noted) answered those that presumed to derive Innocence and Righteousness from their own light, *If ye were blind ye should have no sin: But now ye say we see, therefore your sin remaineth.* The Verse 41. which and other places, are certainly plain enough to convince any whom *The God of this World* hath not blinded to their own destruction.

And however formerly amongst the Jews, where God was immediate Lawgiver, and by plain litteral Precepts did set down his pleasure to be observed by each one in particular, the differencing of obedience into active and passive was useful, that thereby upon occasion subjects might perform their duties to God and his Vicegerent also; as also it was before the higher Powers were Christians; yet now, unto Christian Subjects, that have not from Christ rules set down for their external abearance one towards another (but they are to be taught his commands from his Deputies and Ambassadors) the case is otherwise. For so the words are, *Teaching them to observe whatsoever I have commanded you*; not what I have commanded them. So that, when subjects are by their Christian head now commanded to be actively obedient in any thing, they are then disobedient if they are not so; because where doing is required, their doing to their power, and not their suffering, must shew their obedience. For as I cannot find that the Crown of Martyrdom was promised to any, but such as were persecuted for the name of Christ, or Christianity (which in Heathenish persecutions was to come to pass) so cannot I tell what other title then that of Rebel, to give to such as oppose or resist their Christian Prince. Matth. 28.20. Mat. 10.18,22. Mark 13.9,13.

Nor can I find what other reason to give for that expression of our Saviours, saying, that God *hath given him authority to execute judgement, because he is the son of man*, then thereby to shew how God, in his recess from matters of earthly judicature, doth not take upon him to set down rules for external obedience, immediately from himself, under the Gospel, as formerly under the Law, but mediately, by humane instruments, & that as the salvation of our souls, and also of our bodies, was committed unto him that had taken our whole nature upon him (and so he might be called the Son of man as well as the Son of God) so this salvation of our bodies (which is the object of Government and Society, and of all things pertaining to judgment and morality) being not by him to be personally managed, it must be done by these more Iohn 5.27.

eminent Sons of Men, each Christian Prince. And surely, as our Saviours frequent assumption unto himself of this expression, *The Son of man*, is not to be construed impertinently or casually done; so will it clearly explain, that as God hath referred all judgement to him, that contains in his own person the radical excellence of our nature, and that because *he is the Son of man*: even so (and to the same end) are these other more eminent Sons of men to be in matters of judgement obeyed in his stead. And if the method and order of dispensation used by that great and wise Creator and Disposer of all things be duly observed, we shall finde, that as in order to continuance and preservation of men (both personally, and in their kind) he hath not only implanted those natural provocations to pleasure heretofore spoken of, but also that natural readiness to acts of conference and kindness, as now declared: so, to prevent all such abuses as might arise through the exorbitant or irregular use of things thus naturally ingrafted (and likely thereupon to be as violently coveted) we may also observe Divine bounty and providence, to be as continually intent and careful in restoring and assisting of us, being lapsed, as at first to create and state us happy.

The food which we take, as it hath in it self personal respect only, so hath it in each one a proper way of judicature to determine both of choyce and satiety, as well as of appetite and hunger. In those other inclinations that have aim beyond the party acting (the one for bringing men into the world, and the other for preserving and advantaging of them, being there) they also, by divine appointment, are to have their publike rules of direction and limitation, set down by those Societies of men wherein they are to be exercised, lest else, the means might prove distructive of its own end. For I that in nature, and as a man, could not more kind-like, or meritoriously imploy my self, then in such like actions, may yet, by intemperance or partiality in prosecution, prove my self to be in these things more highly ignoble and vitious, then in any thing else.

As for those rules and restraints put upon mens acting in the first sort, by the appointment and limitation of Wed-lock, or for avoiding of unchaste acts, none do doubt of the fitness of positive direction and evidence herein, in order to publike benefit, although against the good liking of the obeyer: Whereas, if publike good were rightly known, and weighed, the other, that hath a more high and general influence thereupon (even as it is more continually practicable by each person) ought also much more to have its directions and confinements set down by publike appointment; for else it may happen, that that more particular regard towards those of mine own family, and other relations, which might at first arise from the marriage tye, and that precept of a mans providing *for his own family*, might from too eager love fixed on some, contract by consequent, as great hatred and neglect towards others, whereby to destroy in the street, that which was thus carefully preserved in the house. For as it is observed in the food of our natural bodies, that the greatest and most dangerous surfeits do arise from the inordinate and irregular use of that which is in it self most wholsom and best; even so in the politick frame, there is nothing which more usually, or with greater danger, doth procure the disturbance and dissolution thereof, then this arbitrary application of our loves, even when we as men, do so far follow our own natural tye of affection and interest in

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the placing of our good deeds, as to be neglectful of that our more high and near kindred and relation we have towards them as Christians: wherein, as that common and equal affinity of *Brotherhood* and *Fellow-members*, is always to fill us with due readiness to be beneficent to all, so must it be directed and differenced in choyce of object, and degree of exercise, by Laws and Rules received from him that hath the common Headship and Superintendency herein.

And if such a liberty to dispute the warrantableness of commands, should be left as some men do insist upon, strange it is, that amongst all those large and express Precepts for general obedience; as, *Obey in all things*; *Do all things without disputing*, &c. that no destinction of duties into civil and religious is ever made, nor exception set down of unlawful commands. But if men could but a little separate themselves from their own humors, and that conceitedness of their private abilities in judging good and bad, they would then find the judgement and interpretation of these things, must be supposed left to their Christian Superior, or else large volumns should have been left, comprizing in every particular what duties and actions were to be held Civil, and what Religious; and what lawful, and what not; because otherwise, the liberty of disputing of these things, would render men truly obedient in nothing; and thereupon also make the said Precepts vainly given.

And having so far shewed how the Precepts of General Good and Charity stand pointed out in Scripture and Reason, as the duty of each one in particular, and under the pain of most heavy guilt and punishment; and how it is best effected by obedience; it seems now requisite, to speak something also of those benefits and advantages which will hereby accrew, even unto the particular persons that imploy themselves herein, and out of duty undergo those difficulties and hardships which usually attend this obedience: As of Patience, Humility, Gentleness, Meekness, Long-suffering, &c. To the end that none may grow heartless in the work; as being always held in a task to the benefit of others, and not at all to himself.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of Patience, Long-ſuffering, Humility, Meekneſs, &c.

HE that ſhall well conſider that great and ſudden growth of the Saracen Empire, ſhall never be able to ſtop his admiration therein, till he conſider withal, the prevalence of thoſe enchanting promiſes of ſenſual delights and rewards, in that Religion offered to the Sectators thereof: For while *Mahomet* himſelf, is ſtanding (like the Devil) on his high Mountain of Proſperity, and offering *the Kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, to ſuch as would fall down and worſhip him*: Who can expect other event, then ſuch a crowd of followers? when, on the other ſide, worldly peace and proſperity was not only not promiſed, but the contrary propheſied to be the uſual lot of ſuch as ſhould liſt themſelves in Chriſts ſervice. For as our Saviour was content to become vile in all worldly eſteem himſelf, ſo did he plainly profeſs, that *the Diſciple was not to be above his Maſter*; and that *whoſoever would be his, muſt* (*thereupon*) *take up his croſs and follow him*; that is, follow him in meekneſs, patience, long-ſuffering, &c.

Matth. 4. 8, 9.

Matth. 10. 24.

In which doing, they ſhould not yet be ſo unhappy (even in this life) as worldly and ordinary judgements might conceive. For as in him, the reward of humbling and ſubjecting himſelf (in obedience to God) was rewarded with as great eminence in honor, *and a name above all names*: So to us, that ſhall be obedient and ſubject to him, and ſuch as ſhall command in his ſtead, thoſe preſent preſſures, which the practiſe of theſe graces ſhould cauſe, will not only be ſure to be rewarded with *an exceeding and eternal weight of glory* hereafter, but even here alſo, the unprejudiced and ſound judgements of men, may from the practiſe of theſe vertues diſcern a preſent benefit to ariſe: and that, not only to mankind in general, but even to that perſon, who ſhall conſcionably undergo them as his duty; who ſhall find *godlineſs to have the reward* (as well as promiſes) *of both lives*; *as well of this, as that which is to come.*

Phil. 2. 9.

2 Cor. 14. 7.

1 Tim. 4. 8.

All which will be plainly made good to them, in the judgement of any that hath but ſo far pierced into the true ſtate of things, as to find that happineſs conſiſteth in the meaſure of enjoyment and content; and not in the proportion of our covetouſneſs and anxiety. Therefore, as we formerly noted (in the Propheſie concerning the flouriſhing eſtates of whole Regions and People in general) that the promiſe and deſignment of the Jews or others for having of Kings, was when they *ſhould poſſeſs their land, and dwell therein*; ſo in the behalf of the firm and real poſſeſſion of each ſingle Chriſtian, that former Propheſie of the proſperous condition of the Church under the Goſpel, is made good, namely, *that the meek ſhould inherit the earth*: for although ſom haughty and turbulent perſons have more of poſſeſsions under their preſent command, yet canot they in any true ſenſe be ſaid to poſſeſs & inherit them, becauſ labour in acquiſition, and fear of loſs, together with the diſtraction which the thought of other acquiſition and conqueſt muſt produce, and above all want

Deut. 17. 14.

Pſal. 37. 11.

of

of faith in God (and ſo aſſurance of good enjoying them) will all of them render theſe men (at beſt) but unſteady uſurpers.

For as we cannot ſay of any whole people they are in a true ſtate of poſſeſſion and dwelling in any Countrey, which is by them but newly acquired, and that by force; and unto which claim is openly laid by others, or in the poſſeſſion whereof they have no agreement amongſt themſelves; even ſo, ſingle perſons are then to be eſteemed true Inheritors of their earthly poſſeſſions, when they have aſſurance it is becauſe their hope is in God: even that it is ſent unto them from him, by means of a juſt expectation and endeavor; and can in a pious degree of humility, acknowledge, *It is not by their own bow, nor by their own ſword* (that is, not by their wiſdom and contrivance gotten) but through the bounty of that Eternal Fountain of Goodneſs, the giver *of every good and perfect gift*. Pſal. 44. 6. James 1. 17.

This is that eſtate of Chriſtian Fortitude and Perfection, which now under the glorious rayes of the Goſpel, comes to be ſo clearly ſhewn to the ſons of men. It is through this aſſurance and grace, that the patient and meek can in the midſt of all violence, find themſelves *more then Conquerors*. For firſt, having confidence of Gods care of them in all things through Chriſt (*ſo as to make all things work for the good of them that love him*) Rom. 8. 28. as they cannot (on the one hand) but think themſelves highly in Gods favour, *that hath given unto them not only to believe, but alſo to ſuffer for his* Phil. 1. 29. *ſake*; ſo can they not, but from this meaſure of affliction plainly gather, that he reckons their Chriſtian grace of patience at ſuch a great perfection, as to call them into ſo great ſufferings: For as *he will lay on his children no greater burthen than they can bear*, ſo thereupon they cannot but in a double Obligation, acknowledge themſelves tyed to Obedience and Submiſſion.

In the old World, where little beſides the light of Nature was left for direction, how did the violence of thoſe *Men of Renown*, work to the diſturbance of themſelves and others, in their erronious proſecution of content and happineſs, under the maxims of *Quicquid libet licet*. Under the Law, men were brought to moderation, *An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth*: but this looking ſtill with a face of revenge, was to be perfected by Precepts from the only Patern and Doctor of Divine Wiſdom and Perfection, Chriſt himſelf: *I ſay unto you, love your enemies, &c.* A Leſſon Matth. 5. 44. and Direction of ſuch truth and concern in it ſelf, for and towards the ſtating and poſſeſſing, even of temporal felicity and peace amongſt us, that ſhould we conſider it abſtracted from that authority whence we had it, yet would it for its own ſake deſerve our entertainment, and that in the eye of bare natural reaſon and policy.

For we cannot conſider men in their commerce one with another, at any ſuch conſtant rate of goodneſs and perfection, but that intereſt or inſufficiency, will ordinarily lead them to the envying of one another: In which caſe, if it ſhould be allowed each perſon (according to his preſumption of the right thereof) to proceed to revenge and ſelf-repairation, what ſhall become of peace? And although for peace ſake, the Law provide againſt external private proſecution, by appointment of a common Judge; yet, while the root of miſchief is remaining within, how oft will power and craft find evaſion, to act its own malice to publike diſturbance? beſides, that torture which this reſtleſs paſſion muſt breed in the party poſſeſſed with this

Devil:

Devil, not otherwiſe to be caſt out or cured, but by this command of Chriſt himſelf.

And although to the moſt wiſe and learned amongſt the Heathen, God would not afford any through light herein; yet may we diſcover and admire the prevalence of that truth, which ſhould enable them with ſuch large ſpeculation and progreſſion this way: ſo that as well in Philoſophical Doctrine, as Heroical practiſe, they could diſcern and prefer it as a complement and crown to their other vertues. For what had Pride, Revenge, or Arrogance (with their turbulent deportments) to do with Prudence, or in the ſeat of Juſtice? How could thoſe things lead to temperance, which were even in their own nature intemperate? And ſince vertue and felicity, muſt be in the even temper of the mind; how ſhall we find them, where theſe paſsions (by their abode) have firſt overthrown all moderation? And ſo laſtly, if the end of Fortitude be to overcome evils, what other way ſhall we ſo aſſuredly do it, as with ſuch fortification of our minds, whereby they ſhall not ſo much as ſeem evils at all, but rather bleſsings and benefits? Whereas (alas) to others, who are ignorantly and impetuouſly whirled with the thirſt of honor, riches, or worldly pleaſure of any ſort; how often muſt thoſe croſſes and thwartings (in their attainment and poſſeſsion) which they muſt encounter from the hands of Competitors, render them through revenge, anger, and diſcontent, not only moſt afflictedly defeated of that particular, but through ſenſe hereof, deprived of all their poſſeſsions elſe.

Or could you fancy a perſon (like *Solomon*, uncroſſed of all that could in this world be asked; yet he (as in his experience and true wiſdom) ſhall tell you (as if ſet up on purpoſe) *That all is vanity and vexation of ſpirit*; nay, all of them in their fulleſt glut, falling far ſhort of the ſhorteſt moment of that content (much leſs of that ſteady laſting content) which his meek and pious father took, in *that gladneſs which God put into his heart*; and that *in compariſon of other mens corn and wine*, or any other temporal felicity. When God gave him peace, it was (by reaſon of his meek and grateful acceptance) made to him *the bleſsing of peace*: nay, when he came to be afflicted, this (as it wrought faith in God) *he acknowledgeth it to be good for him alſo*; For he had well practiſed the ſtate of Chriſtianity, *in whatſoever eſtate he was to be therewith content*; And as he ſtood in his God thus ſteady *like a tree planted by the rivers of water*, he beheld the ungodly (in their unbottomed condition) *driven to and fro like chaff upon the face of the earth*: neither had they (like him) *a father in heaven*, to ſeek daily bread from; but it was firſt their curſe and unhappineſs to have no truſty and ſteady ſupport for food, (but to *ſeek it in deſolate places, wandering up and down*) and then alſo, *to grudge if they be not ſatisfied*.

Eccleſ. 2.17.

Pſal. 4.7.

Pſal. 29.11.

Pſal. 119.75. Phil. 4.11.

Pſal. 1.3.

Pſal. 59.15.

Or let us ſuppoſe again, any perſon at the higeſt pitch of power, ſo as to be able to recompence all thoſe his conceited injuries and diſpleaſures which muſt befall him with revenge; yet how ſhall we ever find this remedy, to do none other then encreaſe his diſeaſe? For while he is taking it, how much trouble will this paſsion put him into, and yet be both as unſatisfactory then, of having done it full enough, as afterwards (even out of the natural ſenſe of piety) how will he find himſelf troubled with perpetual reluctance, of having done ſo much? For when he ſhall be reſtored to his reaſon again, he muſt find, that whilſt he hath been judging another, he hath been condemning himſelf. For was not the harm done by another, given as the

reaſon

reaſon of this revenge? well then, ſince hereby he hath not, nor cannot recover the harm or loſs, it muſt fall out, that ſo far as he is puniſhing him, he is arraigning himſelf: Firſt as rebel to God, in dethroning him of his ſole Prerogative *Of repaying with vengeance:* And then (having by the very act of revenge it ſelf broken the Precept of love) what juſter puniſhment can he expect, then that, as he hath with high and malicious contrivance plotted and acted the harm of another, and that only as in the Devils ſtead (with expreſs deſire and pleaſure in miſchief, without expectation of repair to himſelf) ſo ſhould he be left to the reward of that Maſter he hath ſo carefully ſerved. Deut. 32. 35.

And then farther, this act of revenge is ſo far from abating or allaying the preſſing tortures of this paſſion (which un-erring truth juſtly calls *Travelling with miſchief*) that it neceſſarily encreaſeth it: For the more and higher it works, the greater diſcontent and murmure will it draw down from the friends of the oppreſſed. And then, ſince none can in this caſe want friends and pittiers, this muſt again (by new objects) give occaſion of new anger, and therewith of new revenge. Whereas accuſtomed patience, not onely enables us in the enduring of preſent ſufferings: but alſo is (by its habit) the true and onely reliſher of all bleſſings when they come: no otherwiſe, then abſtinence or courſe food is too dainty fare afterwards: which is but loathſom to perſons glutted therewith. For all pleaſure being abſence of pain, as health is of ſickneſs; and ariſing therefore to be encreaſed according to preſent ſenſe of contrariety, it will follow, that as ſenſe of pain and want did precede, ſo will ſenſe of pleaſure and poſſeſſion (in meaſure) ſucceed: patience equally enabling us to ſuſtain evil with leſs grief, as to entertain good with more delight. Pſal. 7. 14.

In which reſpect, we may well find how thoſe Goſpel Promiſes came to be made good, of, *Whoſoever hath left houſe, or brethren, or ſiſters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my ſake, and the Goſpels: he ſhall receive an hundred fold now in this time, houſes, and brethren, and ſiſters, and mothers, and children, and lands, with perſecutions: and in the world to come eternal life.* Which words (with perſecution) plainly ſhew us, that ſeparate perſons can have ſuch large reſtauration made good to them in this life by no other way, then by that formerly ſet down: which (if rightly weighed) will be ſuch a high recompence indeed, as if each Chriſtian formerly deprived of theſe things for Chriſts ſake, or each Chriſtian ſubject now deprived for the Goſpel of peace ſake, had, or could have had, theſe things in kind reſtored. Mark 10. 29. Verſe 30.

All which well obſerved, would make the condition of Kings and great Perſons, not ſo much deſirable by Subjects and Inferiors, even for that the fare and uſage proper to them (which in regard of ſcarcity with us, we call dainty) is, by reaſon of commonneſs, with them more loathſome then ours; whoſe freedom they often envy, being themſelves ſo encloſed and impriſoned with ſet order, and multitude of ceremonies and attendants, that they eſteem themſelves then only at liberty, when they can moſt imitate and practice the freedom of our condition.

But the weakneſs of this paſſion being ſo well found in natural reaſon and example, I may leave it as a common place ſufficiently treated of. For how many and eminent are theſe inſtances (even amongſt Heathens)

of ſuch as would not acknowledge their Proſecutors power, or their own weakneſs ſo far, as to prove by repine or deſire of revenge, that they were more then they could bear: and did therefore uſually leave this puſillanimous part, to be acted by the weaker tempers of women and children.

But as for Precepts this way ſet down in Scripture, I believe, that, next to the Doctrine of Faith in Chriſt (which muſt precede, as well as be accompanied with theſe vertues) theſe Leſſons of Patience, Humility, &c. will be found the chief drift of the Goſpel: if not the only Precepts, that private perſons can of their own judgements relye upon: they proceeding from the ſame Precept of Love and Charity. Theſe teaching us how with Charity to ſuffer from others: as the other doth, how to be inwardly affected in my actings towards them.

For as, *Whatſoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning*; ſo was it done, that *we, through Patience and comfort of the Scriptures* (that is, through the Precepts and Examples thereof, therein ſet down as practiſed, and the comfort and reward thereof thence alſo ariſing) *might*
Rom. 15 4. *have hope*, and encouragement to the performance of the like duties: that through the grace and goodneſs *of the God of patience and conſolation*, we may be hereby enabled *to be like minded one towards another, according to*
Verſe 5. *Chriſt Jeſus*: And ſo, be, not only actively charitable, whilſt (in things in
Verſes 1. 2. our power) each one ſhall not *ſeek to pleaſe himſelf, but his neighbour*: but alſo, the ſame example will teach us to be paſſively charitable too, by our readineſs to ſubmit to authority, the only way to the peace and unity of
Verſe 6. the Church; that therein with *one mind, and one mouth, we may glorifie God, even the father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

However I cannot tell, whether (from theſe lights) I have given ſufficient reaſon or no, for caſting off revenge and diſobedience, and entertainment of patience and humility; yet ſure I am, that I can by mine own good experi-
Luke 9.23. ence ſay, that as I become every day a more true Diſciple of my Saviour, even by *willingly taking up my croſs and following him*, and that, as I do more and more conſider, that ſlander, perſecution and all worldly afflictions, when ſuffered for, or in a good conſcience (which may be beſt known by the corruption and wickedneſs of the perſecutors) are not only teſtimonies of Chriſtianity (in order to his predictions that way given) but alſo of Gods more
Hebr. 12. 6. eſpecial and fatherly favour (*that chaſteneth every ſon whom he loveth*) So do I more and more encreaſe every day in true comfort: Even from the aſſurance I thereby gather of Gods protection and care of me; and that in a far higher and more ſetled degree, then any revenge by my ſelf formerly taken could afford.

Nor can I, or any man elſe (that conſiders theſe uſuages of God with a well meaſured judgement) but thereby find advantage to ariſe even in this worlds conſideration alſo: It faring no otherewiſe with men in the behalf of their Reputation and Honour, then in conſideration of worldly eſtate and fortune. For as he that will always be living at the height of his fortune, will be ſo much the nearer to poverty, by how much he is more expenſive and in the ſight of envy, and yet have no more true inward content then others; even ſo, ſuch as live in the height of reputation, muſt be ſubject to the ſame diminutions and hazard: for when thoſe faults which really all men muſt more or leſs have, or thoſe which meer envy ſhall diſcover, ſhall be divulged

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to the world; he cannot then but be rendred, both to other men, ſo much the more ill, by how much he hath formerly been held more good: and to himſelf (hereby) ſo much more miſerable, by how much he deemed himſelf before more happy. Whereas he that is really good, cannot but be always in a thriving and proſperous condition; although that ſteady courſe of vertue and honeſty which he walks in, may through difference of the common practiſe of the World (as making God and his Neighbours good his aym, and not Covetouſneſs or Vain-Glory) make him to differ from the reſt of the World in his Deportments, and ſo for a time diſpleaſe.

For a time I ſay: For as men can never wholly baniſh truth, ſo this mans innocence and integrity, cannot but by degrees appear; at which time, the very height of former calumny, will redound to his encreaſe of reputation. And, all men being ready to take occaſions for extolling their own abilities in matters of extraordinary diſcovery, they will from hence, take occaſion the more to ſet forth and admire this mans Merits or Innocence; even for that others have heretofore ſo much leaned to the contrary. Which Commendations again, growing to this party by continual encreaſe and degrees, and thoſe deſerved; muſt thereby render him alſo in point of reputation, both continually proſperous, and likewiſe ſteady therein.

But, if it fall out otherwiſe, and that Gods love to us, above the reſt of the world, ſhall be made farther appear by their unjuſt and oppreſſive uſage of us in matters of our eſtates, or by the diſlike and rejection of our communion by ſuch as are riotous or factious; as we have hereby freſh comfort in our ſelves, in reſpect of our Chriſtian Faith and Aſſurance (in order to Gods promiſes made that way) ſo may we alſo reap true inward content, even in point of Heroick Reſolution and Prudence: out of the conſideration, that this their miſlike of our cauſe or carriage, aroſe not from any well grounded eſtimate of juſtice or vertue. Vulgar juſtice being many times nothing elſe but the effect of Bribery, Importunity, Friendſhip, or the knotting together of ſome party for the preferring ſome ſuch mans cauſe as hath inſinuated himſelf into moſt favour. The which cannot be expected from him that hath his confidence ſo much in God and the goodneſs of his cauſe, that he cannot, he dare not, diſtruſt providence ſo far, as not to reſolve on and prefer a noble ſuffering before an ignoble prevention.

And ſo again, in point of civil behaviour, and in that reputation which is to be expected from mens ſociable deportments, ſo little regard is uſually had to the general and publike benefit of ſociety, that the Commendations of *Breeding*, *Comity*, *Urbanity*, or the like: are often times but the flattering compliances and endearments of ſome ſorts or orders of the ſubjects one towards another, whoſe uſual iſſue is in a Faction. And the ordinary way of winning worldly friendſhip and eſteem is, either by open applauding each others abilities and courſes, or elſe by ſuch profeſſion and inſinuation of our ſervices and affections towards them, as to give occaſion upon all opportunities (even out of ſelf-regard) to commend their friends, and their abilities, as eſteeming themſelves commended in theſe that ſo much own and approve them. Whereas he that is truly conſcientious of Gods Service and his Neighbours, ſo farre as to place them above Popu-

lar ſhews, dares not undertake this kind of ſerving himſelf by his neighbors ruine; but will watch all ſeaſonable opportunities to perform the office of a true friend; by expreſſion of ſuch deeds and Councels, as ſhall advance other mens benefit in the firſt place, and his own honor amongſt them in the ſecond. By which means, as I ſhall really do the part of a true Commonwealths-man and Chriſtian, ſo ſhall I never want the true comfort thereof; as of having truly ſerved God, and my neighbour; although to the world it were not otherwiſe apparent, then by my ſuffering for both.

1 Pet.2.1. And the like condition (no doubt) will be found in all dutiful ſufferings, by all that can lay aſide *all malice, hypocriſie, guil, anger, and evil ſpeaking*; and can as new born babes (with patience and humility) commit *all to him that judgeth righteouſly*; even theſe (I ſay) if *they have but taſted that the Lord is gracious*, and found the fruits of that bleſſed and promiſed Comforter, ſhall quickly feel the ſting of worldly afflictions, ſo taken out by him that hath undergone and overcome them for him, that, in the midſt of Priſons and Confinements, they ſhall ſing with more real ſolace and delight, in their magnimous ſuſtentation of any injury or Croſs, then their adverſary can do in the infliction of his revenge. For be it never ſo great, yet when I (by my patience) have proved my ſelf Superior in all that his malice could reach unto, I ſhall thereby, at once, both repel his ſtrokes, and alſo return them upon himſelf, to the redoubling of his angry and revengeful torment; even to ſee himſelf thus miſerably defeated by my reſolution: When, as on the other ſide alſo, he cannot but deny his own want of courage and true fortitude, in being ſo highly ſenſible, or affected with a miſtaken, ſmall, or occaſional injury, as to lead him to this fruitleſs reparation.

Verſe 25. Verſe 3.

Heb.10.34. Rom.5.2. And then further, *Patience having had its perfect work*, ſo as not only *to ſuffer the ſpoiling of our Goods, but even to glory in tribulation:* it will eſtate men in a condition of outward felicity alſo. For as none but children, are ſatisfied with the ſtrokes which are given to the ſtones againſt which they fell: ſo when (beſides inſenſibility through patience) our adverſaries ſhall perceive us advantaged by ſuch miſuage, he will then leave to do us evil, even for fear of doing us good.

And as thus in ſingle perſons, ſo will this height of fortitude, be prudentially found the ſteady and true promoter of Political and State intereſt, as well as of all vertue beſides: For how can Juſtice, Honeſty, or any true vertue be duly expected, while terror of any ſort ſhall ſtand up to amate the Actor from Execution? And ſince in wordly Diſpenſations, the gain of one muſt be the loſs of another; and ſince again, the fear or hope of rewards from great and rich men prevails moſt, will not hope of gain, and fear of oppoſition continually endanger juſtice, and bring on the oppreſſion of the poor? For ſay men what they will, no man (as a natural man) can have that degree of fortitude, as not to be many times awed by political greatneſs, or perſonal courage. And could we ſuppoſe ſome perſon informidable, ſo as (in things of inconcern to himſelf) he could dare to act according to the true ſenſe of Juſtice; muſt it not ſtill follow, that when again his intereſt is mixed therewith, the ſame want of true fear muſt render him as partial to himſelf. So that, in a meer natural man, you cannot ſo place fortitude as to make it always a Vertue: where-

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as he that hath God in all cauſes for his ſecond and Judge, (*making him his onely fear*) as (on the one hand) *he will not fear what fleſh can do unto him*, ſo, (on the other ſide), will he always fear what he doth unto them.

By which means being habituated to a ſteady Vertuous deportment in all his actions, he ſhall finde honeſty (even in this worlds reſpect) to prove the beſt policy. Inaſmuch as, all advantage and gain (in that kinde) ariſing according to the value of truſt and employment, his approved fidelity and integrity will ſo far advance him herein, as to make honor and preferment attend him as his due. The proof and diſcourſe of all which, (as the ſure Crown and reward of Devotion, Humility, and Patience) takes up (by Precepts and Examples) the greateſt part of Holy Writ it ſelf: as if on purpoſe to ſhew us, that its chief aim were to exhort and encourage us herein. And the humble and devout ſearcher of the Scriptures ſhall be ſure never to return empty of this bleſſing: whereas he that is not *grounded in love*, but carries with him the ſpirit of Pride and Contention, returns uſually ten times more the Childe of the devil then before.

But that which moſt of all is the occaſion of this preſent diſcourſe, and comes neereſt our preſent buſineſs; is to let Subjects hereby ſee, that that degree of ſubmiſſion and Patience I had formerly commended unto them, was a ſtate of happineſs as well as duty: and that eſpecially for Chriſtian ſubjects towards Chriſtian Princes. Againſt whom, Anger, Malice, and Revenge (in all their degrees) muſt moſt of all be laid aſide. Whatſoever we ſuffer from them, we muſt look upon as coming from him that ſet them up in this high power: and who hath *their hearts ſo always in his hand, as to turn them which way he pleaſeth*: either making them inſtruments of his anger upon us, or tryals of our truſt and Patience towards him. Whereupon, we cannot more lawfully think of retaliation and reſiſtance towards them, (againſt *whom there is no riſing up*) then againſt God himſelf: for in vain expect we the reward *of ſuffering wrongfully*, if we allow them not a power of doing ſo; and that beyond any warrantable reſtraint of ours. Thoſe evils that come from the hands of others without Authority from them, I may prevent or reſiſt as mine own diſcretion and Conſcience ſhall direct; with conſideration had to the Precepts of Love and Charity: and in this kinde we commonly make a Vertue of neceſſity. But where lawful Authority doth impoſe, the ties of publike Charity and Obedience do both lye upon me; and although I may do my beſt by petition or perſwaſion to alter his Will from proſecution, yet can I not at all uſe mine own will for reſiſting him therein.

Prov. 22. 1. Prov. 30. 31.

All which will not prove of great difficulty, to him that ſhall remember his Saviours propheſie; *that in the world we ſhould have afflictions*: and that promiſe alſo annexed therewith, *in me ye ſhall have peace*. This man I ſay, *in hope of that high price and reward which is ſet before him, will be ever running his race* with all cheerfulneſs. And while he is running to that heavenly Goal, it will be eaſie for him to read the hand of Providence to be many times writing and engraving Characters of temporal advantage alſo out of thoſe malicious plots of his enemies: no otherwiſe then as it was with *Joſeph*: who *through envy being ſold* and put from home, was thereby delivered from famine, and brought into a richer ſoyl, and greater preferment elſewhere: whereupon he might now have power to expreſs true goodneſs,

Joh. 16. 33. Heb. 12. 12.

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in returning good for evil. And, upon a diſcreet examination, he ſhall alſo generally finde, that theſe Croſſes were but the effects of love; and put in his way, like ſo many pauſes and ſtops, to delay or divert him from ſome courſe he had headily undertaken; which in the purſuit would have proved more deſtructive to him; either in his ſpiritual or temporal condition, then are thoſe opportunities and advantages which divine Providence hath now brought him unto.

Oh thou admirable and bleſſed Grace of Charity! How doſt thou, by thy due exerciſe, at once both make us good and happy? as well in exciting us to acts of beneficence, as delighting and rewarding us for doing them. To call thee a moral Vertue is too low: thou art them all, and their Crown. For, in order to humane preſervation, (and of all things that have ſenſe and will) thou art of as large and neceſſary extent, as is that Vertue of Union and Sympathy, which is the preſerver of the whole worlds Fabrick beſides. Nay in us thou art the ſame Union and Sympathy; under the name of Love, doing the ſame thing: that is, hereby preventing the deſtruction of voluntary Agents, as that doth of all natural ones: and ſo being not onely (like that) providence her right hand, but alſo ſo much more above it, as thy execution is more above it in difficulty, and the object of thy imployment more noble. How much below thee ſtand all other Graces and Vertues! Even ſo far, as to be of no uſe without thee; like as thou alſo art (again) ſo much more worthy, as thou art more thy ſelf: that is art more extenſive. For when by any of them alone, I chuſe to exerciſe any moral duty, if thou take it not by the hand, how will ſelf-reſpect byaſs it to pride? Or, if without thee I imploy my zeal, it will be found little other then a gilded trifle, or *a Sacrifice of that which coſts me nothing*: as being commonly but the imployment of an hours time or leſs; which I had beforehand ſo ordered, as to have nothing elſe to do therein. Or, did I exerciſe my devotion in real expence of part of my deerly eſteemed eſtate; and that in Alms or building of Temples, or the like; how will that preſent requital of foreſeen honor, make me uſually a willing diſpenſer of my fortunes, even *to be ſeen of men*: and that, either by thanks from the poor, or by having my name ſet or known in the Temple: by which means, carrying a face and deſign towards pride, how will it take off from that freeneſs which ſhould Crown Devotion? But when, againſt my will, (it may be) all my fortune, and that which is yet deareſt, my good name is now ſnatcht from me, (and that by my profeſſed enemies) and I can yet be joyful as well as patient, hence, together with the difficulty, muſt ariſe the higheſt pitch of honor. Difficulty did I ſay, nay impoſſibility; for naturally it is ſo: inaſmuch as in ſo doing, I do make contradictions both true at once. For if my deprivation or ſuffering be in a thing I eſteem not, or am not ſenſible of, what need, or uſe of Patience? And if I muſt be willing to ſuffer, what I am unwilling to ſuffer, as it can onely be done by a miraculous and divine help, ſo the Vertue thereby wrought muſt be moſt highly divine alſo. How is a natural perfection put into a non-plus herein? My injury muſt be the reaſon of my patience, my wrong of my forgiveneſs; nay more, I muſt in the higheſt meaſure be actively charitable to this my known enemy, even becauſe he is ſo: expreſſing it in the higheſt degrees; feed him, cloath him, (if he want); and above all, pray for him howſoever.

2 Sam. 24. 24.

Compare

Compare that which great ones deſerve with this, and you may call it Pride and Arrogance. For with what caſe do they ſit and command; and then aſſume the atchievement of publike Utility and Peace as proper to themſelves, when alas the true burthen and thanks for theſe things, reſts on the part of the obedient. For what uſe of power but through ſubmiſſion? and how ſoon without Patience, would proſecution of revenge ſet whole Kingdoms in a civil flame: whilſt revenge ſhould thus generate, and my revenge on him, call for his revenge on me? Therefore as Charity is the preſerver and eſtabliſher of other Vertues and Graces, ſo is Patience, and ſubjection the true tryal and eſtabliſher of Charity. For Kings and great ones, have their honor and power but from this relation of ſubjection and obedience: and ſo far onely as they have firſt ſubmitted their Wills to God; and are themſelves obedient, and truely paſſive under his Authority and command, can they have true power to act upon or command others, By which means, patience under ſubjection, will prove the beſt Jewel in their Crowns; as well as a Crown to other Vertues of their Subjects.

Nor can Princes be excuſed from the perſonal exerciſe of this Vertue of Patience alſo, by being ſometimes ſharers in *thoſe chaſtiſments*, which muſt teſtifie them *to be ſons and no baſtards*: And that not onely when their own *iniquity ſhall be puniſhed with the rod of the children of men*, (that is rebellion), but alſo when they (according to the Will and appointment of God) *ſhall fill up that which is behinde of the afflictions of Chriſt in the fleſh, for his bodies ſake which is the Church*. Not that they can add in merit; but like as every particular Chriſtian muſt eſtate himſelf in Chriſt and his Church by their following him in ſufferings and obedience, ſo muſt great ones meaſure herein be higher then others upon occaſion: even as their honor and reward is proportionably more eminent, in regard of that great truſt of the Church put into their hands. For as Saint *Paul* and other holy and eminent members and guides of the Church, did formerly by their particular and more remarkable ſufferings and patience in, and for their ſeparate Churches, more fully and ſpeedily fill up that meaſure of wickedneſs which unto their oppreſſive and perſecuting adverſaries was by divine permiſſion allotted, and thereby the ſooner call for Gods Vengeance on them, and compaſſion towards the relief of that Church for whoſe ſake they ſuffered: even ſo, each ſeparate Church may be ſuppoſed to have its meaſure of temporal afflictions more remarkably and fully compleated by the afflictions and ſufferings of its own head and guide in chief, whereby, the ſooner to move God in compaſſion of their ſufferings, as of the whole, to regard and relieve the diſtreſſes of that particular Church in their temporal ſufferings, no otherwiſe then as Chriſt, as head of the Catholike, did by his ſufferings, generally merit ſalvation both temporal and eternal for the whole Church his body. And therefore, although the *ſons of Zebedee* were not able to drink ſo great a draught, nor ſuffer in ſo high a meaſure, as being to have but a ſubordinate and particular charge under our Savior, yet that they *were able to drink of that cup*, and ſhould alſo bear a ſhare in this *Baptiſm*, is there aſcertained: when as yet the entrance and admiſſion into Dominion and Power, as *on the right hand and left hand of Chriſt* in his Church, ſhould be left to the diſpoſe of Providence, as heretofore declared.

Heb. 12.8. 2 Sam. 7.14. Coloſſ 1.24. Matth. 20.20; &c.

But now, it is not every Patience, or dull inſenſibility under every affliction that is to have this honor and reward; but that Patience moſt properly that is accompanied with the duty of Obedience. For I may give all I have

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to the poor, nay my body to be burnt, and yet be but charitable to my self, in design to mine own honor. But when I am so taken up with the good of others, (in order to my love of him whose image they bear) that (in sure token thereof) I can forgive all injuries, and them also that did them; here is Charity upon Charity: which (in care of publike Peace and Good) *suffereth long, is kinde, envieth not, is not puffed up, but beareth all things.* Which expressions, as they properly betoken the Vertues of such as are to be subject to Authority, so may they serve to expound to us those sayings of our Saviour, whosoever *shall smite thee*, &c. namely that the right use of Patience is thereby meant; even Patience under Authority, and not any stupid neglect of our own safeties. For so in Saint *Matthew* it is, *whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek*, &c. Whereby we are to understand, that those evils are not to be resisted that come from men on our right hands: that is, are above us. And so again, *Whosoever will sue thee at Law*, &c. to him we must with Patience give our Cloak also, if Law will take it away: and being thereby *compelled*, we are to do for any man more then he shall ask.

1 Cor. 13. 4. &c.

Matth. 5. 39.

Verse 40.

And these Gospel Precepts, carry but the same meaning toward Patience and Humility under Authority, as *Solomons* prudential Precept formerly did: *if the spirit of the Ruler rise up against thee, leave not thy place: for yielding pacifyeth great offences*: and all because of that relation of obedience we stand bound unto, in regard of his Authority that thus commanded us. And therefore, when we finde these Graces of Humility and Meekness set down and commended unto us, they are to be taken as necessarily implying the duty of obedience: inasmuch as they are the onely proper Vertues of such as are stated in the relation of subjection. For this Vertue of Patience is as necessary to the constitution of things voluntary in the relation of Patients, towards the receit of the Vertue of that Agency which from the Governor is to be acted on the governed, as is the endowment of other natural Vertues and Properties on inanimates, to make them susceptible of that efficacy which on the part of their Agents is required also.

Eccles. 10. 4.

Whereupon Patience comes to be a Vertue of such great influence, and concern in the establishment of Charity, (making the Precept of love useful to humane preservation and Gods honor,) that sometimes it supplies the place of Charity, and is joyned to Faith in Christ, as the other fundamental requisite to salvation: nay sometimes goeth alone, as the most sure groundwork thereof, and true token also of Christian Faith it self. For so runs our Saviors admonition, *in patience possess ye your souls*. And to that purpose saith Saint *James*, *the tryal of your Faith worketh Patience*: and then, (to shew the perfection that follows Patience), he adds, *but let Patience have her perfect work, that ye may be perfect and entire wanting nothing*. And St. *Paul* having set forth *our access to God through Faith*, after adds, *and not onely so, but we glory in tribulation also: knowing that tribulation worketh Patience, and Patience Experience, and Experience Hope, and Hope maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts; by the Holy Ghost which is given us*: that is, Tribulation and Patience, do uphold and supply that fundamental and saving Grace of love, which is wrought within us by the Holy Ghost.

Luke 21. 19. Jam. 1. 3.

Verse 4.

Rom. 5. 3, 4, 5.

And as in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, we are exhorted *to be followers of them who through Faith and Patience inherit the Promises*, so doth St. *Peter* well

Heb. 6. 12.

well set out what is, or should be the sign and effect of this brotherly love, viz. *Not rendring evil for evil, and railing for railing.* That is, not resisting the evils suffered from Authority, by deed or by Word, (after the example of Christ formerly set down) *but contrariwise blessing, knowing that ye are thereunto called, that ye should inherit a blessing*; meaning the blessed reward of our Patience, in suffering of that share of afflictions unto which we are in this life called. *For he that will love life, and see good days*, (that is, he that desires to enjoy a future life or good days here) *let him refrain his tongue from evil, and his lips that they speak no guile: let him eschew evil and do good.* Which is the same with the former admonition, *of not rendring evil for evil, nor railing for railing*: onely there, our resistance by act was put first, but here, the resistance by words is put first; under the Precept of refraining our tongues from evil. And then follows the admonition for actions: *let him eschew evil and do good*: let him not onely forbear resistance, but be obedient also: and thereupon shall he be in a state, both *to seek peace and ensue it.*

1 Pet. 3. 9. *Ibidem.* Vers. 10. Vers. 11.

As generally thus amongst mankinde, Patience is added to Faith to make us inheritors of the Promises, and a necessity of compliance with Christ in sufferings, *that we may be also glorified together*: so, unto the particular of women, is Patience added also: *she shall be saved by childe-bearing, if she continue in the Faith.* By which words, as we are not to understand that none but Child-bearing women shall be saved, or that the others should not be sharers also of those common sufferings incident to the rest of mankinde; so may we perceive this particular instance of Childe-bearing put, both to set out Patience in the highest degree of suffering known amongst us, and also (being put under the notion of Childe-bearers), may be taken as comprehending such as are married who being subject to husbands may farther serve to shew, that this Patience is occasioned from that degree of subjection and bondage, which God (by reason of their appointed subordination) had put them under, when he said, *In sorrow shalt thou conceive, and thy desire shall be subject to thy husbands.* So that then, each one that *travelleth in pain* under this yoak of bondage to the Laws of Superiors, by reason of, and for punishment of our corruption, is to submit to the pleasure *of him that subjected the same in hope*: and *to reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared to the glory which shall be revealed in us, when we shall be restored to the glorious liberty of the sons of God.*

Rom. 8. 17. & 2 Tim. 2, 12. 1 Tim. 2. 15. Gen. 3. 16. Rom. 8. 18.

Nor need we wonder *why immortality and eternal life*, should be promised *to them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory and honor*; and (on the contrary) *indignation and wrath unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth*; it (besides the benefits arising to mankinde by this Vertue (formerly spoken of), we also consider its efficacy in advancement of the Praise and Honor of God amongst us also. For where Patience and Humility are practised (as all outward strife ceases, so) general contentment will arise: Whereupon, Kings, as well as subjects, being reciprocally pleased in having, and yeilding ready obedience, men on all hands will have cause to Thank and Praise their Maker: whose greatest delight being in the good of his Creature, and their grateful acknowledgement thereupon, so is their murmuring and affliction to him most unpleasant: as abating the sense of his goodness and praise.

From which grounds, we may easily discern the Reason, why this Vertue

ſhould be ſo eſpecially commended to us by that great *preſerver of men*. So that ſince it was neceſſary, that in token of our zeal and love to his ſervice, ſomething of difficulty ſhould be enjoyned, what in the eye of his all-ſeeing Providence more fit then this: whereby, as his glory is upheld by the eſtabliſhment of the Kingdoms peace here, ſo are the Patient themſelves, (beſides the reward of his Grace in this life,) to receive the deſerved Crown thereof in the world to come.

Wherefore now, *lift up the hands that hang down, and the feeble knees: and ſeeing alſo we are compaſſed with ſo great a cloud of witneſſes, let us lay aſide every weight, and the ſin* (namely of rebellion) *that doth ſo eaſily beſet us, and let us run with patience the race that is ſet before us, looking unto, &c. For though no chaſtning for the preſent ſeemeth joyous, but grievous; nevertheleſs afterward, it yeildeth the peaceable fruit of righteouſneſs, unto them which are exerciſed thereby.* For although *here at the pleaſure of fleſhly Fathers, we be for a few days chaſtened*, yet God turns it *to our profit, that we might be partakers of his holineſs.*

Heb. 12. v2.
Verſe 1.
Verſe 2.
Verſe 11.
Verſe 10.

By this proper note of perſecutions and afflictions, left unto us as a Legacy by him that was the *Author and finiſher of our Faith*, and that once ſo highly ſuffered for us; we ſtand, in a peculiar manner, not only diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the world, as in teſtimony of the truth of our Religion above theirs, (who, as an Argument of their humane device and extraction are ſtill cloſing with Nature in promiſes of ſenſual delights), but, according to the true and ſanctified uſe of theſe afflictions again by the ſeveral members of the Church, each Chriſtian profeſſor therein comes to be a more true Diſciple and Chriſtian one then another. Inaſmuch, as my being by my profeſſion and belief a Chriſtian, cannot of it ſelf make me a true one: becauſe it may be a thing not of my choice, or beſtowed on me out of particular Grace and Election: but happening (for ought I know) from no other ground or aſſurance, nor having other reaſon or influence, then the hazard of birth or Education.

Had I been born and educated where other Religions are profeſſed, I had, in all probability, been even ſuch an one in belief as they; and thoſe others of thoſe Religions, had (doubtleſs) upon like change been of mine. In which caſe, as I ſhould have thought it hard that they, for their good fortune of being Chriſtened when I was Circumciſed, ſhould be thereupon rewarded and I puniſhed, ſo cannot I reaſonably now think that as regeneration muſt be ſomething elſe then this, ſo alſo that that Baptiſm that muſt purge out the old man, muſt be (where it may be had) ſomething elſe then that of outward waſhing; the Baptiſm of the *Holy Ghoſt and of fire*, muſt be added to that of *John*.

Yea and baptiſm of afflictions, rightly applyed it muſt alſo be. For that elſe, it may be again, that as they came but occaſionally upon me, ſo was I by my own natural conſtitution and ſoftneſs of temper drawn both to the ſearch after God by theſe afflictions, and to the Patient enduring of them. It may be ignorance or inability to reſiſt or avoid my ſufferings in the condition I am now in, makes me, as in a kinde of Melancholly revenge, appeal to Heaven for reparation: and, for want of natural fortitude dejectedly to yeild, and ſit down in ſome Stoical contempt or melancholly retirement. If ſo, what praiſe can I expect for my ſeeming neglect thereof, when it was but what I cannot overcome and avoid? In which doing, I may alſo naturally

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reap inward ſatisfaction, and ſo far flatter my ſelf in this my degree of Patience and well-doing, that I may go yet one ſtep farther, and receive conſolation and content by my endurance of thoſe things, and be yet no true partaker *of that baptiſm with which the Captain of my ſalvation was made perfect.*

If I finde not my ſelf ſtill ready for freſh encounters, and that out of ſenſe of duty and publike regard, as one that is *ſtrengthened with all might according to his glorious power, unto all Patience and Long-ſuffering with joyfulneſs*; Col. 1. 11. but do now hide or cloyſter up my ſelf from being any more publikely beneficial to others, onely becauſe I am afraid I ſhall be thereby prejudiced my ſelf, and be rendred obnoxious again, what do I but thereby acknowledge that I am both privately affected in being thus regardful to my ſelf alone, and alſo to be as poorly ſpirited; ſince I am ſo over maſtered by their weight that I can endure no more.

And as Patience may in it ſelf alone be an uncertain ſign of true Regeneration, ſo may faith alſo. For if, in many a Chriſtian, we ſhould examine the ground of this too, it would be found grounded on Nature alſo: even although it ſhould be ſo ſtrong as to ſubmit to martyrdom. For ſince I, in another Religion, or another in mine, might have ſo dyed, had we been ſo brought up, it can in it ſelf evidence little of the truth of that duty we profeſs: but oftentimes may have iſſue from peeviſhneſs or ſtubbornneſs, without reſpect to Love or Obedience. And certainly, to ſuffer for diſobedience to Chriſtian Authority, can ſcarce deſerve the honor of Martyrdom, onely due to thoſe that undergo it for the honor of Chriſts Name. For that Childe deſerves little pitty, that would rather die under the rod, and periſh by famine, then accept of ſuch wholſom food as is appointed him by his Father; onely becauſe it is not ſuch, or ſo dreſſed, as to be altogether ſuitable to his preſent fancy.

Nay, neither is love only a ſure ſign of this Regeneration: for this alſo may proceed from natural propenſion; and reſpect to *honor* and thanks may make us Charitable, as well as Martyrs. Whereas he that is the true Chriſtian, and fitted with grace of Regeneration, is never *ſlothful*; but ſtands always *diligent in works and labour of love:* becauſe *God who is not unrighteous* will not *forget* to be continually aſſiſting him with his grace of perſeverance here, or reward hereafter; therefore he ſits not down diſconſolate under the burthen, for he knows who hath called him to the combate, and he will be thereupon always ready to entertain it. He was not, he knows, born for himſelf onely: nor can the ſenſe of injuries to himſelf draw him from being publikely beneficial: even although he get nothing but reproach for his labour: as knowing, that, through this difficulty alſo, his reward will be higher. He, he is ſtill looking into all theſe things with the eys of love and publike Charity: whereby he ſtands always magnanimous and reſolved to undergo any thing for the good of thoſe that bear the image of their Maſter, and that according to ſuch rules as thoſe that have publike charge under him ſhall direct. Heb. 6. 12, 11. 10.

For each true Chriſtians love and patience, muſt, through his obedience to the head of his own Church, make uſeful that general end of humane peace and preſervation, for which Chriſtian Patience was by Chriſt himſelf enjoyned to the whole Church. and therefore he ſits not down ſullenly and diſcontentedly, like a ſtubborn childe, under his task and duty, that will act no

more becauſe he cannot do as he likes. Becauſe he findes himſelf croſſed in what is enjoyned him to do, or in the meaſure thereof; he will therefore, by way of murmur and regret, run into the extream thereof. Becauſe he hath been in the world croſſed, therefore, like thoſe children that are fallen out with their play-fellows, he will hide himſelf and play no more.

And as thus his Patience could not have continued and been rightly ſteered without Charity, ſo neither Charity without it. It is not, as we ſaid, every natural propenſion and voluntary beneficence that can, of it ſelf, be called *the labor of love*: for that may be the pleaſure of love: and Pride may be its Parent. But when nature ſhal be holpen by the grace of obedience, when that Patience that was enjoyned for publike benefit ſhal alſo wait on publike direction, then comes he to give a lively teſtimony of the Grace of Regeneration. For he knows he may decline harm, but cannot duty: Nature obligeth us to one, Religion to the other. Where he is *ſtrucken on the right cheek, where the ſpirit of the Ruler doth riſe upon him he muſt not leave his place*, the performance of Loyalty and Service to his rightful Superior, although that he know that through falſe information he is for the preſent bent againſt him; as know, that he is thereunto called by him that *hath his heart in his hand*, and can turn it which way he pleaſeth.

Therefore now, when I ſhall have ſo far ſubdued rebellious Nature, as to ſubmit unto, and undergo my task with patience, not as out of neceſſity, but out of duty: When, out of no other reaſon but becauſe God hath commanded it, I ſhall obey what is enjoyned me, and what I might with my firſt Parents, finde Arguments againſt, in a preſumptuous *knowledge of good and evil*; then it is that the *ſtrong man* begins to be *bound by a ſtronger then he*. When, in the exerciſe and expreſſion of my Love and Charity, I ſuffer not my ſelf to be ſwayed by intereſt or natural propenſion in the choice of the object or apportioning of my love, but can be content, as being in Chriſt now *born again*, and through Grace become *a new creature*, to love all men as bearing Gods image, and more eſpecially Chriſtians and ſuch as are *made conformable to the image of his ſon*, and that without the excluſion of any under the apprehenſion of enemies, or differing from me in judgement or opinion; then it is that I may eſteem my ſelf *renewed in the ſpirit of my minde*, and may gather a well grounded aſſurance of particular mercy and adoption for that: as Chriſtianity is by this ſign of the Croſs differenced from other Religions, ſo may I by this my diſcreet and obedient taking of it up, aſſure my ſelf that more then Nature or Chance hath confirmed me herein. For if, in love to Chriſt and the Peace and welfare of his Church, a Chriſtian can be for a while content to be in ſubjection to theſe his *Fathers in the fleſh*, he thereby gives the beſt proof, that he will much more be willing to be in *ſubjection to the Father of ſpirits and live*. Even to that God, who as an earneſt of the acceptance of his endeavors, had aſſiſted him with his Grace of illumination and perſeverance herein, and thereby aſſured him of a bleſſed releaſe and *reſtoration into the glorious liberty of the ſons of God, when he ſhall have fought his fight and finiſhed that his courſe* of cleanſing, which was by divine Providence appointed him in the Purgatory of this life.

Heb. 12. 10, 11.

Not that we would be hereby thought bounding that inexhauſtible *riches of Gods mercy*: as though it ſtood confined to theſe or the like means, in the appointment of particular mens ſalvations; but as ſetting down the beſt proofs of a true and well grounded Faith; where theſe things are practicable.

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For although Faith cannot be good without Works, nor Works without Christian Obedience, yet God forbid we should exclude infants from salvation for want of them. I say therefore, that there is no true confidence and *glory save in the Cross of Christ by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world*: even until I come *to be a new Creature*, by *bearing in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus. And as many as walk according to this rule*, that is, endeavouring to reform the rebellion and stubbornness of the world by their own exemplary Patience, *Peace be on them, and Mercy, and upon the Israel of God.* Col. 6.14,15, &c. Verse 16.

By the passed discourses, we may gather how corrupted and depraved nature comes to be perfected and restored by Grace: we may see how that former way we had, with other natural Agents, of glorifying God in our contents and pleasures being forfeited, we come now, through endurance of afflictions, to arive at such a state of delight (abstracted from sensuality) as to be enabled in the condition *of new Creatures*, to honor him in a supernatural way; in such measures as naturally we could not do.

For we taking on us our own guidance, and so not being content with the enjoyments of what delights natural sense did outwardly afford, (common to us with other sensitives), and also not trusting to general Providence like other things, but rather to our own contrivances and stocks of Propriety, could not be rightly said in the exultations of pleasures thence proceeding, to be thanking and praising God like them: who, in their simplicity of not undertaking to know the particular Author of their benefits, or have stores of their own, did (as his Creatures and workmanship) expresly, though not intentionally praise him in every thing they did: but then most, when (as sensitives), in their singings, playings, and other ways of rejoycings, they did most eminently confess and acknowledge his bounty and goodness, by this their more lively resentment of benefit.

In regard whereof, namely of our proneness to derogate from God through conceit of our Proprieties, we may finde reason why in the Old-Testament, (where promises run in a temporal strain) there should be such frequent admonitions of rejoycing before him, with the first fruits, and best of them. For as else, we in our pleasures had but thanked our selves, so this being done, we are then to provide *what our souls lusteth after:* and the more we rejoyce before God the better. Deut. 12. 6,7; 12.21.

But this course and way of honoring God, seemed not yet refined and abstracted enough for cleering us of the old leaven: and therefore in the Gospel our Saviour will have us wholly renouncing this trust to Propriety, and with the Sparrows and Lillies of the field, trust for our food and cloathing to general Providence again. How this may be done, *by using them as if we used them not*, hath been partly heretofore shewed: by declaring that we should not reckon our selves such absolute proprietors, as to serve Mammon more, or equal with God; but should esteem our interests in them but so conditionate and usu-fructuary, as not to take off our obligation of thanks to God in every particular we receive.

For, when I can so forget and relinquish my trust and relyance on mine own Propriety, as to count every new enjoyment to be as a new favor from God received; I shall then be freed from Idolatry to Mammon: and while remaining willing to relinquish my Propriety to Gods Ministers dispose; in order to Gods service or publike good; I may then reckon all lawful enjoy-

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ments and pleaſure thereby attained to be ſent me of God. And ſo by making worldly things inſtrumental for the encreaſe of my joy in him, I ſhall then make good that ſaying of *Solomon*, *There is nothing better for a man, then that he ſhould eat and drink, and that he ſhould make his ſoul enjoy good in his labor: this I ſaw was from the hand of God.* And ſo again, *Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart, for God now accepteth thy works.* We may then *rejoyce, and again rejoyce in the Lord*, when our moderation ſhould be thus manifeſt: and (having baniſhed from us the afflicting cares of things of this world), place no other regard to them, then as to things that were firſt obtained from God by *ſupplication*, and received from him with *thankſgiving*.

Eccleſ. 2. 24.

Chap. 9. 4.

Phil. 4. 4.

Wherefore now, (for our ſpiritual way of pleaſing God by our pleaſures), how great cauſe have we to acknowledge and admire that goodneſs and wiſdom of his, that whileſt he is extolling his mercy, in not taking the forfeiture of our inability of praiſing him expreſly and ſufficiently enough in every particular pleaſure we enjoyed, he had contrived this way of ſatisfying his juſtice without our deſtruction, or ſubverſion of the courſe of Nature formerly eſtabliſhed. For ſince in theſe pleaſures that ariſe in us after our ſtate of Regeneration, it cannot be ſaid that they come from depraved Nature, or a cauſe barely Natural, (becauſe effected in us by that which is rather contrary thereunto, namely from what is in it ſelf painful and troubleſom) it muſt therefore follow, that in the pleaſures and contents we now expreſs (after this renewing of our mindes,) we muſt in them praiſe God in a moſt ſpiritual and divine manner: as being now again freed from the corruption of the old *Adam*.

In this new birth the Holy-Ghoſt is our Parent: by whom, (preſenting unto us the promiſes of the Goſpel); we come, by the immortal *ſeed of the word to be begotten unto a lively hope*. Which hope, cauſing us more and more to adhere, and be incorporate into Chriſt, comes then to be called Faith: By which, we may ſay we come to receive our quickening and vivify-cation. After which, we may call afflictions, perſecutions, &c. the throws and pangs of child-birth: and thoſe hands from whom we have them, we may call our Midwives. When we are brought into this new Kingdom of the Church, then is the Grace of love, to be that food and nouriſhment we are afterwards to receive, and grow by: at leaſt it muſt ſerve us as that ſpiritual ſtomach, whereby all things muſt be digeſted to our uſe and benefit. Which time of new-birth, being the time for *caſting forth this ſtrong man armed by a ſtronger then he*, makes it to each one a time of more remarkable trouble: not ſo much for the quantity of affliction, as the ſtrugling conflict made within us; by that ſpirit now raging moſt, when he is to be thrown out.

1 Pet. 1. 3.

But this is not all; for there is in all of us ſtates and degrees of weaning, neceſſarily following afterwards: by the ſufferings whereof, we come by little and little, farther to ſhake off thoſe remaining corruptions of our former Nature: until, being, at laſt, ſo *throughly rooted and grounded in love*, as to be ſpiritually united to God by our bleſſed Mediator, we come then *to the meaſure of the ſtature of the fulneſs of Chriſt*. In which ſecond *Adam* our enjoyment of *Eden* (or pleaſure) is now as innocent, as it was at firſt, to *Adam* in the Garden before his fall: the reluctance and curſe of the Creature, (that is, the puniſhment of our ſin) which would not let us enjoy pleaſure the natural way, proving now the inſtrument for poſſeſſion of pleaſure in this way. For

Epheſ. 4. 13.

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they, having their ſting and venom taken out, come to be but bruiſing of our heels; by the goodneſs of that God that cauſeth the intended malice and miſchief of them to light on the heads of that Serpent and his Agents. For when the old *Adam with the affections and luſts, hath been ſo throughly crucified in us*, that we can neither look on our ſufferings as ills, nor their Authors as enemies; we may be able then to ſay, *that the life we now live in the fleſh we will live by the Faith of the ſon of God, who loved us, and gave himſelf for us.* Gal.5.24. Gal.2.20.

But now, although it be our parts always to be ayming at this maſtery and perfection, (in which regard our life is compared to a race or warfare) yet, until we have in death concluded our ſufferings and conquered our *laſt enemy*, we ſhall never be able (with the Captain of our ſalvation) to ſay *it is finiſhed*: but muſt, (whilſt we live) be ſubject to divers freſh aſſaults and encounters: one while provoking us to preſumption, (*through abundance of revelation*), one while to deſpair, (*through thorns in the fleſh*) in ſuch meaſure, that we ſhall need to be ſtill taking to our aſſiſtance, not only the inward weapons of humility and love, but the outward exerciſes of all ſuch religious duties and performances, as may again ſtrengthen theſe Graces, or any way direct and incourage us in a ſteady courſe of recovery by the degrees of hope and faith; and ſo re-eſtate us into the former degree of adherence: until *this faith, the ſubſtance of things not ſeen, ſhall grow into the fruition of God by love, the bond of perfection.* Heb.5.21.&c. For our unskilfulneſs in the word of righteouſneſs, will make us (like new born babes wanting milk) need to be continually attendant on our Apoſtolike keepers and interpreters *of the Oracles of God, to have the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith towards God* again and again laid: and to have *the doctrine of baptiſms, and laying on of hands, and of the reſurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgement*, again and again preached. By which means being continually *ſtrengthened in our work and labor of love*, we ſhall not be *ſlothful but followers of them who by Faith and patience inherit the Promiſes.* Chap.6.10,11.

And ſo alſo although Prayers, Preaching, Repentance, Faſting, *&c.* (nay the Sacraments themſelves) are but Ceremonies compared to that final object of Religion (Gods Praiſe and mans Salvation, and are not in themſelves fundamental) yet, ſince this love can never be ſo perfect in this life, as not to put us in need of theſe helps for apprehenſion of theſe divine truths, and alſo to keep our mindes fixt and intent on our duties, and ſince neglect or alteration in them may be damnable through diſobedience: it ſeems therefore now expedient, that ſomething ſhould be ſaid thereof, and of thoſe errors of Idolatry and Superſtition, which do uſually attend their wrong adminiſtration.

CHAP. XI.

Of Idolatry and Superſtition, and of the Power of each Church her Head, in the eſtabliſhment of Ceremonies and Divine Worſhip.

NExt unto Atheiſm, that would wholly ſubſtract Deity, is the error of Polytiſme, that by diviſion would ſo confound him, as through irregularity and confuſion in our practice, his real and true ſervice ſhould be defeated. For although the Atheiſt do only profeſs not ſerving him, yet doth the Idolater (by multiplying and adulterating his appearance) ſo multiply and diſguiſe both his perſon and his wil, that in the end, we are not able to know, what is truly the one, or the other.

Nor is this crime and error of Idolatry ſubject only to outward and bodily repreſentations, ſuch as did uſually accompany Gentiliſm: But inaſmuch as honor and adoration are to be the end of our knowledge, and becauſe again the goodneſs and ſoundneſs of this adoration will take admeaſurement and proportion from the truth and worth of that Divine Exiſtence and Perfection which is by each one conceived, it muſt alſo follow, that men are to be accounted more or leſs Idolaters, as that Image of God conceived in their minds is more or leſs truly repreſenting him. For he being not to be perceived by any of our bodily ſenſes, or otherwiſe known to mankind, then by the effects of his being, to wit, his goodneſs, power, wiſdom, juſtice, and ſuch operations as muſt properly denote him, it muſt therefore come to paſs that ſuch as ſhall fail or miſtake in the apprehenſion of theſe emanations, and ſhall attribute unto him ſuch works or way of energy, as are neither worthy of him nor proportionable unto him, are thereupon to be accounted Idolatrous.

As for example, ſuch as having not rightly conceived and obſerved God in the continual and general expreſſion of that his moſt eminent attribute of goodneſs and mercy, nor well conſidered, that true glory and honor doth ariſe from the generality and extent of benefits, nor (indeed) well underſtood the true import of theſe phraſes of *Election*, *Predeſtination*, *&c.* and how, and what works do, and do not ſave, are ready, in a haſty partiality to themſelves, to judge him, like one of the vulgar, as exerciſing only his power and greatneſs in the acts of Election and Reprobation; and that, not only in prejudice of his wiſdom, as being guided by no diſcrimination in the Election of ſome before others; but, in prejudice of his goodneſs and juſtice, as thereby rejecting others of equal merit and condition. By which means the Image theſe men have conceived will come to be truly an Idol, by having *eyes and ſee not*, *&c.* and thereupon ſo much below, even the vulgar; becauſe they, in their ſentences to life or puniſhment, would have reſpect to merit or demerit, ſo far as poſſibly they could perceive or foreſee them, and not proceed therein, as in a kind of lottery.

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And as theſe and ſuch like falſe repreſentations muſt introduce Idolatry within, by means of a ſhorter or unſtable impreſſion: ſo when men come to adapt and proportion their outward Service and Worſhip, it muſt alſo come to paſs that the ſame muſt be defective, falſe, or frivolous, and conſequently ſo much more or leſs ſuperſtitious, as they ſhall be more or leſs unknowing of God or his will, and ſhall be therein onely guided by particular fear and fancy.

Upon which ground, we may finde reaſon why Almighty God (both in reference to his own honor, and for eſtating men upright and blameleſs in their religious duties) did always either himſelf appoint ſome eſtabliſhed form and rule therein; or elſe authorize ſome perſon under him to do it, and not leave it to the hazard of private and ſingle mens devotion, whether to be done or no; nor to their differing judgements, to fancy what variety and contradiction therein they pleaſed. By which doing, not only Gods continual and conſtant Worſhip, will be more ſecured and uniform, but men will continue more free from the guilt of Idolatry and Superſtition, whilſt they ſhall not be thus let looſe to private contrivance of what the paſſion of fear ſhall ſuggeſt, but be therein guided by the will of Gods publike Miniſter: whereby they muſt, with the performance of their duties of obedience therein to him, be acquit of the ſin of Superſtition towards God alſo.

Under the Law, as all the outward forms of Worſhip and Service were by God himſelf inſtituted (and ſo expreſly ſet down that none could doubt) ſo was there a ſtrict injunction given againſt any alteration, even of that very part of his Service which ſeemed moſt Ceremonial. Which happened not ſolely for that God inſtituted them (becauſe we find *David* and other good Kings making alteration in ſome things of like inſtitution) but this peremptorineſs aroſe from the continuance of that end which at firſt gave them inſtitution and being. For ſo far as they were typical and repreſentative of Chriſt or his Church to ſucced (of which ſort moſt of them were) it muſt follow that till Chriſt were come, any alteration in them made (as of unfitneſs for publike uſe) were none other then to accuſe God himſelf of weakneſs that had enjoyned them.

And, as upon this ground, the High Prieſt and Tribe of *Levi* ſtood in many things, independent of the Authority of their Kings, even ſo alſo, becauſe much depended on the preſervation of that Jewiſh State (as in order to have it continue until our Saviour ſhould come to put an end to that Church) God therefore, (even after the eſtabliſhment of Kingſhip) reſerved to himſelf a Super-intendency of their State-Government alſo; and had his Prophets to declare his pleaſure upon all great and exorbitant occaſions: leſt otherwiſe, their tranſactions with their Neighbours, or miſgovernment at home, might prove ſo deſtructively prejudicial, that his own purpoſe might be defeated by their ruine.

After the time our Saviour himſelf appeared, and had the whole *Government laid on his ſhoulders*, theſe offices were wholly reſigned up unto him; and ſo from him, who was *King and Prieſt after the order of Melchiſedec* (and who was *the Prophet* which *Moſes* foretold of *to be raiſed up like him*, and *which was anointed to preach glad tidings*) they come to be by him conferred in chief on his adopted ſons, the ſeveral heads of his Church; and ſo at laſt to be impropriate to the anointed Chriſtian Monarchs, without ſuch reſervation as God had formerly made in the Jewiſh Church, in reference to his Theocraty.

Iſa. 9. 6. Deut. 18. 15. Iſa. 61. 1.

If we look for the knowledge of theſe things in the practiſe of the primitive Chriſtian Church, we ſhall not find any ſeparate juriſdiction or authority claimed, either in Prieſtly or Prophetical way, but what was ſubordiate, if not appointed by the Apoſtles, the then Heads of the Church. The which is plainly intimated by S. *Paul*, when he tells the *Corinthians* (who had in many things preſumed againſt the authority of his Apoſtleſhip as their Head) *Though ye have ten thouſand Inſtructers in Chriſt, yet have ye not many fathers: for in Chriſt Jeſus I have begotten you through the Goſpel; wherefore I beſeech you be ye followers of me.*

1 Cor. 4. 15, 16

For although many of theſe their Preachers or Inſtructers, had (no doubt) by their Doctrine won many particular ſouls amongſt them to the faith, and ſo might be called the ſpiritual Fathers to thoſe perſons; yet, ſince they (generally conſidered as a collective Church and body of men) had firſt been inſtructed by him, and were alſo the *Seal of his Apoſtleſhip in the Lord*: They (under the notion of *Sons* of the Church) could have but one ſpiritual Father, no more then natural ſons could.

Chap. 9. 2.

Whereupon, having ſignified to them his Power of Super-intendency, under a relation that might claim ſole and undeniable authority (as their general Father or Head) he then tells them of his practiſe thereupon: *For this cauſe I ſent Timotheous unto you, who is my beloved ſon and faithful in the Lord, who ſhall bring you into remembrance of my wayes which be in Chriſt, as I teach every where, in every Church.* That is, I have ſent him by my Apoſtolical Authority, to take the charge of your inſtruction in my abſence: becauſe he knows my manner of Doctrine and Worſhip, which I have eſtabliſhed in other Churches, by vertue of that power which Chriſt gave me.

Chap. 4. 14.

Verſe 17.

And ſo he goeth on, reproving ſuch as had demeaned themſelves proudly againſt his Authority, under colour of their office of Inſtruction, or as *Waterers to what he planted*: And thereupon ſays, *The Kingdom of God is not in word, but in power*; that is, he would not *regard the ſpeech of him that was puffed up, but the power.* For although they might preach in Chriſts name, yet if they had not power from that Supreme Deputy, which Chriſt hath intruſted with his Churches Power, their Authority was nothing; as elſewhere he ſays, *How ſhall they preach except they be ſent?*

Verſe 20.
Verſe 19.

Rom. 10. 15.

Indeed, thoſe Epiſtles to the *Corinthians*, are very intent and copious in the defence of S. *Pauls* Authority; and the ſix firſt Chapters are particularly bent that way, and carry an eſpecial reproof againſt thoſe Schiſms and Diviſions which had hapned amongſt them for want of this unity. Whilſt ſome would chooſe one Maſter-builder, and ſome another, and that with ſuch vehemence of affection, as Idolatrouſly to neglect or forget Chriſt himſelf, whoſe Deacons they were. And whilſt others, as Superſtitiouſly again, would balk thoſe Miniſters of Chriſt ſet over them, as thinking obededience no where due but to him alone. Therefore (ſaith he) *I beſeech you brethren, by the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that ye all ſpeak the ſame thing, and that there be no diviſions amongſt you; but that ye be perfectly joyned together in the ſame mind, and in the ſame judgement*: Which thing cannot be, while *Every one of you ſaith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollo, and I of Cephas, and I of Chriſt.*

1 Cor. 1. 10.

Verſe 12.

After

After which (like a faithful Minister and Steward) he first vindicates the honor of his Master against such as would divide him, by their Idolatrous regard to his Ministers in his stead: *Is Christ divided, was Paul crucified for you, or were you baptized in the name of Paul?* And so blaming himself to blame others, he goes on clearing himself, that that power he had exercised had ever been done by him in Christs name, as acknowledging his derived Authority and Mission from him, of preaching and laying this Christian foundation: Which thing seemed foolishness to these Greeks; for they (besides their natural aversion to all kind of subjection but what themselves fancied) were (as it appears) tainted with arrogancy towards their own ability in discerning right and wrong according to the Moral Philosophy of their own Country; and so were unwilling to submit to the simplicity of the Gospel; and make *obedience to Christ their wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.* The wisdom of God is now a Mysterie, even a way to Justification, which the wise men of the world knew not, nor could discover in their Precepts of Moral Justice. Verse 13. Verse 30.

Having therefore afterwards again, warned them against these carnal courses that caused these *divisions*; as also told them that *this worldly wisdom is foolishness with God*, he then undertakes Apostolical honor and power, as being immediately intrusted under God in *Christ*; and so he having from them received the *Spirit of judgement*, thinks it not valuable *to be judged of mans judgement*. For the Superior cannot be justified (as elsewhere shewed) from below: *Nay though*, saith he, *I know nothing by my self, yet am I not hereby justified, but he that judgeth me is the Lord*; that is, the act of Justification must come from above; and therefore Inferiors are not to do it, *but leave it to the last judgement, where every man shall have praise of God.* Chap. 3. 34. Verse 19. Chap. 4. 1, 2. Verse 3. Verse 4. Verse 5.

In the next verse, he comes home to what was the drift of all the rest: *These things brethren, I have in a figure transferred to my self, and to Apollo for your sakes, that ye might learn in us, not to think of men above that which is written: that no one of you be puffed up, for one against another*; that is, Forasmuch as ye know me to be your Planter, and that *Apollo* and I are all one, by subordination to God that gave us our powers, therefore are ye not to regard other mens authorities above that written warrant they can bring for the same. For difference in power must come from God; if it come from below, it will cause divisions and puffing up one against another: *For who maketh one man to differ from another* (but God) *and what hast thou that thou didst not receive, now if thou didst receive it why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it?* that is, since Christ hath given his power in the Church to us in chief, and to all others as subordinate, why should they act without us, as though they had not received it from us? Why should you, in your popular fancy of underived power, think to raign as Kings without us? For although we have suffered our selves to be accounted weak and despised, that ye might be strong and honorable, and also to try if by any means we might win you; yet it is not to deny that we have (as your father) just power to command you: and therefore *I write not to shame you* (for your neglect) *but as my beloved sent to warn you*, that I may not have occasion *to come with a rod, but in love, and in the Spirit of meekness*, as I have always done. And therefore, although S. *Paul* do Verse 6. Verse 7. Chap. 4. 14. Verses 20, 21.

now beseech them to be followers of him, as the only way to be of the same mind, and of the same judgement, yet it is but what he might *as an Apostle of Christ have been bold in*, and have commanded them in Christs name; and what they as commanded *in the Lord*, that is, by the *stewards of the Mysteries of God* (nay, as *labourers together with God, in this building and husbandry*) ought to obey.

1 Cor. 4. 1. 1 Cor. 3. 9.

And therefore is it that S. *Paul* saith, *I praise you brethren, that ye remember me in all things, and keep the Ordinances as I delivered them to you*; even as I, the Disciple or Follower of Christ, have by vertue of my Mission from him appointed you. Not (as some would have it) follow me no farther in any thing then you find me following Christ; because this had been to overthrow all he had said before, and to have given new toleration to schism, under pretence of following Christ: For if men be not followers of those their Supreme Heads that are followers of Christ, but will make divisions by honouring God their own way, then will the Author of peace be made the Author of confusion; whilst some (in their publike worship) *have a Psalm, some a doctrine, a Revelation, and Interpretation, &c.* to the overthrow of all true publike worship and service, for want of uniformity. No otherwise, then if the same person, in the manner of his return of thanks and service to God, should be distracted in himself, and not wholly intent on the thing he is about; for as there are private benefits for which we are separately to be thankful, so are there national ones to, in which our prayers and praises are to agree by publike appointment.

1 Cor. 11. 2.

1 Cor. 14. 26.

And this is the reason, why, writing to the *Ephesians* of our publique duties of praising God, he presently enjoyns them submission, as the only means to make it right and uniform: *Speaking to your selves in Psalms, and Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, singing and making melody in your hearts to the Lord; giving thanks always for all things unto God the father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, submitting your selves one unto another in the fear of God*; which is the same with *let every soul be subject unto the higher power, because they are of God*: And so he goes on, to state obedience in all the present Christian relations; that is, of wives, children, and servants, *as unto Christ*, and *as to the Lord, and not to men*: But by his beginning with the duty of wives, and staying so long upon it, we may well conceive him to have herein a particular drift, to set forth, under the figure of womens obedience to their husbands, as their heads, each Churches obedience to its Husband or Head under Christ; who is the head of the whole Church his Spouse: of which more hereafter.

Ephes. 5. 19. Verse 20. Verse 21. Chap. 6. 1. Verse 5, 7.

As for the authority of that office of Priesthood (so far as related to sacrifice and legal Ceremonies) none make doubt of its abolition under the Gospel: *Whose Ministers* (or Preachers) *being now Ministers of the Spirit, not of the letter*, themselves can by no pretence, as heretofore shewed, claim external jurisdiction and obedience.

2 Cor. 3. 6.

As for the other office of Prophet, it had indeed a continuance for some time in the Christian Church, whilst it was in its weak condition, as a necessary means to give them and their guides direction what to do in their continual distresses. Thus is S. *Pauls* bands, and an ensuing death prophesied to happen in those times. For as there could not, under a good space of time, be a sufficient number of able persons found

to

to receive Ordination, and ſo to be diſpoſed of for the peculiar care of Churches, as now (but in this their unſetled and weak condition, Chriſt himſelf (by the means of the promiſed Holy Ghoſt) being neceſſitated extraordinarily to endue men with ſeveral gifts, for general edification in the abſence of humane learning) it was no wonder if this gift of propheſie, did many times come along therewith; ſince all proceeded from the ſame ſpirit.

Yet although this gift of propheſie, were thus neceſſary to be held up from Chriſt, for the ſupport and direction of his Church during her weakneſs and infancy; yet being uſually accompanied with the gift of Doctrine and Inſtruction alſo, it afterwards came to paſs, that Propheſie and Doctrine did come to ſignifie the ſame thing; as in that place where it is ſaid, *No propheſie of ſcripture is of private interpretation.* And indeed, the predictions themſelves were but inſtructions for thoſe they were addreſſed unto, how to guid themſelves according as thoſe events ſhould happen: So that, it being but inſtruction in an object and buſineſs more remote, it was no wonder that the notion of Prophet came afterwards to ſignifie the ſame with the Preacher; as alſo the word *Propheſie* the ſame with Doctrine: even as the Miniſter or Deacon, to comprehend the like function of inſtruction alſo. 2 Pet. 1. 20. Acts 13. 1. Acts 21. 8.

But however, even in thoſe times, there was ſtill ſubordination; nor was it in the power of thoſe Prophets, or any other, to take on them to ſettle any Doctrine, or Church order, againſt, or without Apoſtolical leave; namely, the leave of that general Father or Head of the Church, under whom they had received their firſt Chriſtian foundation; and who was thereupon (as a Maſter builder) to have power over each workman that undertook their ſpiritual edification. As was intimated to the *Corinthians*; where S. *Paul* complains of this abuſe, in the practiſes of ſuch as had ventured to build on that foundation without leave which he, as head of the Church, had firſt laid: ſaying, *according to the grace of God given me, have I laid the foundation, and another buildeth thereon: but let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon.* 1 Cor. 3. 10.

And this right of Government and Authority, to be given to thoſe perſons from and under whom they had been taught and brought to Chriſtianity, we may find noted in thoſe two forementioned places to the Hebrews; where the firſt admonition, for obedience (to *ſuch as have the rule over you*) is given under the notion of *ſuch as had ſpoken to them the word of God.* But then, having put them in remembrance of them, he afterwards ſpeaks directly, *Obey them that have the rule over you, &c.* intimating, that Chriſtian education gives an unqueſtionable right to Chriſtian obedience. Heb. 13. 7. Verſe 17.

Nay, in thoſe very Doctrines which the primitive Prophets (for the preſent) taught, they were cenſurable by the reſt of their fellows, until this higher authority had confirmed it. All which, in the Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, may be further underſtood; where S. *Paul* makes uſe of his Apoſtolical authority, in ordering thoſe of that rank how to make uſe of thoſe many gifts they had received unto edification: for they (it ſeems) being proud of their manifold diſpenſations, had made the *God of peace to be the Author of confuſion*, which cauſed him to fall upon that objurgation, *What, came the word of God out from you, or came it unto you only*; 1 Cor. 14. 33.

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that is, received you not the word from us? why then ſhould ye not be obedient to us as well as other Churches, to whom we have preached it alſo? he therefore ſays, that *the Spirits of the Prophets are ſubject to the Prophets*; that is, they are for the preſent cenſurable by their preſent auditors, who may be gifted as well as themſelves. And for concluſion of all, and to keep unity, and make *God the Author of peace, and not of confuſion*, he diſclaims any private mans gift to be able to diſanul his authority; and therefore further ſays; *If any man think himſelf to be a Prophet, or ſpiritual, let him acknowledge that the things I now write unto you are the Commandments of the Lord*; that is, let him confeſs my Apoſtolical authority from Chriſt received, whereby I have power to order the Churches affairs; or elſe he doth but think himſelf a Prophet, or ſpiritual, when indeed he is but puft up by his own fleſhly minde of vain glory and ambition.

Verſe 32.

1 Cor. 14. 37.

And this ſubjection of inferior Prophets or Teachers under the Gospel, unto the chief Prophet or Head of the Church, is doubtleſs to ſucceed, and be continued upon the ſame ground it was formerly given to *Moſes*; and accordingly that propheſie of *Moſes* is interpreted by S. *Peter* and S. *Stephen*; where *Moſes* tells of this obedience, to be given to this ſucceeding great Prophet by all Perſons, ſaying (as from God) *Whoſoever will not hearken unto my words which he ſhall ſpeak in my name, I will require it of him*; *and that Prophet which ſhall preſume to ſpeak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to ſpeak*; *or that ſhall ſpeak in the name of other Gods, even that Prophet ſhall ſurely dye.* And as this juriſdiction in matters of Doctrine, is interpreted by ſome to be given our Saviour in regard of his Prophetical Office, ſo doth *Nathaniel the true Iſraelite*, make theſe Propheſies of our Saviour made by *Moſes*, to allude and be appliable to him as *King of Iſrael*, or head of the Church. From all which ſubordination in the Spirit of Teaching or Propheſie appearing to be continually neceſſary, it muſt follow, that ſince *Chriſt himſelf muſt remain in heaven, until the reſtitution of all things*, that this power muſt, for truth and peace ſake, reſt in theſe his chief Deputies, that are anointed with this power from him that was that great Prophet; and ſo a Prophet of Prophets, as well as King of Kings.

Acts 3 22. & 7. 37.

Deu. 18. 19, 20

John 1. 49.

Acts 3. 21.

And therefore we may obſerve, that Chriſt being not able in his own perſon, to perform and ſupply all that meaſure of preaching and inſtruction, which ſhould be continually neceſſary for the edification of his Church; and it being again neceſſary, that there ſhould be, for orderſake, certain perſons more eminently entruſted herein, it is the reaſon why, as the Prophet *Iſaiah* ſets him down in the firſt or chief place, *Anointed to preach*, and *to have Gods Spirit put upon him, and his words put into his mouth*; meaning (that the Spirit ſhould not be given him by meaſure) ſo, for perpetuating this neceſſary office and high truſt, God there promiſeth to Chriſt a particular ſeed to that purpoſe: *My words ſhall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy ſeed, nor out of the mouth of thy ſeeds ſeed, ſaith the Lord, from henceforth even for ever.* Of the Kings right by office to be of this adopted ſeed, we ſhall anon alledge the parable of *Solomon* to that effect; as we may inſtance his example, by being Preacher as well as King.

Iſa. 61. 1. Chap. 59. 21.

Ibidem.

For we are to conceive it to be no otherwiſe with the Prophets and Teachers

Teachers under the Gospel, then formerly under the Law; where, if any would take a prediction upon him, if he could not bring a present miracle or *Sign* sufficient to win belief, he was censurable by the *event it self.* Deut. 18. 21, 22
But if any undertook to direct in matter of Doctrine, the Law it self was still to be judge of the goodness thereof; and he taken but as a private man, unable to overthrow the authorized sense thereof, without he brought attestation of Divine Authority, higher then that whereby it was founded. For to tempt the people to Idolatry or Service of other gods, was amongst them made Capital, as before rehearsed. And so no doubt under the Gospel (in the Primitive Church) although there were not standing Schools and Orders of Priests and Prophets (as amongst the Jews) yet was the tryal of that spirit they pretended unto, referred to the examination of the like extraordinary spirit in others; even as all other of their illuminations and doctrines were (for confirmation) censurable, according to those Principles of Christianity, which the Apostles the then Heads of Churches had from our Saviour received; and so had again (*as Master-builders*) set down for the peoples edification; against *which, although an Angel from heaven should teach, they were to be accursed.* Gal. 1. 8. But because these Precepts and Doctrines of our Saviour, were neither so numerous, nor by him so exactly set down as the Law of *Moses*, but left in trust to the Heads and Guides of his Kingdom the Church; it therefore came to pass, that the inferiour members of the Church, should be much more subject then formerly, to these their Teachers directions, even because they were not elsewhere to be learnt.

Nor should it seem strange to any, that the power of these Functions, formerly clipt away from Monarchy, should thus under the Gospel be restored; by vertue of deputation from that Supreme Head of the Christian Church, *The first born of every creature, and the first born amongst many brethren*: since they were anciently annexed by God unto the Prerogative of Birth-right, and so seated (*Paterno Jure*) in the Master of the family: as in order to enable him in his sole Government and Authority; for so we read of *Enoch* and *Jacob* propheſying, and of *Abraham* and other the Patriarchs sacrificing. Colos. 1. 15. Rom. 8. 29.

But when the numerousness of the Church did require to be governed by an adopted Father or Head, although the absoluteness of his trust was somewhat pared by the division as aforesaid, yet both of them were to be generally subordinate to this one Supreme Power: for so although the Priesthood went to *Aaron*, even as he was the first born, and because that Function was to be settled for continuance, yet was *MOSES to be to him as a god.* In whose time, as being the first that had the stile of *KING*, we read of the first that had the title of *PROPHETS*, and these remarkably set to be such as had part of *Moses* spirit put upon them; namely, those Seventy appointed to help in Government. Exod. 4. 16.

Against which Right of Kings (as Heads of Churches) although some have hitherto disputed, as being blinded by the fallacious distinction of duties into Ecclesiastical and Civil, and thereupon thinking the jurisdiction in matters of Religious cognizance should rest in others, as more rightful Successors to Apostolical power; yet can this Church jurisdicti-

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on, and ſuperintendency of Prieſtly and Prophetick charge, be by no good reaſon pared away now: For that the ſame perſon, who as Chriſts Deputy, is to ſucceed in the Supreme Power of each Church, and the juriſdiction belonging thereunto, muſt alſo be acknowledged to be entirely ſucceſſive therein (by vertue of, and in reſpect of that union and entireneſs of theſe powers, primarily in Chriſt as great Head of the whole Church, and by him reſigned and entruſted to that perſon that preſides and repreſents him in every part thereof, to be by him wholly managed as under the relation of his Depury, and not as due to the particular Stiles and Titles of *Apoſtle*, or *Father*, or as *King* only. And we can no more rightfully now ſeclude Kings from any part of this entire truſt and power, than we could Apoſtles formerly.

And if we will obſerve it, they ſhall be found ſitting down in the ſame right of claim that thoſe Apoſtles themſelves did, namely, the natural and prudential claim of poſſeſſion; the particular perſons of the one ſort, having, from Chriſt, no more open deſignation then the other. For this is the natural derivation of ἐξουσία, from him that is ὁ ὤν, the original of all exiſtence and being; and ſo alſo comes it to be the right of each Chriſtian chief man, by derivation from him, that, by pre-excellence, is *the man, even the man Chriſt Jeſus.*

The which deſerves our grateful obſervation, as done in great favour to mankind; to wit, to ſilence thoſe many diſputes which might elſe have ariſen about the Kings right to command, and ſucceed not only in Church matters, but in Civil alſo. Whereas now, the Apoſtles (the firſt Heads) claiming their right of Headſhip by the rational way of poſſeſſion, as Kings do theirs, it makes the Titles of future Heads (ſo ſucceeding) to be legitimate that way alſo. This we ſhall find verified in many places by the Apoſtle Saint *Paul*, who is exerciſing this Authority moſt, and over moſt Churches, and yet could leaſt claim particular deſignation.

Three of theſe places we have lately mentioned; the firſt was, where he claims his Headſhip over the *Corinthians* in the Paternal right of *Primier Seiſen*; *I have begotten you through the Goſpel*; which Kings (as Heads) may ſay now; *viz.* "You are to be ſubject to me, inaſmuch as you re-"ceived the Goſpel, and your Chriſtianity, from under me and my autho-"rity, being my ſubjects before you were Chriſtians. The moſt remarkable difference herein, being, that the former Chriſtian Heads (coming to govern by the ſword of the Spirit chiefly, and ſo by it to make Chriſtians of ſuch as were under the material ſword already) made their claim of juriſdiction and power from their inſtruction, even as atteſted by miracle from above: Whereas the now Heads of Churches, being uſually to govern ſuch (as ſubjects) that had been by their Predeceſſors made Chriſtians already, are (in caſe of diſpute one with another) to be differenced in their right of Headſhip over thoſe that are to obey, by the ordinary way of providence; even by the material ſword of conqueſt and poſſeſſion. And as the right and exerciſe of civil power, was then made ſubſequent, and annexed to the manifeſtation of Prieſtly right, ſo now Prieſtly power is to follow, and depend on that of Regal.

1 Cor. 4. 15.

The next place we may obſerve was like to it, claiming juriſdiction over them

over them, becauſe he (as a *Maſter-builder*) *had laid the foundation.* Chap. 3. 10.

Then, in the place laſt mentioned, he claims juriſdiction over their Prophets upon like reaſon; *What came the word of God out from you*; that is, Chap. 14. 36. ſince you received it from me, you ought to be ſubject to me.

But this he makes to be moſt clear, when, in the ninth Chapter, he would ſet forth his claim of juriſdiction moſt fully, he yet makes this his only available title: For in *that he was an Apoſtle, or free, or had ſeen Jeſus Chriſt:* Chap. 9. 1. Was none of them arguments to entitle him to their Headſhip, more then any other Apoſtle, nor ſo much neither. For, however, theſe things might dignifie the perſon, yet it was actual ſeiſure and poſſeſſion, muſt eſtate him Head of *Corinth*, more then of any other Church. And therefore he adds, *Are not you my work in the Lord?* And ſo purſues that Title in the next Verſe, *If I be not an Apoſtle unto others, yet doubtleſs I am to you: for the ſeal of mine Apoſtleſhip are ye in the Lord.* Verſe 2:

Unto all which, if we ſhall add the right of mans dominion in ſpirituals over the woman, by him ſettled upon the ſame right of primogeniture (as formerly noted) it will make the right of Kingly claim of ſucceeding Headſhip moſt apparent. 1 Tim. 2. 12, 13

And if it were free for Saint *Paul* to claim equality with the chief of the Apoſtles, in anſwer to ſuch as thought his Commiſſion not ſo high, becauſe he was not converſant with Chriſt, like them; how much more may ſeiſure entitle Kings now, againſt ſuch as can claim no ſuch advantage.

Therefore (to return) as Prophets were firſt mentioned in the time of him that was firſt Stiled *KING*; ſo, to make it farther clear that this gift and power did originally belong to the perſon of the Monarch or chief Governor, it is alſo obſervable, that the firſt eſtabliſhed and really anointed King (namely *Saul*) had with his Unction from God, this Spirit of Prophecy poured on him alſo.

Unction from God, I ſay, for that this only did confer power from the fountain of Power, as heretofore noted; the other material unction, received at the hands of men, ſerving but ſacramentally to confirm people in their duties of ſubjection to that Authority which from heaven alone could be received. Which material Unction, being in that regard neceſſary to be applyed to the perſons that ſhould Hereditarily hold that eſtabliſhed office of power, yet it hindred not, but that ſuch other particular perſons as were by God occaſionally or extraordinarily empowered with any gift for the good of men, might be ſtill really, and truly held and reputed as Gods anointed. In which ſenſe we are to interpret that ſaying, *Touch not mine anointed, and do my Prophets no harm*; Given to ſuch as exerciſed their power by Patriarchal right, before Kingſhip under the Law; as alſo other phraſes of Unction in the New Teſtament given to ſuch as by means of ſome extraordinary gift in teaching and inſtruction exerciſed Church power in an Apoſtolical or Prieſtly right, before Kingſhip under the Goſpel. Pſal. 105. 15.

Upon which grounds, we muſt ſay alſo of the firſt Heads of Churches, the Apoſtles and ſuch like, that although they could not (becauſe of their ſubjection to heathen Kings) make much uſe of their power in Government over mens perſons, yet were they as heads of Churches thereunto as rightfully

empowered, as if they had been Kings, and had had material unction; the power (as before noted) belonging to Christs Vicar, and not to the notions of Apostle, King, or the like.

But in after times (amongst the Jews) when the Power and Office of Kingship did succeed, those former Unctions of power did now resolve and unite into this, which was of highest eminence above any other; and this stile *Of Gods anointed*, was appropriate to Kings. And although those other Functions, of Priests and Prophets (as parts clipt from the entire trust of Monarchy) were therefore formerly sharers in this Unction, and so were sometimes materially anointed also, yet, for that their anointings did signifie but some particular reservation of trust, it might make them sons of oyl, but could not confer on them the eminent stile of the *Lords Anointed*: Which in the first place was due to the Christ, that had all Power given him, and next to his Adopted Christs in the Church.

And therefore we shall observe in Sacred Story, that those Kings that were most upright in their Offices and Trusts towards God, had least of their power shared by these other anointed persons. Thus will you find *David* and *Solomon*, and other good Kings, not only in Supreme power, and exercising their Authority without impeachment of these other anointed Officers, but also, some of them prophesying themselves, and using authority over the Priests. Whereas in the times of *Jeroboam*, *Ahab*, and such like, you shall find the Prophets in greatest power, and most intermeddling; and to that end was *Elijah* anointed: And also, to warn these Kings and people, from taking such courses as might draw down Gods vengeance to their destruction, and so proceed to the overthrow of the Monarchy of that Church, before the appointed time that the great Monarch of the Christian Church, should change that former way of administration.

And as we before noted, the first stiled Prophets to be such as were sharers of the unction of power of the first stiled King; and that the Kings, *Saul*, *David* and *Solomon*, had also this spirit of Propheſie, in testimony of their right thereto, for enabling them in their Offices of Government, so shall we find this spirit of Jewish propheſie, to expire with the last person that had this unction of power remaining; namely *Caiphas* the high Priest; being the last person that succeeded in that Church in the Seat and Authority of *Moſes* and the Law. For so it is plainly there set down, that he *Spake not this of himself, but being high Priest that year, he propheſied that Jeſus should dye for that Nation, &c.* And so again, this his Propheſie is afterwards plainly set down to be the same with Counsel, where it is said, *Caiphas was he that gave Counsel to the Jews, that it was expedient that one man should dye for the people.* And if we make not this Prophetick Office and Trust a part of Monarchical and Kingly Function, and so for some time executed by the High Priest, I see not how any footsteps or remains of the Government and *Scepter of Judah*, could be found visibly continuing until the coming of our Saviour.

John 11:51.

n 18. 14.

So that now, since the time of Christs uniting these Offices in himself, and thereby also abolishing the necessity of any fixed Ceremonial Law, and consequently of any external Priestly jurisdiction separate from that of the Monarch, and again, by the division of the kingdom & government of his *Church*, amongst so many heads subordinate unto him, that there need not, as amongst the Jews (where was but one nation) be any distinct settlement of the Prophe-

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offices

to direct againſt the overthrow of kingſhip therein, there ſeemed no ſuch uſe of reſervation: becauſe, if one or two ſhould through iniquity or indiſcretion fail, yet all could not. Therefore, it cannot now be reaſonably contradicted, that the power of each Churches juriſdiction is wholly centred in the perſon of each Chriſtian Prince, by deputation from that ſupreme head thereof that was Prieſt and Prophet as well as King.

The full proof of this connexion will appear by due conſideration of that place of *Moſes*; where he, (recounting again Gods receſs from Government and inſtruction, as from himſelf, and commending the peoples deſire herein), promiſeth that God will *raiſe them up a Prophet from among their brethren like unto him*: from whoſe mouth they ſhall receive all Gods commands. By which words of *a Prophet like unto me*, we are to underſtand a chief Ruler or King like unto *Moſes*; for the notion of Prophet, ſeperately conſidered, was never rightly given to *Moſes*. And ſo doth *Nathaniel* interpret this Prophet to be the *King of Iſrael*. And generally, ſo did that whole Nation expound it alſo: as may appear by the peoples readineſs *to make him a King*, when they perceived he was *that great Prophet that ſhould come into the world*. Whence we may plainly perceive, that, as to be a Prophet in chief, imports to the ſame as to be a Governor in chief, ſo is the Governor in chief to be reputed and obeyed as the Prophet or inſtructer in chief: Propheſie ſignifying the ſame with Inſtruction, and Inſtruction being proper to perſons in Authority.

Deut. 18. 18. Joh. 1. 49. Joh. 6. 14, 15.

And therefore, if the Apoſtles and other heads of Churches in the Primitive times, had this power over perſons miraculouſly gifted by God, and whom themſelves had not ſet up in Authority; (being extraordinarily by God Called and Ordained thereunto) How much more may the heads of Churches now claim it over ſuch as have not extraordinary revelation from Heaven, nor any Church juriſdiction but what is from themſelves derived.

For theſe may now challenge, as ſupreme Chriſtian heads of each Church, the re-union of that power which was ſeparately by other Chriſtian heads enjoyed whilſt they were none: and, upon the ſame reaſon of infidelity that made their former Chriſtian ſubjects deny them obedience in ſome things, they are now, (being Chriſtians) to claim it as entire to themſelves. And therefore, as we before noted, the Apoſtles and ſuch like former Chriſtian heads to have ſole rightful power whilſt the King was not a Chriſtian, and that he was but an uſurper in what he did in the Church, ſo, they being now Chriſtians, it follows that all that intermeddle without their leave, are uſurpers alſo.

From all which, and what hath heretofore been ſaid in the Argument, we may eaſily conceive how todetermine concerning Apoſtolical ſucceſſion: in right whereof, thoſe of the Romiſh Prelacy would at this day take to themſelves ſupreme and independent power in Church affairs: even becauſe the Apoſtles had ſo in relation to their contemporary Pagan Kings and Magiſtrates; and would, on the other ſide, leave to Chriſtian Kings onely civil coercion and Authority; becauſe ſo much, and no more, was formerly poſſeſſed by Infidels. We ſhall therefore ſay, that where the Biſhop is (in his City or Dioceſs) the ſupreme Chriſtian Governor, (as to many of thoſe Ancient Biſhops and Patriarchs it happened before Kings were Chriſtians, and at this day, in *Rome*, *Collen*, *Trier*, &c. is practiſed) there, and then are they to lay claim to direct Apoſtolical ſucceſſion: as having none on earth their ſu-

perior in Eccleſiaſtical power. But when, and where that City or Dioceſs is but part of a greater Church, united under a Chriſtian head ſuperior to theſe particular and inferior heads; then, and there is that chief Biſhop or overſeer of that Church to be held the rightful ſucceſſor of Apoſtolical power; and the other Biſhops to be ſubordinate unto him: even as *Timothy* and *Titus* were formerly to St. *Paul*.

It is not to be doubted, but as this office of Eccleſiaſtical ſuper-intendency is to be acknowledged as of Divine Right, ſo may Biſhops (ſo far as their power is extenſive) account themſelves the Apoſtles ſucceſſors therein: which as it will eſtate them in rightful power to govern the Presbyters and others below them, ſo will it again ſubject them to their head in chief: even to him, that is the more direct and entire ſucceſſor of Apoſtolical juriſdiction. From whom, (in that regard) they are to derive their perſonal Ordination (or appointment into determinate juriſdiction and power); even as *Zadock*, the type of Evangelical Prieſthood, received his from *Solomon*, the Type of Chriſtian Kingſhip: although the act and Ceremonies of Conſecration are to be, under the Goſpel, as formerly under the Law, received from thoſe of the Prieſthood onely; in acknowledgement of divine conſtitution of that Function.

But for this omiſſion of Princes in aſſuming their right upon their converſion, he may eaſily ſee the reaſon, that ſhall conſider that great ſplendor of the Roman Emperors, and that poverty and more mean condition which the Biſhops and ſuch like Church heads did at firſt live in: who, being at that time well ſtudyed in their Maſters Precepts of Obedience and Humility, had ſo little ſtrugled for juriſdiction or riches, that there might ſeem rather ſcorn to take, then deſire to aſſume and engroſs what they had. And, it may be, more freſh ſenſe of Piety and Devotion, might make theſe firſt Chriſtian Emperors willingly rather enlargers, then detractors from men of ſuch pious and harmleſs converſation. The which might make them alſo leſs ſtudious of thoſe inconveniences which might grow from hence afterwards, not only to themſelves, but all other Chriſtian Kings: who, from their examples, were often made believe, that their higheſt expreſſions of devotion was to be meaſured by their advancemene of Chriſts Church, meaning Clergy-men: and that alſo, by taking the Jewels out of their own Crowns, and therewith embelliſhing their Myters. Whether this omiſſion were begun, and continued through ignorance, pride, or blinded zeal, is not ſo certain, as is that abſurdity which from thence hath ariſen: namely of Kings having no more power in the Church allowed them being become Chriſtians then they had before: nay and leſs too, ſince ſome of theſe will now put in for ſo great a ſhare,

But it is to be conſidered, that as the admonition was then moſt proper, of *fear not them that can kill the body*, &c. in reſpect that Pagan Kings had not Eccleſiaſtical coertion ſo was the diſtinction of duties and obedience into Religious and Civil, then moſt proper alſo. The which will upon the ſame reaſon come now to be united: becauſe of the union of that perſon commanding under Chriſt in chief in both.

And therefore, had the Primitive Chriſtian Princes well examined Saint *Pauls* diſtinction of his own and others Apoſtolical juriſdiction, they would have found in them the whole rights of their Crowns compriſed: when he ſaid, *Let a man ſo account of us as Miniſters of Chriſt, and Stewards of the* 1 Cor. 4. 1.

myſteries

myſteries of God. Under the firſt expreſſion of *Miniſters of Chriſt*, (or his Deacons or Deputies) they ſhall finde Magiſtracy and more Civil power over Chriſtian perſons and actions within their Church contained: in the other, all power given over the way and manner of Gods outward worſhip; and alſo the chief charge and care of Preaching or Inſtruction. Which makes St. *Paul* proceed in the deſcription of his Stewards Office onely, becauſe he undertook little in the other.

For ſince it was the moſt natural and reaſonable courſe, to lay down Rules and Inſtructions for men to follow, before any outward execution of Government, by Rewards or Puniſhments (in obſerving or neglecting them) could be eſtabliſhed, we may finde good reaſon why our Saviour did delegate his Authority to thoſe firſt Fathers and heads of the Church, by vertue of that power they ſhould from him receive to repreſent him herein: ſaying to them, *all power is given to me in Heaven and in Earth, Go ye therefore and teach all Nations, &c. teaching them to obſerve all things whatſoever I have commanded you, and lo I am with you always even unto the end of the world.* Mat. 28. 19, 20. And, it muſt be acknowledged a thing reaſonable, that ſince the actions of voluntary Agents muſt have iſſue from their underſtanding, that therefore, in order to that obedience which was expected to follow, there ſhould be appointed a powerful way of inſtruction to precede. Which Office of inſtruction, although it did for this cauſe precede, yet ſince Chriſt had promiſed the continuance of his preſence or power with it *unto the end of the world*, as knowing it to be at all times neceſſary for him that is to have the charge of Government under him, we cannot but reſolve that this Office of Inſtruction or Preaching is to be held and exerciſed by all others but ſubordinately, and in dependence of that preſent head of the Church: who holds, amongſt other Unctions, a deputation herein in chief from Chriſt himſelf; who was *anointed to preach.* Iſa. 61. 1.

In the firſt heads, the atteſtation of miracles, which gave them Authority to be hearkened unto in their meſſage of Inſtruction, gave them thereby alſo, upon all neceſſary occaſions, Authority to be obeyed as Heads and Governors. In the laſt heads, as Conqueſt and the ordinary ways of Providence doth deſign the Governor firſt, ſo doth it therewith alſo eſtate him in the right of ſupreme Inſtruction, as neceſſary thereto. And ſurely, they that would deny the neceſſary conjunction of theſe two eſſential parts of Government, that is of the Indicative and Vindicative, not allowing to the ſame perſon as well a power to direct how to live and do well, as to puniſh for doing otherwiſe, and all becauſe he doth not perſonally execute this Office of Inſtruction, but leaves it to others, may upon like ground deny his right and power in condemning and puniſhing, becauſe the ſame is performed by others alſo.

From all which we may ſee the Kings Title and Right now, as *Gods Miniſter and Steward*, to order things pertaining to his Worſhip, as well as we may finde that the Title of each individual Prince to this Office of Gods Miniſter and Head of the Church doth reſt now upon the ſame evidence of right, which each perſon hath to the enjoyment of his own propriety in ſeveralty from others. For as God made ſuch and ſuch Creatures for the general uſe of men, ſo did he inſtitute ſuch and ſuch Offices for their uſe too: In the vacancy of which Offices, there lies an equal right to the next poſſeſſor upon the ſame natural reaſon, as there doth to the next poſſeſſor of Land, Cattel,

Cattel, or any other goods, which have for the preſent no rightful proprietor.

And if any ſhould think the Chriſtian Prince now debarred from claim to Apoſtolical ſucceſſion and power in ordering of Church-diſcipline and affairs, according to the exegencies of times and places, as the Apoſtles, by their Traditions, formerly did; and all becauſe they are not now, like them, miraculouſly inſpired and aſſiſted; they may, upon the ſame reaſon, even forbid the uſe of preaching and inſtruction to be by any now exerciſed alſo; until, by ſome miraculous atteſtation and proof, thoſe ſeparated to that Function can evidence their Call and Authority herein to be more then ordinary, and to have been conferred on them by hands as holy as thoſe of the Apoſtles alſo. But, as this more expreſs appearance of divine aſſiſtance & approbation of perſons, is not now to be expected or relyed upon, ſo neither, (in juſtice) can it be brought as a bar to the divine right of execution of the one, more then another; nor to regal ſuper-intency in both.

Therefore, as we have formerly ſhewed the neceſſity of our ſubmiſſion to the Prince his guidance in our outward obſervation of that Law of the ſecond Table, *Thou ſhalt love thy neighbor as thy ſelf*; ſo muſt we conclude it much more neceſſary, that that form and manner of ſervice, which is requiſite to expreſs our devotions in fulfilling that Precept, *Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart*, &c. ſhould not be left to the hazard of each ones fancy but be at the diſpoſe of Gods chief Miniſter, even for the avoiding ſcandal; which muſt always be ſubject to private and new devices and forms; but cannot be to what is of publike practice and inſtitution.

Matt. 22. 37.

For if the authorized worſhip of any Kingdom, ſhould be ſubject to be ſin or ſcandal to any the ſubjects of the ſame kingdom, and profeſſing the ſame Religion alſo, then can God never be outwardly worſhipt, nor any Religion publikely exerciſed, but the parties muſt commit ſin in doing it: becauſe ſome or other will ſtill be of a contrary minde; and ſo take offence and ſcandal thereat. And therefore, ſcandal muſt ever ariſe from the fewer number to the greater. For although the uſe and continuance of ſome Jewiſh and heatheniſh Ceremonies, were in the Primitive times ſcandalous; they were not called ſo becauſe Jews or Heathens uſed them, but becauſe a few men (having now included themſelves in the common profeſſion and number of Chriſtianity) would therein diſſent from the common practice of Chriſtians, which ran otherwiſe. And then again, ſince God himſelf doth not preſcribe the whole outward form of expreſſing our Love and Praiſes of him, and that he doth, it is yet recommended for execution to the ſupreme Magiſtrates truſt, it muſt follow, that ſo often as we decline his Rule, we muſt be ſcandalous; and in danger of error and ſin.

And to this purpoſe we ſhall finde Saint *Paul* very expreſs, when he gives the Romans warning to avoid ſcandal or offences; ſaying, *Now I beſeech you brethren mark them which cauſe diviſion and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them.* Where we may ſee *the doctrine received*, is to be as the *ancient land-mark*, *which (ſet up by our Fathers) is not to be removed:* but remain as a ſtanding rule for deciſion and encloſure of differences. For if he had ſaid, that that ſide is ſchiſmatical and ſcandalous that departs moſt from the truth of Chriſts Doctrine; then, ſince each ſide did ſtill pretend to that truth,

Rom. 16. 17.

Prov. 22. 28.

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this could not have been a way of decision: but had referred private judgements and interpretations back to themselves. And then again, if there had been divers sorts of disagreers, that Sect could have been scandalous onely that departed most: whereas now each one is scandalous, so far as they differ from their standing plain rule: even by so far departing from Christ and leaning to themselves, as they depart from his Minister; and therefore he says, *they that are such*, (that is, which cause divisions contrary to the Doctrine learned) *serve not our Lord Jesus Christ*: (that is, do not rightly obey him, (though they pretend it), by not obeying his chief Minister) *but their own belly: and by fair speeches deceive the heart of the simple.* And to prove farther, that innocence from scandal is in obedience, he after expresseth *his joy*, *that their obedience is come abroad to all men.* Rom. 16. 18. Verse 19.

For if (as before proved), obedience be a necessary duty to be observed towards the making our Love and Services to our neighbors effectual, it must be concluded much more necessary and expedient, to be imployed in keeping up that which is the end thereof, the glory and publike worship of God. And therefore as it would seem absurd in our actions, to drive at such an end which we did never intend to perform and enjoy, (as it would be to be always practizing Offices tending to mutual preservation, that thereby God might have the greater number of Praisers, and yet never practice this duty of Praise and Worship), so must we thence infer, that in, and towards the stating and exercise of this duty, obedience is most especially required, as to the meritorious and final object of all the rest.

So that, if, by means of our obedience to Christ in the Church, (his Kingdom here upon earth,) there be not an uniformity kept up, in our publike exercises of all those duties that serve for the advancement of Gods Kingdom in our hearts, and for setting forth his Worship and praise for benefits received, that Unity and Coition of the Christian Graces and Precepts amongst themselves (formerly spoken of) will come to be made void and useless. For however it may be allowable to each single man (as best sensible of his own enjoyments and wants), to thank God or pray to him privately, in such manner and words as himself findes most warrantable and behooteful; yet, must it be acknowledged reasonable, that all those publike forms of Worship and Praise, whose practise is necessary for constituting each place an unite and distinct Christian Church or Assembly, should be at the dispose and appointment of that publike person onely, who under Christ is the supreame and entire head and Representative thereof: Even out of necessary consideration, of keeping up conformity therein; and by that means keeping Gods publike Worship in existence; which else, by mens differing practises in opposition to one another, would come to be defeated and lost: no otherwise then would our practises in the Precepts of Charity, if not by uniform obedience directed. For these things have a natural and necessary coherence: the Unity of the end requires Coition and Unity in the means; and that again requires uniformity in the directions themselves, as well as Unity in the person directing: all of them to be made useful by the Grace of Obedience before noted. But because much dissension hath hitherto arisen about that Officer or person

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we are to give the obedience unto, in regard of the different names of power in Scripture uſed. We will ſpeak ſomething farther here, of that Coition or ſucceſſion of this ſupreme Officer now under the Goſpel.

This we ſhall finde briefly done by Chriſt himſelf, when he is impowring theſe ſeveral *little ones*. Where he begins with thoſe that ſhould firſt repreſent him, namely ſuch as ſhould preſently ſucceed as his own Deſciples and followers: *he that receiveth you receiveth me*, &c. Under which (no doubt) the firſt Apoſtles were to be comprized: who, in regard of their mean worldly condition, might ſometimes be objects of Charity alſo; even to the receiving *a cup of cold water*.

Matth. 10.40.

The next object of our obedience is ſet down under the notion of Prophet: *he that receiveth a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, ſhall receive a Prophets reward*. Under this notion we may comprehend Epiſcopal, or Patriarchical power ſucceeding; which had power of inſtruction, but little of juriſdiction: the which was reſerved for the laſt more glorious Officer *the juſt man*, or *righteous man*: *And he that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man, ſhall receive a righteous mans reward*. That is, ſhall be made capable of juſtice or juſtification, by means of his obedience to this chief repreſenter of Chriſts Authority, who is thereupon called a juſt or *righteous man*: this appellation of *righteous man* being equivalent with that of Ruler in chief, as divers places of the Old-Teſtament do alſo Warrant. In which the attribute could not be formally due to him *whoſe words were perverted by gifts*: Whenas, by reaſon of the place they execute, they ought always to be reſpected as *righteous* by thoſe under them.

Verſe 41.

Ibidem.

Deut. 16.19: Exod. 23.8.

And therefore unto him, as the perſon of juriſdiction and power, ſhall thoſe other Offices of Propheſie or Inſtruction be annexed and made ſubſervient: no otherwiſe then in the Jewiſh Church, it at firſt was unto *Moſes* their firſt King. For ſo we ſhall finde it plainly delivered concerning *Aaron* and him: *Thou ſhalt ſpeak unto him* (meaning *Moſes* to *Aaron*) *and put words in his mouth: and I will be with thy mouth, and with his mouth; and will teach you what ye ſhall do*: Which is the ſame with being *a ſpirit of judgement*, or *Miſhpat*: and of being *in the mouth of their ſeed, and ſeeds ſeed for ever*, before ſpoken of.

Exod. 4.15.

And then follows the ſubordination of the Prophets: *and he ſhall be thy ſpokeſman* (or Angel) *unto the people: and he ſhall be, even he ſhall be, to thee inſtead of a mouth, and thou ſhalt be to him as a God*. And in the firſt verſe of the ſeventh Chapter, he is expreſly called *Moſes* Prophet: *Aaron thy brother ſhall be thy Prophet* or Angel. The which doth plainly foreſhew the Coincidence of Chriſtian Authority, under each Chriſtian King and Monarch: to make uſeful the coition of the means before ſpoken of. For he, as the laſt moſt glorious deputed Miniſter to Chriſt amongſt us, is to claim our obedience in his name; in all things done towards the ſtating of Charity; and, as *Steward in the myſteries of God*, is to be obeyed in all our outward religious deportments.

Verſe 16.

Nay, that very Argument of myſteriouſneſs and profoundneſs in matters of divine truth and worſhip, (which ſome would urge in bar to the Kings intermedling in cauſes of Religion as the true *Steward of the myſteries of God*), is by the wiſeſt King and Preacher, made to be the proper glory and part of his Office: ſaying, *It is the glory of God to conceal a thing, but the honor of*

Prov. 25.2.

Kings

Kings is to ſearch out a matter. In which words, *Kings* being ſet in the plural number, makes it appear that this of liberty ſearching into the myſteries of God, was not reſerved to *Solomon* onely, but was belonging to each King as Gods Vicegerent on earth. Nor was it ſo ſet down as to denote that every individual King could perſonally attain to ſuch ability: but to ſhew that each King being Gods chief Steward, that therefore thoſe things which by means *of his Seers and Prophets* under him were performed, ſhould be accompted to the *honor of the King*: as being done by him, becauſe of their ſubordination to his ſupreme Authority therein. Prov. 25. 2.

And thoſe perſons that are moſt ſubject, to inveigh againſt publike forms, as Will-worſhip, Superſtition, and Scandal, are themſelves the onely men that are truly guilty of Will-worſhip and Scandal, by relying on their own private Wills and Judgements, and preferring their own deviſes and forms to the practiſes of all others; whereby to introduce general offence and ſcandal. And ſo again, when they refuſe to joyn with others in their publike ſervices, out of the fear of ſuperſtition in giving too much; and do chooſe to proceed in contrary or negative performances, this, as being induced and carryed on by ſuperſtitious and ungrounded fear to diſpleaſe, offends in the worſe extream, and turns to be true Superſtition indeed. And I verily believe, that men are generally more ſuperſtitious in avoidance of Ceremonies, then they are in obſerving them: for this is Superſtition upon Superſtition.

For the truth is, if publike reaſon and appointment be excluded in appointing forms of Gods Service and Worſhip, then, ſince himſelf hath appointed no form to us Chriſtians (as ſuch), he can now have no right external Worſhip given to him at all: which (doubtleſs) for honor ſake, is eternally due to him as God; and, by way of gratitude, to be returned from us. But although he knew it to be a thing neceſſary to be done, yet knowing alſo that we now have *Moſes* and the Prophets, (as uſeful preſidents for general directions in what we are to do) that is, ſince we have all that light which was formerly given to any people; if theſe, and thoſe many general Precepts ſince given cannot be ſufficient, together without great helps of natural learning and reaſon we now enjoy, we are left without all excuſe.

And if we mark the gradations of Gods immediate appearance to man ſince the beginning in theſe inſtructions, we ſhall finde it to decreaſe by degrees, even in this particular alſo, as mans inſtructions and reaſon have grown to be more. To *Adam* and the Fathers, he was often directer in the way of his Worſhip, as the Father of the Family: that is, *Viva voce.* After mankinde encreaſed, he ruled as King, by poſitive Laws. After which, as men grew more and more knowing of their duty, he withdrew his immediate appearance by degrees.

And if men will conſider things without vulgar prejudice, it muſt be acknowledged a courſe both rendring God higheſt Praiſe, and us conſequently moſt benefit. For ſince all our Worſhip and Service of him, muſt be ſo much the more acceptable as it ſhall be more voluntary; and ſince it muſt be by ſo much more voluntary, as more agreeing to our underſtanding; it muſt thereupon alſo be an addition to his Worſhip and Praiſe, when, being left in the manner and meaſure indefinite, we know it our duties to do it continually and all we can; then

if in performance of his poſitive commands, we ſhould have reſted, as having throughly performed our whole ſervice. As we ſee it come to paſs in the examples of the Jews, Scribes, and Phariſees, that had their literal appointed Worſhip and Ceremonies; how ready they were to acquieſs, as having performed all their bounden duties; and ſo neglect the continual ſerving and honoring him, even in weightier matters.

And again, when God doth not preſcribe his own outward Worſhip and manner of ſervice, we may farther acknowledge our benefit herein; even for that our occaſional breaches are not now ſo highly dangerous to us Chriſtians, as formerly to the Jews. Amongſt whom (upon that conſideration) how frequent ſhall we find the crime of Idolatry laid to their charge; encreaſing not only from the malicious inſtigation of that wicked Serpent, always moſt ready to wreath himſelf into our fancies, and to contrive ways to break thoſe Precepts God doth moſt immediately command; but by reaſon alſo of the aggravation of their offence, in the leaſt deviation from things ſo commanded, without due licenſe and Authority. Whereas amongſt Chriſtians, where God is not immediate in theſe injunctions, but (only requiring the meaſure thereof to be *with all our heart, with all our mind, with all our ſtrength*) hath left the manner of doing it to the Churches authority, there cannot be ſuch danger of that kind of Idolatry about the manner of celebrating Gods outward Worſhip: But our danger of Idolatry is chiefly in the meaſure; that is, in preferring *Mammon* before him, or looking with ſuch affectionate eyes on our own proprieties, as to make *Covetouſneſs to be Idolatry.*

Epheſ. 5. 5. Coloſſ. 3. 5.

By means of leaving thoſe outward Forms to the Churches power of inſtitution and contrivement, God is not (again) ſo ſubject to have his Almightineſs and All-ſufficiency miſtaken; by mens thinking that he hath need of theſe, or any the like things: And ſo alſo are we more like to avoid the danger of Idolatry and Superſtition, which ſhould be incident to be given to ſuch things as ſhould be by him immediately choſen to that purpoſe. For when we (who are now inſtructed, that his *true Worſhip is in ſpirit and truth*, and that theſe outward Forms are but to mind us, and make us perceptible of the inward graces they ſignifie, and to ſtrengthen in our ſelves, and confirm in others, our real and hearty acknowledgement of his deſerved praiſe and glory) do thereupon chooſe, from inſtance of what is moſt honourable in our eſteem, to ſet forth our thankfulneſs in the eſteem of others; this, as it cannot be ſo ſubject to Idolatry, ſo muſt it be more lively and fervent, in expreſſing and raiſing our Devotion.

John 4. 23.

And therefore we may obſerve, that whilſt God did preſcribe the matter and manner of his Worſhip and Adoration, it was in ſuch things and ceremonies as had higheſt eſteem amongſt men; and it was (in common acknowledgement) a good rule for examination of fitneſs herein, by comparing it to the uſage and eſteem of perſons of higheſt rank amongſt our ſelves, ſaying, *Offer it now to thy Governor, and ſee if he will accept it.* And with theſe very Kings and all elſe, it was rule of honouring him with our ſubſtance: Which they did with moſt wonderful expence, giving the world thereby to underſtand, the high value they eſteemed him at. When *if they ſhould have ſacrificed unto him of that which coſt them nothing,*

Mal. 1. 8.

1 Sam. 24. 24.

thing, men might well have judged they had ſerved *Mammon* better then he, and ſo through Covetouſneſs have committed Idolatry, as before noted.

And let men (with *Judas*) cry out whilſt they will, *Wherefore all this waſte?* yet, ſince the meaſure of our praiſing and ſetting forth Gods glory in the ſight of men, muſt ariſe from the rate of thoſe outward expreſſions we do to that purpoſe make (for our inward hearts none can meaſure otherwiſe) when we offer or dedicate (therefore) things unto him, we then (inſtead of exalting him) do the beſt we can to diſhonor him; as too often we find it. John 12.4.

As theſe conſiderations, prove the leaving the form of Gods outward Worſhip to man himſelf, as the moſt likely means to have it thereupon to be ofteneſt practiſed, and ſo his heart kept aright in doing it; ſo will it appear farther reaſonable, that it be the peculiar charge of that *(the) man* that hath the whole truſt of each Church where the ſame is to be done, inaſmuch as he himſelf, being greateſt, cannot but be beſt able to judge what Solemnities are fitteſt to be given, for advancement and expreſſion of the praiſe of one ſo great as God is; and muſt be alſo moſt able, to ſee the ſame performed publikely and in decent manner.

Nay, his very doing it, will advance Gods honor in mens eſteem, above the doing it by others, as far as his dignity is above that of his ordinary ſubjects: Which may ſeem one main reaſon for inſtituting Monarchy; namely, that by the contracting the power and glory of a people into one perſon, God may by him be more entirely and eminently honoured in his publique Worſhip and Service. For as the inſtitution of a Church, and the reaſon of Gods more particular bounty and preſence to them above the reſt of mankind, was (as heretofore noted) from the conſideration of the encreaſe of Gods glory, through their more remarkable way of expreſſing their ſervice and gratitude for ſo high favours; even ſo alſo may we think, that this extraordinary dignifying of ſome perſons in the ſame Church above others (and ſo of one perſon eſpecially above all the reſt) was alſo (through his more high and remarkable dignity and obligation) to have himſelf more dignified in his Worſhip, proportionable to the quality of the perſon doing it. And therefore as we ſhall never find God Almighty deputing or impowering above one perſon in chief as his Repreſentant to the people, either in declaring what his Divine Will is, or for ſeeing the ſame executed: So this may be the reaſon alſo, of thoſe many more ſtrict injunctions for Kings duties to God, and of thoſe more particular examples of puniſhing and rewarding his zeal or neglect, as if it had been that of all the reſt.

Wherefore we will ſet down this rule, That where the Supreme Magiſtrate is a Chriſtian, there all our outward deportments, for expreſſing our obedience to Gods command in ſerving and honoring him, or loving our neighbour, muſt be ſubject to his direction; and whenſoever done againſt it, we cannot, but (by following our own wills) be in danger, not only to commit Superſtition and Idolatry, but Rebellion alſo. Whereas, doing theſe things according to inward devotion, and that alſo guided by the duty of obedience, we cannot be culpable of either of them. For although there may be Ceremonies (as we find in ſome Churches)

which may seem to lean that way; yet I see not how the obedient member should in the exercise of his devotion according to the Institution of Authority, have the guilt of Superstition charged on him, for performance of such duties as truly are Superstitious, more then for what is not; since he had no more liberty to institute, or examine the one then the other. For however superstitious fear or misguided zeal, might cause the Authority of that Church to erre in the establishment of them; yet can it not be the fault of him, whose part is to obey in all things, but not to direct in any.

And (for conclusion) we shall again say, that as all the other good and happiness of each Kingdom, must have existence and vigour from the truth and sincerity of Religion therein publikely practised, and the truth and vigour of this Religion and Gods Worship therein, must again be maintained in ours and others knowledge and esteem, by frequent exercises of devotion (whereby to cause it to take impression) we must also set it down, that as to give unto God no outward Form of Worship at all will resolve into Atheism, so (in the same Kingdom) to do it publiquely more ways then one, will resolve into Polytheism; which, if not Atheism, will soon turn thereinto. The which, experience too clearly shews to come to pass, in those places where (publike Forms being decryed as humane inventions (and too full of Superstition) private men, led with true Superstition indeed (that is, with private conscience and fear) do severally stretch their inventions on such few insignificant Ceremonies and Forms, as being themselves of no esteem in our sense, must consequently render that devotion they would express to be in the end so also; and, in the mean time, involve us into all those civil disturbances, which are wont to be deserved and attended by scandal and breach of Charity.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of Antichriſt.

ALthough thoſe two Offices of Kingſhip and Prieſthood, be by none denyed as neceſſary for him, that is to protect and redeem us from all enemies and afflictions temporal and ghoſtly; yet do mens prejudices in unwary disjoyning them, and eclipſing the one by too ſole reliance on the other, make both of them many times uneffectual; and by too much coveting and bending our belief and endeavors, in purſuit and acknowledgement of him, under that capacity only we liſt to fancy (as neareſt our own aims) we hazard, or deſervedly loſe that whole benefit, that can accrew but to ſuch onely, as do wholly own, and relye upon him in both.

Thus the Jews, that had their promiſes running always in a ſtrain of temporal felicity, were ſubject to interpret and expect, all the Propheſies of Redemption and Reſtauration, to run in the ſame ſenſe alſo: This prejudice ſticking ſo cloſe, that thoſe very Diſciples that waited on our Saviours perſon, and had both his life and doctrine witneſſes to the contrary, yet they became ſo wholly intent hereon, that becauſe it failed but a little in the preſent expectation, their hopes in him as to the other, ſeems wholly obſcure and overcome: For ſo *Cleophas* (having told how the chief Prieſts and Rulers had put to death and crucified our Saviour) ſaith, *But we truſted that it had been he that ſhould have redeemed Iſrael*: This over-haſty, and too great intention of Chriſts exerciſe of his Power and Kingſhip here, making them *ſlow of heart to believe all that the Prophets had ſpoken*, and ſo inconſiderately paſs over the neceſſary performance of his other Office of Mediatorſhip; not conſidering how that (in order thereunto) *Chriſt ought to have ſuffered firſt, and then to enter into his glory*: not well conſidering that death and hell were the firſt grand enemies he was to conquer; and ſo upon his humiliation, to proceed, as the way to his exaltation. Luke 24 21. Verſe 25. Verſe 26.

On the other hand again, amongſt Chriſtians (that do not ſo litterally lay claim to thoſe particular promiſes made to the Jewiſh Nation) the other Office of Mediatorſhip, which he performeth as the only High Prieſt, comes becauſe of its nearer concern in our ſpiritual benefits and good, ſo wholly to take up the conceits of many, that the name of Chriſt ſeems drowned in that of *Jeſus*; not well conſidering alſo how by omitting our acknowledgement of him and his power, we hazard the receipt of thoſe his benefits, which ſtand promiſed on that condition; namely, how *thoſe that would not that he ſhould reign over them* here, *are counted his enemies*, and not to expect ſhare of his Inheritance, nor to remain with him hereafter. Luke 19. 27.

Which ſpeech, being by him uttered juſt upon his going to *Ieruſalem*, to take poſſeſſion of his temporal Kingdom in right of his father *David*, may well inſtruct Chriſtians againſt their uſual prejudices, in acknowledging Chriſts exerciſe of temporal power, onely becauſe he doth not perſonally appear therein: For ſo it is ſet down; *And when he had thus ſpoken*, (that

(that is, declared his right to raign as Chriſt) *he went before, aſcending up*
Verſe 28. *to Ieruſalem.*

Concerning the manner of Chriſts raigning, we have ſpoken in ſome places before: both to ſhew how he denyeth the perſonal exerciſe of his Kingſhip amongſt us as yet, and how again he doth it by Deputies or Vice-Roys (as ſub-Chriſts under him), in ſeveral places of his Church; reſerving ſo often to himſelf the ſtile *King of Kings*: Thereby declaring, that as all Crowns and Scepters are now derived from him, ſo are they hereafter to be laid at his feet.

But though, in regard of the particular incredulity of the Jews, with whom he only converſed, he bend his moſt frequent arguments in confirmation of the neceſſity of the other Office, yet this is always aſſerted too, or remains undenyed. And therefore, when his Diſciples (full of Jewiſh prejudice) *ask*
Acts 1.6. *him, Lord, wilt thou at this time reſtore the Kingdom to Iſrael:* He denies not his own right, in exerciſe of temporal power over his Church; but ſtrives to inform them, that the time of doing it was their miſtake. For Chriſt being (as aforeſaid) to perform his firſt Office by ſuffering here, and the other not till he enter into his glory; he therefore anſwers, *It is not for you*
Verſe 7. *to know the times and the ſeaſons, which the Father hath put into his own power: but ye ſhall receive power, after that the holy Ghoſt is come upon you: and ye ſhall be witneſſes unto me, both in Ieruſalem, and in all Iudea, and in*
Verſe 8. *Samaria, and unto the utmoſt part of the earth*; whereby it appears, that the time appointed by God for the exerciſe of compleat Monarchical power in the Church was not yet come; and therefore he tells them of that power that ſhould in the mean time be exerciſed by them.

Of which Apoſtolical power we have ſpoken ſomewhat before; and therewith ſhewed, how their Government was Monarchical, and that by reaſon of Unction of power from Chriſt, they had the right to be his chief Deputies in all things in each Church where they did preſide, although their modeſty, and the Heathen Magiſtrates uſurpation, would not ſuffer them then to ſhew it.

And if we mark the precedent diſcourſe, Chriſt may be found giving them this real power of Headſhip, proportionable to that degree of glory the Church was then in: For it would have been ſtrange, for a diſtreſſed, and deſpiſed Church, to have had a glorious or high tituled Head. So that, although that ſort of glorious Kingdom, which they fancied, could not yet be reſtored to the Church, yet that they ſhould in the mean time be his ſole Deputies in the managery of this Kingdom, appears in that he was with them forty days, giving them commandment, and ſpeaking of the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God; and ſo he bids them abide at *Ieruſalem*
Luke 24. 49. for the promiſed baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt, or *to be endued with power from on high*: The which we may conceive to be the Unction of Church power, becauſe this promiſe is made a reaſon of this their demand about the execution thereof: *viz. When they therefore were come together, they asked him ſaying, Lord wilt thou, &c.* And his anſwer is negative only, to the glorious exerciſe thereof as yet; but affirmative to their doing it by that power which they ſhould receive from the Holy Ghoſt: Whereby, and by the words *Witneſſes to me*, we may well underſtand repreſent me in my power, both of doing and ſuffering; according to that Commiſſion which he elſe-
John 20. 21. where gives them: *As my father ſent me, ſo ſend I you.*

So

So that the ſum of all is, that as it behoved him that was *the head to be made perfect by ſufferings*; even ſo his Church to ariſe to her glory, and particularly to the glory of Kingſhip, by ſuch degrees of ſufferings, as her great King ſhould be pleaſed to appoint.

In the mean time, how unlike ſoever the means ſeemed to them, yet ſhould the advancement of his Kingdom thereby be to his greater honor; that could give them power by ſending of the Holy Ghoſt, to be witneſſes and promoters thereof. And therefore as God before (in the Theocrity) appeared in ſetting up the Church of the Jews, ſo Chriſt in the beginning, acts more powerfully from Heaven in his, it ſeeming a thing unreaſonable to make a receſs, and to give over his miraculous aſſiſtance, until the work it ſelf had attained ſuch height and ſtrength, as to be fit to be performed by Deputies; and that in a Monarchical form, according to the patern of Government uſed in Heaven it ſelf.

But it is like, that the Apoſtles had more confidently made this Interrogation, upon miſtake of our Saviours ſpeeches unto them: Firſt, *Of giving them the Kingdom*; and afterwards in bidding them *now provide themſelves of ſwords*: As if their former way of dependance on extraordinary providence, were to be now abandoned, and this Kingly way of acquiſition and adminiſtration to be by them exerciſed. And that they thought this way proper to themſelves, may appear by their preſent ſhewing him two ſwords, and of S. *Peters* haſty uſing one of them afterwards. Luke 12.32. Chap.22.36.

But the Kingdom in the firſt place promiſed to theſe *his little flock*, or *flock of little ones*, *was the Kingdom*; that is, the Kingdom of Heaven, and not any glorious Judicature here, more then he their preſent Maſter had: No, they were *firſt to ſeek the righteouſneſs of the Kingdom of God* after the ſame way their Maſter had done: which as it was moſt proportionable during the Theocraty, ſo ſhould it be to them more glorious, then the *Royal Robes* of any *Solomon*, even then thoſe more majeſtick robes which ſucceeding Chriſtian Kings ſhould wear: To which purpoſe, they might have conſidered his former deſignation of their manner of Glory and Judicature, wherein he he ſaith, that he that *ſerveth, ſhould not expect to be greater then he that ſitteth at meat*. And that therefore, *they who had continued with him, as his companions, ſhould have a kingdom appointed to them, as his Father had appointed one to him*: and not have their time of Judicature, till the laſt judgement; at which time, they *that had followed him in the regeneration*, that is, had here moſtly executed the Offices of Evangeliſts, when *the Son of man, ſhould ſit on the throne of his glory, they alſo ſhould ſit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Iſrael*. In the mean time they were to reſemble Chriſt in much patience, in afflictions, in ſtripes, &c. Matth.6.33. Luke 22.27. Verſe 28,29. Matth.19.28. 2 Cor.6.4,5.

So that then, their exerciſe of Kingſhip being to be like that of their Maſter, namely, by *witneſſing for him and his Goſpel in Judea, &c.* as he had already *witneſſed a good witneſs before Pontius Pilate*, and *ſo making up what was behind of the affliction of Chriſt, for his bodies ſake the Church*: we are to enterpret the other part of Chriſts ſpeech to them (which might import their now *making themſelves friends of the unrighteous Mammon*; and of taking to themſelves *Purſes and Scrips* (and eſpecially by taking to themſelves ſwords; when he ſaid but now, *He that hath a purſe let him take it, and likewiſe his ſcrip, and he that hath no ſword let him ſell his garments and buy one*,) to be made good and accompliſhed Luke 16.9. Luke 22.36.

upon

upon the glorious eſtabliſhment of his Church under his glorious Deputies. At which time, his Vice-roys ſhould be in a capacity to provide for themſelves and others by theſe ſwords; and were not (under pain of tempting God) again to grow altogether careleſs of ſupplying themſelves, as the former labourers were.

And that his meaning herein was prophetique and future, they might have gathered by that which followed, ſaying, *That the things written muſt yet* (or firſt) *be accompliſhed in me*: that is, *as he was numbred amongſt the tranſgreſſors*, ſo muſt he himſelf ſuffer as one alſo. Which *having had an end concerning him*, then ſhould the power and eminence of his Church ſo ariſe by degrees, that through the glory of his ſucceeding deputed Chriſts (which exerciſed their dominion in his name) the reſt of the propheſie ſhould be made good unto him; *viz. That God would divide him a portion with the great, and that* (by theſe his Deputies ſwords) *he himſelf ſhould divide the ſpoil with the ſtrong*; that is, when *he ſhall have made his ſoul an offering for ſin, he ſhall ſee his ſeed* (meaning more eſpecially theſe his adopted Sons) and, by means of their miniſtration, *he ſhall prolong his days*; that is, in exerciſe of temporal Kingſhip. And thereby, *the pleaſure of the Lord*, concerning the Churches temporal ſalvation and glory (as well as eternal) *ſhall proſper in his hands*.

Luke 22. 37. *Ibidem.*

Iſai. 53. 12.

Verſe 10.

So that the Apoſtles miſtake in the forementioned demand, was in the *time and ſeaſon* of Chriſts more majeſtick appearance in the exerciſe of Kingly power in this kingdom of the Church by God given him, and not in the true right he had thereunto.

Their miſtake alſo was in fixing their thoughts too ſtrictly on the Jewiſh Nation; as if *Iſrael*, in the litteral ſenſe, annd not the whole Church had been the Kingdom to be thus dignified and advanced by his Government.

Theſe miſtakes they were alſo the rather led into, in regard of thoſe many promiſes made in particular to the Jewiſh Nation; and alſo, for that thoſe promiſed bleſſings were always exemplified under the perſon of *David*, whoſe natural ſon they knowing our Saviour to be, it made them to expect he ſhould thereupon be himſelf the executioner and undertaker thereof; and ſo to be actually ſeated *in the Throne of his father David*, as it was before promiſed to the bleſſed Virgin. Yet if they had withal conſidered that other prediction concerning our Saviour made to *Joſeph*, namely, *that he ſhould ſave his people from their ſins*; they would not then have gone about to make the execution of his Office of temporal Jeſuſhip, precipitately to defeat that other his Office of ſaving ſouls. But our Saviour, that knew beſt his appointed time and manner for performance of theſe offices, executed firſt the higher and greater work in his own perſon, and leaves the other to be brought about and executed by Subſtitutes anointed under him: *He upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had by himſelf purged our ſins, and ſate down at the right hand of Majeſty on high.*

Heb. 1. 3.

In which regard, although every member of his Church were equally his ſeed, and equal to one another in reference to that Mediatorſhip (which was conſummated in his own perſon, without other future aſſiſtance ſave that of the Holy Ghoſt) yet, in regard of the Prophetick and Kingly part (or the part of Inſtruction and Government) which was to be compleated by

by Humane deputation, they were again ſeverally dignified and differenced one from another; and ſo might be unequally eſteemed his ſeed, as they ſtood in that reſpect nearer in relation unto him, *for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Miniſtery, for the edifying of the body of Chriſt.* And as this difference is to be obſerved, *that we be not like children* (without a Father) *carried to and fro of every wind of doctrine, by the ſleight of men, and cunning craftineſs whereby they lie in wait to deceive*: ſo is it to laſt till Chriſts ſecond coming; *that we come to the ſtature of the fulneſs of Chriſt.* Ephes. 4. 12. Verſe 14. Verſe 13.

So that the glory of the Church (this Kingdom of God given unto Chriſt) being to ariſe by theſe means and degrees, it is the reaſon of that petition of *Thy kingdom come.* Which importing (no doubt) its encreaſe and proſperity here (in order to have his name more hallowed and honored thereby) may be well interpreted to ſignifie our deſire that this Church may ariſe at ſuch a degree and ſtate of eminence, that it may be proportionable in ſplendor and dignity, to admit the true Idea and Platform of Regiment uſed by God himſelf: Not as if the meaſure of Gods Omnipotent power ſhould be then encreaſed, but that the manner of execution thereof in the Church ſhould be alſo more conform; namely, *That his will may be done on earth, as it is in heaven.* Matth. 6 10. Ibidem.

For although before it, Chriſts Will and Law (for the matter of them) was as truly (if not more) performed in the Apoſtles time, and by the primitive Church then afterwards; no otherwiſe, then in the Jewiſh Church, Gods ſervice was generally more unſtained before Kings then afterwards; yet, as amongſt them, the accompliſhment of Gods aim and promiſe of having a place to put his name in, was made the object of their deſires (as therewith importing their own promiſed happineſs alſo) ſo in the Chriſtian Church you may find reaſon why it ſhould be commanded us to conform our deſires to that of Gods; and that, beſides the matter of our own inward devotions and charity (whereby we ſeverally and privately performed his will) we ſhould deſire the manner of performance of it, to be outwardly glorious and uniform alſo: that it may anſwer, as near as may be, that ready ſervice which Angels do in heaven.

For if we *hallow and glorifie his name*, and do alſo acknowledge his *power and kingdom on earth, as it is in heaven*, we ſhall (no doubt) then beſt *do his will in earth, as it is in heaven.* Whereupon concluding alſo, that the firſt petition of hallowing Gods name, is to be explained alſo *on earth as it is in heaven* (becauſe we have no need, nor warrant to doubt, or wiſh the doing it in Heaven) it is farther evident, that the petition of *Kingdom come*, muſt relate to the Churches future proſperity; according to whoſe ſplendor and greatneſs, God himſelf and his Kingdom may be rightly ſaid to be more or leſs *come* or preſent amongſt us, even as he is more or leſs majeſtically repreſented, in the eminence of that officer which is ſubſtituted with his authority. Matth. 6. 9. Verſe 10.

And therefore, we being to aſcribe *all kingdom, power, and glory unto him* (without wreſting from him the right of *his everlaſting kingdom amongſt men*) we may explain this petition of *Thy kingdom come*, in our Goſpel precept of prayer, by that petition of the Jewiſh Churches proſperity, included in their injunction, *To pray for the peace of Jeruſalem.* Both they and we being thereby obliged to continual duty of praying for the encreaſe and glory Verſe 13. Dan. 4. 17. Pſalm 122. 6.

of his Church; and that, not only when it is weak, but although flouriſhing, we are to pray for the continuance and encreaſe thereof. And, that it may the better ſo do, we are *to make prayers and ſupplications* for ſuch as ſhall be chiefly inſtrumental therein; that is, *for Kings, and all that are in Authority.*

1 Tim. 2. 2.

This our commanded Petition, pointing at the glory and encreaſe of the Church, and particularly under Kiugſhip, may alſo well be underſtood as proportioned and anſwering the many Goſpel-Promiſes made to that purpoſe; and thoſe particular promiſes alſo, heretofore made to *Abraham*, and other the Church Fathers and Founders; namely, that their encreaſe of race and poſterity ſhould be crowned with the bleſſing of Kingſhip alſo, as we have formerly noted.

So that, beſides the expreſſion of our deſire that Gods honor (by the encreaſe of his Power and Kingdom amongſt men) may be advanced, (which we are always to ſeek before any thing that concerns our ſelves) this Petition for the encreaſe of the Churches power, was incluſive alſo of our own benefits; as ſecretly importing a requeſt for the abatement and diverſion of thoſe grivous perſecutions which the power of Heatheniſh Authority did then inflict; conform to that natural deſire of our Saviour himſelf (ſo often repeated) *Father, if it be thy will, let this cup paſs from me.* From which perſecutions, as they were to hope releaſe anſwerable to thoſe many Propheſies formerly made of the Churches proſperity and eminence in Power, ſo were they to pray that God would bring it to paſs, by *ſetting the mountain of the Lords houſe, on the top of every mountain, and above every hill*; that is, by advancing Chriſts Kingdom and Power to ſuch height, as it might be of higheſt eminence amongſt men. By which means (notwithſtanding all thoſe many oppoſitions made in the beginning by Pagan Kings and others) God would perform his promiſe, of, *Yet have I ſet my King upon my holy hill*; that is, advanced my Churches power to ſuch hight, that the members thereof may now be ſenſible of thoſe many Promiſes of Peace and Proſperity, which under Chriſts glorious Kingdom they were to enjoy.

Matth. 26. 39.

Pſalm 2. 6.

The power of the Church being thus to be ſeated in *Chriſt, the Heir of all things*, and by him deputed unto others, is the reaſon why (as the Old Teſtament uſually calls the riſings and the murmurings againſt Gods chief Miniſter a riſing and murmuring againſt God, even ſo alſo) S. *Paul*, warning the *Corinthians* againſt *tempting of Chriſt*, brings in the example where the Iſraelites tempted and ſpake againſt *Moſes*: as may appear by *Moſes* words in his Expoſtulation with God (taking their complaints as aimed at himſelf) ſaying, *Whence ſhould I have fleſh to give unto all this people, for they weep unto me, ſaying, give us fleſh that we may eat*: Which words denote to us, that he being anointed by God as the chief Magiſtrate over them, and ſo perſonating that power of judgement and Government which by God the Father ſhould be committed unto Chriſt the Son, under the notion of Unction, the tempting of him is ſtiled the tempting of Chriſt; and that more eſpecially, becauſe he was more expreſly repreſenting him in that office of kingſhip that had moſt of his unction, as being *King of Iſrael or Jeſurun.*

Heb. 1. 2.

1 Cor. 10. 9.

Numb. 11. 23.

So that, although Chriſt and his Goſpel appeared to the Jews as under a cloud, yet while *they were all baptized unto Moſes* (Chriſts Miniſter)

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in the cloud, and in the ſea (that is, were obſervant and obedient unto him in Chriſts ſtead) *they did all eat the ſame ſpiritual meat, and drink the ſame ſpiritual drink; for they drank of that ſpiritual rock that followed them; and that rock is Chriſt:* But becauſe their not following and obeying him, was the cauſe they ſoon fell to Idolatry and other evils, therefore *are they put for examples and admonitions to us, upon whom the ends of the world are come*; that we ſhould not murmure againſt Chriſt chief Miniſter, and ſo tempt him as they did. 1 Cor. 10. 2. Verſe 3. Verſe 4. Verſe 11.

And that murmuring againſt Gods Miniſter, is by God reckoned as againſt himſelf, farther appears, in that it is ſaid, *All the Congregation murmured againſt Moſes, and againſt Aaron*: And in the 11 Verſe, God ſays, *How long will this people provoke me, &c.* And in the 29 Verſe, *How long ſhall I bear with this evil Congregation, which murmure againſt me: I have heard the murmurings of the children of Iſrael which they murmure againſt me.* So that now, all Government being committed unto Chriſt the ſecond Perſon in the Trinity, they that oppoſe thoſe Anointed Powers that act under him as *Chriſti*, are to be deemed oppoſers of him as *the Chriſt*, even as thoſe former oppoſers of Gods Subſtitutes were called murmurers againſt God, while they acted under the Notion of *Elohim*.

But although every oppoſition of Chriſts chief Miniſter in Church-Authority, may (upon former reaſons) be eſteemed done in oppoſition to Chriſt, yet ſhall we not find the term of Antichriſtianiſm ſet down til after our Saviours Aſcenſion. For until he had revealed himſelf, ſo far as to inſtitute and authoriſe Officers under him, and they again to hold and exerciſe their power as in direct acknowledgement of him, the oppoſition of theſe Officers could not be formally that crime of Antichriſtianiſm, which we may call the Goſpel term for Rebellion: And is the reſiſtance of Chriſts Kingly power, executed by himſelf or his chief immediate Officer.

But becauſe himſelf was little ſeen herein, as never partaking of the viſible and material unction, the Scripture uſually makes that ſin to be the rebellion againſt the Chriſtian Monarch, by any inferior perſon or order of men. For although the oppoſition in the primitive times made againſt this flouriſhing State or Kingdom of Chriſts Church (ſet down in the Propheſie of the *Pſalms*) is to be interpreted againſt Chriſt, (where it is demanded, *Why do the Heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing, the Kings of the earth ſet themſelves, and the Rulers take counſel together againſt the Lord, and againſt his anointed; ſaying, let us break their bands in ſunder, and caſt their cords from us*) yet becauſe they were done by Heathens, and ſuch as acknowledged not God the Father, they were Theomachy againſt Gods, more then Antichriſtianiſm againſt Chriſts eminence in power. And therefore they do but ſhew us, that firſt conſpiracy of men of all ſorts, which ſhould be the forerunner of thoſe more notorious Antichriſtian plots, which ſhould afterwards proceed from ſuch as profeſſed his ſervice; after ſuch time as he hath been by God *ſet on his holy hill of Sion*, or the Church) and that many of theſe Kings had made their acknowledgements unto God and him; According to the Expreſſion (there uſed) *Of kiſſing the Sonne.* Pſalm 2. 4. Verſe 3. Verſe 2. Verſe 12.

Whereupon, divers of the Penmen of the New Teſtament, foreſeeing the ſundry oppoſitions of this deputed power, do call the perſon ſo doing Antichriſt; a word proper for ſuch as oppoſe perſons anointed. Which as in the firſt place is due to *the Anointed, the Chriſt of God*, or *the Lord Chriſt*, or *the Meſſiah, being anointed with the oyl of gladneſs above his fellows*: So next to Kings, who (as heretofore noted) are only ſtiled *Gods Anointed*, or *the Lords Anointed*; and ſo by derivation of power from God, obtain with Chriſt a kind of fellowſhip.

Luke 9. 20. Chap 2.26. John 1. 41. Pſalm. 45.7. 1 John 2. 3.

And thus much we ſhall find plainly diſcovered unto us in the Parable of the talents, where Chriſts truſt of his Kingdom and Power here committed to Deputies (during his abſence to poſſeſs another Kingdom) is ſet down upon the occaſion of the prejudice of ſuch as thought, becauſe of his going to *Jeruſalem* himſelf, that therefore *the Kingdom of God ſhould preſently appear*; that is, be forthwith glorioufly managed by himſelf: *He therefore ſays, a certain nobleman went into a far Country, to receive for himſelf a kingdom, and to return; and he called his ten ſervants, and delivered them ten pounds; and ſaid, occupy till I come*; By which is ſet forth that truſt of power, which in his abſence ſhould be committed to the ſeveral Heads of Churches. *But his Citizens hated him, and ſent a meſſage after him, ſaying, we will not have this man raign over us.* Where we may ſee Antichriſtianiſm ſtated and defined; that is, when ſuch as are members of Chriſts Church, or his Citizens, do ſo far expreſs their hatred unto him, as to deny his deputed Chriſts to Raign, or have power over them. And therefore, after he hath taken the accompt of his Deputies truſted talents, he then comes to cenſure theſe Rebels againſt his Vice-gerents, juſt as if they had been ſo to himſelf, ſaying, *But theſe mine enemies which would not that I ſhould raign over them, bring them hither, and ſlay them before me.* And that this ſentence was directly intended to ſuch as refuſe this his power in his Deputies, and not of his Deputies diſobedience to him, appears, in that S. *Matthew* ſetting down the like Parable of truſted *talents* (but without mention of the particular fact of the Citizens) hath no ſuch expreſſion in his relation thereof, although he record afterwards, Chriſts owning his Miniſters as himſelf, as elſewhere ſhewed.

Luke 19.11. Verſe 12. Verſe 13. Verſe 14: Verſe 27: Matth. 25. 14.

So that now, who *is a liar, but he that denyeth that Jeſus is the Chriſt? he is Antichriſt that denieth the father and the Son.* It is not ſaid he that denieth the Holy Ghoſt; or he that denyeth Jeſus, that is, the belief of his Saviourſhip; for this being wrought inwardly by the work of the Holy Ghoſt, it maketh its denial or refuſal more properly the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, caſting Chriſt forth from within us as an unholy thing, but, offending againſt Chriſts regency or power over us outwardly, offends alſo againſt Charity; and ſo by deſtroying Monarchy or Union, hinders our welfares here, as infidelity doth our welfares hereafter.

1 John. 2.22.

And that this myſterie of Antichriſtianiſm is *the denial of the Father and the Son*, and that in regard of power to be exerciſed by perſons here below, and from them ſent and empowered, may be notably gathered from theſe very words of Miſſion and Delegation, which Chriſt always uſed at the empowering of any from him, uſing ſtil theſe ſpeeches or the like; *He that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me, and he that deſpiſeth me, deſpiſeth*

Luke 10. 16.

ſpiſeth him that ſent me. In which, there being always mention of delegation of power from the Father and the Son, and never from the Holy Ghoſt, it comes to paſs that Antichriſtianiſm is plainly oppoſition in the execution of ſuch power as is from God the Father, and Chriſt delegated. In which delegation, becauſe Chriſt is to them the immediate Donor, it therefore takes the name of Antichriſtianiſm.

For theſe being *anointed and eſtabliſhed by God in Chriſt*, although they are not to perſonate Chriſt *in having dominion over their faith* (as being the object thereof) yet are they to perſonate Chriſt *in claiming their obedience in all things*; and to *forgive alſo, as in the perſon of Chriſt, leſt Satan ſhould have advantage over them*; as ſeeming to be done out of original power in themſelves, and not as acted in Chriſts Name and Authority. 2 Cor. 1. 21: Verſe 24. Chap. 2. 9, 10. Verſe 11.

So that now, the means of accompliſhment of our welfare here, being by Chriſt reckoned as his ſervice (under the notions of Love and Charity) and our obedience to him therein, making us participants with him of what he meritoriouſly did in obedience to God, in performance of the Moral Law for us, it follows, that as we deny the Holy Ghoſt in denial of Jeſuſhip, ſo alſo God the Father in denial of his Chriſt-ſhip. For all things being ours through Chriſt; and as through him that was both God and man, all mankind came to be capable of the benefits and favor of the Godhead; ſo ſingle men, being members of particular Churches, through obedience to particular Chriſts under him, come to be participant of Chriſt alſo; and of thoſe benefits promiſed to the whole Church his body under the condition of obedience.

Again, as by faith we lay immediate hold on him the ſecond *Adam*, for forgiveneſs of original ſin, ſo by obedience to him and his Church, we attain the benefit of his obedience, and remiſſion of actual ſins. In the firſt way, by our particular offerings to him of inward faith and love, we are all of us (through Chriſt, made Kings and Prieſts to God on our own behalfs; in the ſecond way, we (as members of particular Churches) muſt have for what we do, warrant and direction on from other Kings and Prieſts, having therein Authority from him.

Nor are Kings Supreme Deputies as *Chriſti* only; that is, becauſe their oyl and unction is ever in Scripture diſtinguiſhed from what is ordinary, but they are alſo his moſt immediate and eminent Deputies, for execution and accompliſhment of his Jeſuſhip. (I mean ſo much of it as concerns the Churches temporal ſafety) which was part of that work which (as King) Chriſt was to do; as appears by that his ſpeech, *The ſon of man came not to deſtroy mens lives, but to ſave them.* But becauſe it could not be perſonally compleated, by (that *the ſon of man*) himſelf, it muſt be preſumed entruſted to thoſe, who to that purpoſe, are ſo often in Scripture eminently adorned with this title of *Saviour*. Nay it is taken as an office ſo proper to Kings, that God (for his peoples greater aſſurance) puts himſelf under that notion, *The Lord is our king, he will ſave us*: ſo likewiſe is Chriſt called *a Prince and Saviour*, as he is alſo called *the Saviour of the body*; that is, of his whole Church, by his deputed Saviours in the ſeveral parts thereof. Luke 99. 56. 1 Sam. 9. 16. Chap. 10. 27. Chap. 19. 9. Iſa. 33. 22. Acts 5. 31. Phil. 3. 20.

But

But moſt remarkably clear to this purpoſe, and alſo to ſhew the following advancement of the Church by theſe Saviours under *the Saviour*, and that this Church, in that glorious condition, is that which is to be called Gods Kingdom; is that laſt verſe of *Obadiah*; *And Saviours ſhall come up on mount Zion, to judge the mount of Eſau; and the kingdom ſhall be the Lords*: For the Prophet having before ſet forth the Churches enemies and oppreſſors under the notion of *Edom*, doth at length foretel all their deliverance and glory, to ariſe by the means of theſe *Saviours*; and that, in regard of this more eminent and glorious condition of the Church at that time then before, it ſhall be more remarkably owned by God as his Kingdom: *And the kingdom ſhall be the Lords.* And ſo, being his and Chriſts by means of theſe Deputies; it will follow, that they that oppoſe them, oppoſe Chriſt, and ſo are Antichriſts.

But to know theſe things the better, and the perſons defined, we will more particularly take notice of two places, ſet down amongſt many in the New Teſtament to this purpoſe. The one is of the leſſer and many Antichriſts, or the petty inſurrection of people and ſubjects; which began, even in the Apoſtles time, towards the effecting *the myſterie of iniquity*; according to the popular vain philoſophy of the Greeks and Romans. Yet becauſe theſe, claiming right in their names only, and from Philoſophical principles, did come far ſhort of the miſchiefs and contrivances herein wrought by *the Antichriſt* (called therefore *the man of ſin*) we will begin with his particular diſcription firſt.

He oppoſeth and exalteth himſelf above all that is called God, or is worſhipped; that is, ſets himſelf above Kings and Monarchs; ſo *that he, as God, ſitteth in the Temple of God, ſhewing himſelf that he is God*; that is, under pretence of being God of the Temple, or whole Church, he hath ſo far inſinuated, under colour of Gods own right here, that he ſhould reign over orher Gods as a very God indeed: The Prepoſition ἀντὶ ſignifying aſwel *pro* as *contra*; or, ſuch an one as may ſeem for Chriſt, whilſt really againſt him. 2 Theſſ. 2. 4.

And, that the perſon here ſet down under the notion of *God*, ſhould intend Chriſtian Monarchy (as the only anointed perſon under Chriſt) may be preſumed, for that the appellation of *God* is only properly applyed to *the Ruler of the people* in the ſingular number; denoting there can be but one God in each Church ruling at once. And whenſoever we ſhall find this notion of *God* applyed to any other, as to the *High Prieſt*, it is becauſe they had part of this unction of power, as heretofore noted. And in regard thereof, we may ſee reaſon why the notion of *Gods*, ſhould be then put in the plural number, and alſo before that of the Ruler; that is, becauſe the firſt ſtanding power of judicature and Government, was put in the Tribe of *Levi*, whoſe plurality in juriſdiction and power over the people made the ſame proper. And therefore that Precept of *Moſes*, *Thou ſhalt not revile the gods, nor curſe the ruler of thy people*, is to be applied and interpreted as relating to the ſame perſons by him deſigned for their judgement and Government; namely, *The Prieſts and the Levites*, ſet down in the plural number alſo: whereas, *The Judge that ſhall be in thoſe days*, as their ſucceeding Ruler, is ſet down in the ſingular number. Acts 23. 5. Exod. 22. 28. Deut. 17. 9. *Ibidem.*

In this ſenſe, we may alſo conceive *Moſes* giving the name of Gods to the

preſent ordinary Judges: even becauſe their reſpect might not be more called into queſtion then the others. By that means, *putting upon the more uncomely parts the more abundant honor:* and not prepoſterouſly preferring ordinary Judges, (as ſuch) before him that was ſingle in Authority, and the ſupreme *Ruler of the people.* So that *Moſes* (having for honor-ſake), given this appellation of *Gods* to thoſe that were at that time indeed ſo, (becauſe they had their power immediately from him, and had none but him above them), he could not without tautology, have after put the name of *God* in the place of Ruler: And he might beſides, by placing this *Ruler* (or King) laſt, have the like reſpect towards his ſingular honor above them, as *David* gave to God, when he ſtiled him *a great King above all Gods.* Pſal. 95. 3.

Upon all which conſiderations, we may finde reaſon why St. *Paul* (as before noted) ſhould now under the Goſpel, apply that former admonition of *Moſes* unto the *Ruler* of the people onely: as knowing, that there is but one now in each place that is to have this appellation. Whoſe oppoſition, as it was no doubt foreſeen to come to paſs by Saint *Paul*, ſo he ſaith he had told ſomewhat of it to theſe *Theſſalonians* while he was with them: aſſuring them, *that he ſhould be revealed in his time.* Farther telling them, that *the myſtery of iniquity did already work:* meaning under thoſe popular claims of liberty; which in ſome particulars (it may be), having concern in ſome places and perſons where St. *Paul* had to do, made him forbare to put it into writing. But the government of the Roman Emperor, *did yet let, and would let, until he be taken out of the away:* that is, until that Monarchy be overthrown, theſe workings for Ariſtocracies and Democracies can take no effect: for they, as ſo many ſeveral inſects, were to be ingendred out of the corruption of this great body. But as the Emperors power ſhould decreaſe, *then ſhall that wicked one be revealed:* that is, ſhall appear riſing up in glory in his place: and ſhall put all the Arguments of the *many Antichriſts* into method, adding unto them more of his own. 2 Theſſ. 2. 5. Verſe 7.

In which courſe he ſhall prevail and continue, until *he ſhall be conſumed by the ſpirit of the Lords mouth, and deſtroyed by the brightneſs of his coming.* That is, after his revelation and full height, he ſhall conſume and waſte by evidence of Arguments drawn from Scripture, and other illuminations proceeding from the ſpirit of truth, which was promiſed from the Lords own mouth, to be ſent for a comfort and guide to his Deputies in the Church; and ſhall at laſt be deſtroyed by that eminence of Majeſty and power, which ſhall be manifeſt when the great King himſelf (at his ſecond coming) *ſhall be revealed from Heaven with his mighty Angels (in flaming fire), taking vengeance on them that know not God: and that obey not the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* That is, when ſuch Chriſtians as will not obey Chriſts power revealed in the Goſpel, ſhall be equally puniſhed with *ſuch as know not God* at all. So that we may hence probably gather, that this grand enemy ſhall not quite be deſtroyed till the laſt day: that honor being reſerved for Chriſt himſelf; although we finde him to have been daily declining, by the revelation of greater truth and light in the Church. Verſe 8. Chap. 1. 7. Verſe 2.

And that Antichriſtianiſm conſiſts in breach of publike Charity, or in the oppoſition and overthrow of the proſperity of the Church, may appear farther by that his Character *the ſon of perdition.* For God having appointed, the glory of this Church to ariſe by means of kingſhip, he that ſhall hinder this will prove *the ſon of perdition,* by that deſtruction which his oppoſition muſt bring.

This

This increaſe and ſplendor of this Chriſtian Church, to ſucceed in place of the former, is (under the Jewiſh figure) notably deſcribed by the Prophet *Joel*. Where alſo, (under the name of *Iehoſhaphat*, (or the Lord will judge (twice repeated), the kingdom of God to come is apparently ſet forth as to follow that glorious increaſe of the Gentile Church, which theſe *his mighty ones* ſhal bring to the valley of *Iehoſhaphat*, or into the Church. Where,
Joel 3 11. by means of theſe Saviors, *God will ſit to judge all the heathen round about it:* that is, all thoſe that remain the Churches enemies. By means of which glorious deliveries, it follows that, (not onely Gods power and terror ſhall light on the reſt of the world, but) the Church it ſelf *ſhould know him to be the Lord their God, dwelling in Sion his holy mountain.* At which time alſo, God
Verſe 17. will more particularly own his Church; *then ſhall Ieruſalem be holy, and there ſhall no ſtrangers paſs thorow her any more:* that is, *the ſons of violence ſhall not oppreſs her as in former times. For in that day the mountains* (or kingdoms of the Church) *ſhall drop down with new wine: and the hills ſhall flow with milk: and all the rivers of Iudah ſhall flow with waters: and a fountain*
Verſe 16. *ſhall come forth of the houſe of the Lord, and ſhall water the valley of Shittim.* Under which expreſſions, the abundance of inſtruction and learning is alſo compriſed: when, on the other ſide, the Churches enemies, *Egypt and*
Verſe 19. *Edom ſhall be deſolations and wilderneſſes*, &c. becauſe of their former oppreſſions; *but Iudah ſhall dwell for ever, and Ieruſalem from generation to gene-*
Verſe 20. *ration.* Whereupon it muſt ſtill follow, that they which oppoſe theſe *Iehoſhaphats*, executing Gods *Miſhpat* here on earth, (as them to whom he hath promiſed to be *a ſpirit of judgement*, and are to be Chriſts Miniſters and inſtruments in bringing on and preſerving this proſperity of his Church and kingdom), do oppoſe Chriſt; and ſo are Antichriſts.

Saint *Pauls* next deſcription whereby we are to note him, is, *that his coming*
2 Theſſ. 2. 9. *and working, ſhall be after the coming and working of Satan: with all power, and ſignes, and lying wonders:* even as at this day, miracles are pretended by him and his, for confirming his Authority.

This thing is alſo further evidenced, by their prevailing in *their deceiveableneſs of unrighteouſneſs in thoſe that periſh.* Becauſe that in *this myſtery of iniquity*, *unrighteouſneſs* prevailed by its deceivableneſs: that is, not as unrighteouſneſs, but as having put on *a form of godlineſs*, he deceived thoſe
Verſe 10. that periſh under pretence of zeal. And that, *becauſe they received not the love of the truth*: that is; received not the truth in love, but wreſting it through their temptations to Pride, Ambition, Revenge, &c. they made it the inſtrument (in this Antichriſtian hierarchy), to their own and others deſtructions; through breach of Publike Charity, and through placing their Chriſtian obedience on a pretended, and not on the true Deputy of Chriſt.

Verſe 11. *And for this cauſe, God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſions, that they ſhould be-*
Verſe 12. *lieve a lye*: that is, that they ſhould believe that to be Gods Truth and Service which was not: and thereupon they *might be damned who believed not the truth but had pleaſure in unrighteouſneſs.* That is, becauſe they preferred thoſe pleaſures ariſing by the unrighteous courſes of oppoſing Chriſts Regeney, therefore are they ſaid not to have loved or believed the truth. But
Verſ. 13, 14. Saint *Paul* gives thanks for the *Theſſalonians*, *that through ſanctification of the ſpirit, and belief of the truth and his Goſpel*, they had been ſo eſtabliſhed in a way of ſalvation, as to be freed thereof; exhorting them *to ſtand*

faſt

faſt in the Traditions they had been taught, whether by word or Epiſtle. Verſe 15.

And that we may know the purport of theſe Traditions, (here mentioned) and that it may appear that matter of manners and external behavior were but traditionally delivered upon occaſion, and not to be of univerſal precept to all Churches as poſitively divine, he tells us their ſum in the ſixth verſe of the next Chapter. *Now we command you brethren in the name of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that you withdraw your ſelves from every brother that walketh diſorderly; and not after the tradition which he received of us.* Chap. 3. 6. Importing, that as *God had called them by his Goſpel,* (or by means of his inſtruction and begetting them as a Father) *unto ſanctification of ſpirit and belief of the truth*, ſo was it neceſſary that obedience and obſervance of his Traditions, ſhould be uſed as a means to continue, and manifeſt this ſanctification and truth in them: and ſo make them of the number of thoſe that *obey*, as well as *believe the Goſpel*. For as we are to conceive, that this phraſe, *our Goſpel*, was not to propoſe to them *another Goſpel* then that of Chriſt, ſo Gal. 1. 7. are we not to conceive it to be by chance or idely done: but to teach them, that ſince they had believed it as from him delivered, ſo ſhould they obey it as his, and not as any other mans. And by ſetting forth himſelf, and his Goſpel alſo, under the term of *our* (in the plural number), we may further preſume, that the intimation of his juſt Authority was intended, by the uſage of that proper expreſſion of perſons in ſupreme power. Whereby alſo we may learn, that guidance of manners, as well as Doctrine, was by Chriſt at that time committed unto the hands of the Apoſtles: which makes him here (as elſewhere) command in his name.

But, more eſpecially to our preſent purpoſe, we may learn by Saint *Pauls* ſetting down the Goſpel of Chriſt in this place as his, and by making their obedience and belief thereof as the cauſe of their avoidance of Antichriſtianiſm, that it plainly denotes that this ſin is Chriſtian rebellion or diſobedience, as before noted. For indeed, the Goſpel, as a Goſpel, is the object of Faith and ſalvation, by the offer and propoſal of one who, having taken our ſins and infirmities upon him, hath already performed the work of obedience for us: and is not, like the Law, binding to any thing of burthen or hardſhip as directly in it ſelf, but as in the hand of thoſe that had and have the diſpenſation thereof, and ſhall be therewith entruſted: that thereby, as in acknowledgement of our belief and thankfulneſs for ſo great mercy, we might be ready and fitted to obey as Chriſt and King here, him whom we profeſs and hope to finde as a Jeſus and Savior hereafter. Verſe 31, 14.

Theſe and other ſignes, have been heretofore brought by many to evince the Pope to be *the Antichriſt*: for indeed, in him and in his See, have all the other Antichriſts hitherto centred and confined their opinions: they being but petty ones to him. But moſt of theſe interpreters, having the diſcovery of his erroneous Tenents in Religion onely in their eye, did bring in theſe civil uſurpations but as proofs to that, by the by: as though, becauſe the Pope offered to joyn Merits, Free-will, *&c.* in the work of ſalvation, he had therefore been Antichriſt, and not rather an Anti-Jeſus then an Anti-Chriſtus. Not well marking, how theſe and other his Doctrines of Purgatory, Infallibility, Indulgencies, *&c.* were not for themſelves, but, as a neceſſary train, did wait upon the advancement of him in his Antichriſtian humor of ſetting himſelf *above all that is called God.* Being uſeful (as ex-

perience hath told us) for recovering money and ſtrength, towards the ſeating and poſſeſſing himſelf of that his uſurped power, as well as this his power ſhould, and did prevail to the ſame end alſo; namely overthrow of Kings: and that under all thoſe fair pretences of Reformation, Liberty, Law, Juſtice, *&c.* which the Ariſtocracies, Democracies, and the leſſer Antichriſts had made in their rebellious contrivances.

True it is, that corruption of manners, or the *deceivableneſs of unrighteouſneſs*, as well as Hereſie of Doctrine, or *belief of a lye*, do follow (as a neceſſary train), this ſin of inſubjection to Chriſts Authority: and ſo make *the Antichriſt* deſervedly to be ſtiled *the man of ſin*, *and ſon of perdition*. And this may be the reaſon, why the name of Antichriſt is not by Saint *Paul* given to this great one: even becauſe he ſhould appear in the latter age of the world; wherein the conſequences of hereſie and corruption of manners, ſhould be more notorious in him then was (their firſt main cauſe) the ſin of ſtubbornneſs and rebellion: which by that time, ſhould (through poſſeſſion and blinde devotion), have gained to it ſelf a ſhew of right. It faring no otherwiſe (in this reſpect), with the application of this Goſpel term of Rebellion, then it formerly did (under the Law) with that other proper name of Rebels, *viz. ſons of Belial*. For as that, (in after times) came, (from the experience of that concomitant degree of lewdneſs & vileneſs which always attended diſobedient and ungovernable perſons), to be applyed to perſons notoriouſly wicked, as well as to ſuch as were formally Rebels; even ſo, in this latter age, it is no wonder if the notion of Antichriſtianiſm be otherwiſe uſed alſo, then in the ſtrict ſenſe of inſubjection. Like as the vertue and grace of obedience, (upon a contrary reaſon) is in uſual ſpeech made comprehenſive of all, or any other commendation; unto that perſon unto whom it is given.

And that he was called Antichriſt in oppoſition to Unction and Monarchical Government, may undeniably appear by that which hindred him from taking upon him publikely this power: namely, the Roman Emperor. For had his Antichriſtianiſm conſiſted in ſuch Doctrines as had concerned Chriſtian Faith onely, why ſhould the Emperor be at that time a let therein; liking them one no better then another? But becauſe the Apoſtle ſaw ſuch Doctrines ſet on foot, as would overthrow Chriſts Regency in his Deputies afterwards, he calls it *the myſtery of iniquity already working*; and concludes the onely let to keep it from being actually in the perſon of *the* Antichriſt, was the Emperors preſent poſſeſſion. And this was the reaſon why the actual Seſſion of the Pope in this Authority, is called *Antichriſt revealed*: even as the broaching of the Doctrines tending thereto, was called the *myſtery of iniquity*, or Antichriſt *working*: aim, and poſſeſſion of juriſdiction, making him properly Antichriſt in both; and not Hereſie in Doctrine.

Having thus far ſhewed, in brief, how Antichriſtianiſm conſiſts in oppoſing Chriſt, that is, in regard of his Regency; it muſt farther follow, that ſince this oppoſition cannot be to him now in Heaven, otherwiſe then as done againſt ſuch as are anointed under him here, (which are to act in his name and Authority), that thereupon Antichriſtianiſm is to oppoſe Chriſtian Monarchs: who onely now are anointed as proper immediate Officers under him: and who are holding their Office in the Chriſtian Church, according to propheſick deſignation of what ſhould befal her in her flouriſhing condition: namely, to *have ſons whom ſhe ſhould ſet as Princes in all Lands*. Pſalm. 45. 16.

And

And this farther appears, according to that model of the Chriſtian Church in the eight laſt Chaptets of *Ezekiel*: where the Prieſthood alſo being deſigned, the chief of them is put under ſuch a Name and Notion as may minde them continually of their duty of loyalty and ſubmiſſion to Princes: ſince from a King, their predeceſſor *Zadock* was firſt preferred to that Office as heretofore noted. And to take off Presbyterial parity from this Antichriſtian hope of Regency; *Ezekiel* in the 34 Chapter, (reproving and ſetting forth the miſchiefs ariſing from their Anarchical rule), propheſies *that God will ſet up one ſhepherd over them, and he ſhall feed them; even his ſervant David*: Which as it was to be underſtood firſt in Chriſt himſelf, as coming of *Davids* natural loyns, ſo to be executed by his adopted ſons of oyle in the ſeveral Territories of his Chutch. Ezek. 34.23,24

We ſhall finde this future condition of Monarchy propheſied plainly by *Jeremy*, to accompany alſo the flouriſhing eſtate of the Church: ſaying, *their Nobles ſhall be of themſelves, and their Governor ſhould proceed from the midſt of them*: that is, ſhall be my ſervants alſo. *And I will cauſe him to draw neer, and he ſhall approach unto me*: that is, as I have the hearts of Kings in my power, ſo will I guide his: *for who is this* (or who elſe is this) *that engaged his heart to approach unto me ſaith the Lord.* Where, noting *Governor*, *He*, and *His*, to be ſet down in the ſingular number, we may infer *Monarchy* to be meant. And then follows Gods more remarkable owning his Church, when his *Kingdom* ſhall be thus *come* amongſt us: *and ye ſhall be my people, and I will be your God.* Jer. 30. 21. Verſe 22.

The like we may obſerve done largely by *Iſaiah* in the 49 Chapter, both to expreſs the increaſe, and flouriſhing eſtate of Chriſts Church, to ariſe and recover by degrees from its former diſtreſs, and alſo that this ſhould come to paſs in the time of Chriſts adopted ſons, and through that glorious addition of kingſhip following the Gentile Princes entertainment of the Goſpel, and acknowledgement of their fealties unto him. *The Children which thou ſhalt have after thou haſt loſt the other, ſhall ſay again in thine ears, the place is too ſtraight for me, give place to me that I may dwell. Then ſhalt thou ſay in thine heart, who hath begotten me theſe, ſeeing I have loſt my Children and am deſolate: a captive, and removing to and fro: and who hath brought up theſe? Behold I was left alone, theſe where had they been? Thus ſaith the Lord God, Behold I will lift up mine hand to the Gentiles, and ſet up my Standard to the people: and they ſhall bring thy ſons in their arms, and thy daughters ſhall be carryed upon their ſhoulders. And Kings ſhall be thy nurſing Fathers, and their Queens thy nurſing mothers, they ſhall bow down to thee with their face towards the earth, and lick up the duſt of thy feet: and thou ſhalt know that I am the Lord, for they ſhall not be aſhamed that wait for me.* Iſa. 49. 20. Verſe 21. Verſe 22. Verſe 23.

The like we ſhall finde in the 60 Chapter: *the Gentiles ſhall come to thy light, and Kings to the brightneſs of thy riſing.* And again, *the ſons of ſtrangers ſhall build up thy walls: and Kings ſhall miniſter unto thee. For in my wrath I ſmote thee, but in my favor have I had mercy on thee. Therefore ſhall thy gates be open continually, they ſhall not be ſhut day nor night, that men may bring unto thee the wealth of the Gentiles: and that their Kings may be brought, &c.* Which, and many more places, (ſhewing the glory and increaſe of the Church under Kingſhip), muſt be underſtood to be compleated in Chriſts adopted ſons, ſince in his own perſon he had (while he Iſa. 60. 3. Verſe 10. Verſe 11.

Isa.53.2. lived), *neither form nor comlineſs*; and (as to theſe things), was *deſpiſed and rejected of men: a man of ſorrows, and acquainted with grief: and we hid as it were our faces from him, and we eſteemed him not*: performing onely in himſelf (as after followeth) the work of Jeſuſhip, and ſo healing his Church *by his wounds and ſtripes.*

And therefore, as we are to interpret thoſe many promiſes of proſperity, (made to the Church in general under a Jewiſh figure), to be accompliſhed in the proſperity of the Chriſtian Church; ſo muſt alſo many of thoſe other Promiſes, made of the Churches Kings in the name of *David* and *Solomon*, be interpreted of Chriſtian Kings: Elſe we ſhall not know how to make
Jer.33.21. &c. Pſal.89.27, &c. good *thoſe ſure mercies of David*: thoſe many Propheſies that his kingdom ſhould be eſtabliſhed *for ever in his ſeed: and that his mercy ſhould not de-*
2 Sam.7.15. *part from him, as it did from Saul, who was taken away from before him.*

The ſame again repeated 1 *Chron.*17.13. promiſing, that as his Temple
1Chron.17.13 ſhould be built by *Solomon*, (who was a Type of Chriſtian Kings as *David* was of Chriſt) ſo God ſays, *I will not take my mercy from him, as I took it from him that was before thee: but I will ſettle him in mine houſe, and in my*
Verſe 14. *kingdom for ever: and his Throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed for ever.* And *David* himſelf did ſo underſtand it alſo: and therefore ſaid, *Now O Lord let the thing that thou haſt ſpoken concernig thy ſervant, and concerning his houſe be eſta-*
Verſe 23. *bliſhed for ever: and do as thou haſt ſaid.* And ſo he proceeds with a reaſon for eſtabliſhment of that Government: *Let it even be eſtabliſhed, that thy name may be magnified for ever: ſaying the Lord of hoſts is the God of Iſrael,*
Verſe 24. *even a God to Iſrael: and let the houſe of thy ſervant be eſtabliſhed before thee.* And in the next verſe he intimates the manner how it ſhould be: *For*
Verſe 25. *thou O Lord God haſt told thy ſervant, that thou wilt build him a houſe*: that is, ſupply it by adopted Children: for ſo the word, *wilt build*, muſt import beyond *Solomon* already born.

Therefore, underſtanding and interpreting, the conditonal promiſes made to *Solomon* and *David*, to extend and have been fulfilled in their own perſonal loyns according to Nature, and theſe by default on their part to be cut off; and underſtanding again, that ſucceſſion of perpetuity and the glorious Promiſes of the Church, to be made good in *Solomons* typified ſons (the Chriſtian Monarchs), theſe ſeeming contradictions may be eaſily reconciled; as having been both made good. And it is obſervable (by the way), that the expreſſions uſed verſe the 14. ſhew that the kingdom of God here is the Kings, (as before ſhewed in the Petition *Thy Kingdom come*), and that again the Kingſhip of Kings is Gods: for ſo the words run, *I will ſettle him in mine houſe, and my Kingdom for ever: and his Throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed for ever-*
Verſe 14. *more*: to the end *that Gods will may be done in earth as it is in Heaven.*

But ſince (for the far greater part of the time paſt,) we cannot find as aforeſaid theſe Promiſes fulfilled to the natural or direct ſeed of *Solomon* or *David* in the kingdoms *of Iſrael or Judah*, we cannot without great partiality and prejudice but conceive that they muſt (typically) be accompliſhed in Chriſtian Kings: in like manner, as we are to underſtand, that the many Promiſes of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, and the Jewiſh Church and Temples happineſs and perpetuity, are to be made good in the Chriſtian Church: anſwerable to that prophetical deſcription of the Chriſtian Church (under the Jewiſh fi-
Pſal.122.5. gure) made by *David* himſelf: *viz. For there are ſet Thrones of Judgement,*

the Thrones of the house of David. Where the names of Thrones, being twice set in the plural number, must signifie succession of Kingship: which coming to Christ as naturally *Davids* son, and to Kings as Christs adopted sons, it follows that the opposers of them, do oppose Christ; and so are Antichrists.

And without the like interpretation, and taking in the adopted Christian Kings, (as with Christ typified in *Solomon Psal.72*), it will be hard to be understood, how many of those Prophesies of prosperity and outward greatness here and in other Prophesies given to Christ, can personally be made good in him: considering that mean condition Christ himself lived in amongst us; where he was so far from expressing, or exercising any thing like the *Throne*, or *judgement of a King or Kings son*, that he *had not whereon to lay his head.* Matth.8.20.

But there can be no more better Commentator of the meaning of these Promises then *David* himself: who in his last *words* cleerly explains to us, 2 Sam.23.1. that they were prophetick to those *Thrones* which should be established under the Types of him and *Solomon* by Christ and Christian Kings in the Christian Church; and not by him, and his direct natural seed in the Jewish Church. For there we shall finde him confessing, that he was but the Prophet of these things that should after come to pass; and not the present object, otherwise then in type: *the spirit of the Lord spake by me, and his word was in my tongue.* Verse 2.

Afterwards we shall finde, that that perfection of the Ruler he speaks of, belongs to his typified son Christ, and not to himself: because it speaks of a perfection, and an extent of Dominion, which he in his own person was not capable of. *He that ruleth over men*, or is appointed Ruler over mankinde, (which *David* nor his natural race as Kings of the Jews could not claim to be), *must be just: ruling in the fear of God. And he shall be as the light of the morning, when the sun ariseth: even a morning without clouds: as the tender grass springing out of the earth, by cleer shining after rain.* All which are expressions of excellence which *David* could not personally essume: and therefore he adds, *although my house be not so with God, yet he hath made me an everlasting Covenant, ordered in all things and sure: for this is all my salvatin, and all my desire, although he make it not to grow:* That is, although neither I, nor my present more natural house do thus grow; yet it is my comfort, that it shall be accomppliſhed in my typifyed son Christ, and the Christian Kings after him. In him, from whom all Crowns are derived, and in whom all Justice is originally inherent, is this Prophesie in the first place to be fulfilled. And then, by vertue of that Unction which those other *Christs* shall have from him all the world over, they also shall be enabled, in their several jurisdictions, to *rule over men in the fear of God:* and, by vertue of their derived power, *be as the light of the morning, even as a morning without clouds when the Sun ariseth:* or after this Son of Righteousness is arisen: and be *as the tender grass springing out of the earth, by cleer shineing after rain:* that is, that cleer shining light of Justice from him imparted, shall in them spring up like tender grass, in their earthly administrations. Verse 3. Verse 4. Verse 5.

And then he foretels the state of Antichristianism to follow, and that under the Jewish notion of insubjection and Rebellion, *viz. Sons of Belial*, (or men without yoak): *but the sons of Belial, shall be all of them as thorns*

thrust

Verſe 6. *thruſt away, becauſe they cannot be taken with hands.* That is, becauſe they cannot be kept under by Laws, but (as Thornes) have been troubleſom to others, and been ready to raiſe civil flames of diſſention, therefore, as Thornes they ſhall be burnt, or *thruſt away.* Verſe 7. *But the man that ſhall touch them, muſt be fenced with Iron, and the ſtaffe of a ſpear.* That is, as he that will meddle with cutting down of Thorns, muſt have his perſon defended againſt their pricking as it were with Iron, and alſo muſt have a ſtaffe or fork to manage them with, and not his bare hands, ſo, prudence muſt direct Chriſtian Princes, to have in readineſs *Davids Chelethites* and *Pelethites*, and the aſſiſtance of their Militia, (typified under *Iron* and *a ſpear*), Ibidem. and *then they ſhall be utterly burnt with fire in the ſame place:* that is, theſe Thornes of rebellion ſhall be conſumed.

That Chriſt and the Chriſtian Kings were in theſe Promiſes meant, appears yet more fully by that Promiſe which God makes of the proſperity of his people at the ſame time; which could not have likelihood of accompliſhment in the Jews. *Moreover I will appoint a place for my people Iſrael, and will place them that they may dwell in a place of their own, and move no more:* 2 Sam. 7. 10. *neither ſhall the Children of wickedneſs afflict them any more, as before time.* Which Promiſe was not made good to the Iſraelites, whom the Aſſyrian and other Nations did ſo many times afflict, and whom the Romans did utterly ſubdue and remove; but was made good after the time of Chriſtian Kingſhip: in that this Chriſtian Church was ever more glorious and ſtrong, then to be oppreſſed by her enemies. And ſo *David* himſelf farther inſtructs us: acknowledging theſe things ſpoken *of his houſe for a great while to come.* Verſe 19.

In this fore-recited Propheſie, and thoſe whereto it alludes, it is farther obſervable; that, as it is the firſt that ſpeaks particularly and largely of the perpetuity and glory of the Church, ſo doth it alſo of the kingſhip that ſhould be therein: coupling them ſo together, as to make it apparent, that, as the glory of a Church and Nation doth ariſe by Gods vouchſafeing to own them, and by having a place amongſt them, ſo this owning them, and this place, is ſtill accompanyed with the Promiſe of kingſhip: nay made ſubſequent thereunto. For ſo we finde, that while *Moſes* is directing the people to go with their hard controverſies (or appeals,) from the ordinary Judges unto *the Iudge that ſhall be in thoſe days,* Deut. 17. 9. (meaning that future Government of kings, which immediately follows in the ſame chapter) *he appoints them to go up unto the place which the Lord their God ſhould chooſe.* Verſe 1. Shewing to us, that when God would have his Church moſt eminent, by having a chief and eminent place amongſt them; he will alſo have one moſt eminent Officer to be his ſervant in eſtabliſhment thereof; who may alſo more glorioufly repreſent him therein.

All which, as it appears in the examples of *David* and *Solomon*, ſo doth the words of *Solomon* clearly manifeſt it: ſhewing, *That God choſe no City out of all Iſrael to build an houſe for his name, before he choſe David to be over his people.* 1 King. 8. 16. And therefore, becauſe the good intention of *Davids* heart to build Gods houſe could not be performed by him, God promiſeth *to raiſe up to him a ſon, that ſhould come forth of his loyns, and that he ſhould build this houſe to his Name.* Verſe 19. Which ſon of his we cannot think otherwiſe of, then 1 Chron. 17. 11. *as having his kingdom* purpoſely made glorious and *eſtabliſhed*, for the encreaſe of Gods glory by this work. And therefore, *it was not a work*

which

which God required to be done by any of the former Iudges: but the height and glory belonging to each Church and Nation, is to be accompliſhed under the moſt glorious inſtrument. Verſe 6.

And, by having this future regard to things, we may finde thoſe Goſpel promiſes of reſtitution or reward, (which could not in kinde be made good to the Primitive perſecuted Church and the oppreſſed Chriſtians therein), to be made good to the Catholike Church, and the generality of Chriſtians under the protection of Chriſtian Kings ſince. Namely, that, in compariſon of thoſe former loſſes, the Church hath ſince been rewarded, (both in reſpect of increaſe of poſſeſſion, and degree of continuance), *with an hundred fold, now in this time of houſes, and brethren, and ſiſters, and mothers, and children, and lands, &c.* Marke 10. 30.

Whereupon, we may make the whole iſſue and interpretation of this forementioned Promiſe to be, that Chriſt (typified in *David*), is repreſented as deſirous out of his zeal to Gods houſe, to be as active and forward as he can for advancing of Gods own glory; and alſo for the promotion of his Churches happineſs; repreſented under the figure of the Jewiſh Temple. But becauſe he (in regard of thoſe Victories he was to make over ſin and death) was in his own perſon diſabled to perform it, (even as *David was for the wars which were about him on every ſide, until the Lord had put them under the ſoles of his feet*), 1 King. 5. 3. therefore is he, by God the Father Promiſed (in the perſon of *David*), *When thy days ſhall be fulfilled, and thou ſhalt ſleep with thy fathers*, (that is, when thou ſhalt have accompliſhed the days of thy fleſh, and by being ſeated at the right hand of thy Father, ſhalt have thy *foes made thy foot ſtool*), then ſhall God make good *the word he had ſpoken concerning him and his houſe, to eſtabliſh it for ever*. That is, in accompliſhing the glory of the Church under his adopted ſons, (the Chriſtian Emperors and Monarchs); as the glory of the Jewiſh Church and Temple, was ſetled under *Solomon*, and not under *David*. 2 Sam. 7. 12. Verſe 25.

By which words *for ever*, we are alſo to underſtand Chriſtian kingſhip to be promiſed to laſt till the worlds end, notwithſtanding all oppoſition: as we may finde them typified under *Solomon the Kings ſon*, in the ſeventy ſecond Pſalm: where the flouriſhing eſtate and increaſe of the Church, is foretold to continue to the glory of Chriſts name, by reaſon of theſe that held their Crowns of him. *His Name ſhall endure for ever: his Name ſhall be continued as long as the Sun: and men ſhall be bleſſed in him: all Nations ſhall call him bleſſed.* That is, each Chriſtian Monarch (from him anointed), ſhall be as a Son to continue his Fathers Name for ever: meaning ſo long as the Sun and Moon ſhall endure. For if this Pſalm had intended, the ſetting forth of the continuance of Chriſts own Name, as the ſecond perſon in the Trinity, and not in relation to his Office of Chriſt or King, (to be accompliſhed by Chriſtian Kingſhip, in the ſubmiſſion of the *Kings of Tarſhiſh and of the Iſles, that ſhall bring him preſents*), then this limitation of earthly time had not been ſo proper, as now, if it had not foretold of ſomething, wherein (more remarkably) *the whole earth ſhould be filled with his glory*: that is, by the glorious appearance of theſe his Deputies, who *ſhall* (on *their ſeveral Mountains and little hills* in his ſtead) *be judging the poor of the people, ſave the Children of the needy* Pſal. 72. 17. Verſe 10. Verſe 19. Verſe 3. Verſe 4.

needy, and break in pitces the Oppreſſor: whereby, the *rod of his power out of Sion* being generally manifeſt, *men ſhall fear him ſo long as the Sun and Moon endure:* Whereas in reſpect of his own perſonal Dominion over his holy Church, it ſhall be truely for ever: and longer then the Sun and Moon ſhall endure. Verſe 7.

And again, thoſe acts of protection here ſet down, are the proper Offices of Kings or Gods on earth: as appears by the like duties, appointed for them to do in the 82 Pſalm: *defend the poor and fatherleſs, do juſtice to the afflicted and needy, deliver the poor and needy, rid them out of the hand of the wicked.* Pſal. 82.3,4. All (in effect) declaring, that God being unto them *a ſpirit of judgement, and putting a divine ſentence in the lips of the Chriſtian Kings* (as *Solomon* did propheſie), they ſhould now by their due and diligent execution of their Offices, bring all theſe things to paſs: and ſo *make righteouſneſs and peace to kiſs each other.* Iſa. 28.6. Pſal. 85.10.

Wherefore now the glory and proſperity of the Church, (Gods houſe and kingdom,) being thus promiſed under the bleſſing of kingſhip, we are to eſteem them Antichriſts or ſons of *Belial* (moſt eſpecially), that do oppoſe Kings. And by thoſe words of *David, the man that toucheth them muſt be fenced with iron, and the ſtaffe of a ſpear*; we may underſtand this oppoſition chiefly predicted to happen from within her ſelf; when the Church ſhall have ariſen to that ſtrength to be thus fortified. That is, when Chriſts ſucceeding deputies (as he foretold to his Apoſtles), ſhould have taking to themſelves both Purſes and Swords: and ſo (under Kingſhip) make uſe of thoſe Swords, and that Mammon: at which time, although forraign force ſhould harm the Church no more, *yet ſons of Belial* ſhould.

And into the onely hands of theſe deputies of Chriſt any may obſerve them put, that ſhall mark this ſpeech at both times particularly directed to his then Deputies, the Apoſtles; and ſhall farther obſerve, how theſe things could be accompliſhed by thoſe perſons that were not to fight; but (*in their proſecutions*), *to flye from one City to another.* Matth. 10.23. *Who were, for attaining their Kingdom*, that is, in attaining the Kingdom of Heaven, *to ſell what they had and give Almes:* Luke 12.33. and ſo provide *Treaſure in Heaven that faileth not.* Therefore in their caſe of more immediate divine protection, *they could not ſerve God and Mammon, but were to take no thought for their life*, &c. Matth. 6.24,25. But now, becauſe we have before ſpoken of that prediction of the ſwords, we ſhall here ſpeak ſomething more of the other.

And he ſaid to his Diſciples, There was a certain rich man which had a Steward, &c. Luke 16.1. Which whole Parable, ſets plainly out unto us, an alteration to happen to Gods Stewards in his houſhould the Church, in regard of their truſt: but whether that more immediate way of protection and illumination given to the firſt Stewards, were the ſooner taken from them for perſonal default (as the Parable may ſeem to denot), is not ſo much material. But we may obſerve this alteration plainly told to come to paſs: *and I ſay unto you make unto your ſelves friends of the Mammon of unrighteouſneſs, that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlaſting habitations.* Verſe 9. In which words the command of making this friendſhip, being given to them that had not been unjuſt Stewards: and that could neither

neither fail themſelves, of the continuance of Gods extraordinary truſt and aſſiſtance, and had again a caveat againſt the truſt to this Mammon, it muſt be underſtood as a direction and warrant, what thoſe future Heads of the Church (whom they did perſonate) were to do, when theſe former miraculous aſſiſtances *ſtould fail.* At which time, for the preſervation of publick Peace and Good, it might be commendable and lawful for the latter more glorious deputies to ſupport their dignities, by keeping back part of thoſe revenues which were in the hands of their ſubjects; ſince the propriety of the whole was undeniably in that their great Lord and Maſter, whoſe ſteward he was. And as for the *everlaſting habitations*, it is to be meant that the Church and her future Heads, ſhould by Gods aſſiſtance relieve themſelves this way unto the end of the world; as in the words *For ever* (formerly ſpoken of) hath been noted.

That Parable where God ſuffers himſelf to be put under the notion of an unjuſt Judge, will farther clear to us that the meaning was to foreſhew that alteration; and not the whole withdrawing of truſt and protection, as through abuſe. For there it is noted, how God in his receſs ſhould ſeem not to hear, becauſe not ſo apparently and preſently, avenging and protecting as formerly; inſomuch, as infidelity ſhould generally infect the earth at Chriſts *coming.* And therefore this great friend of the Church having brought her to a ſtate of ſelf-ſubſiſtance, may be ſuppoſed to have ſhut to the door of miraculous aſſiſtance, which was formerly granted to thoſe his perſecuted children (now at reſt with him) and will anſwer (many times) but to importunity only. Luke 18. Luke 11. 7, 8.

And to ſhew that this alteration was not ſubſtraction of truſt of Stewardſhip, it is after added, that the future Stewards fidelity in their truſt of this Mammon, ſhall make them as acceptable as thoſe that were formerly truſted with goods of more Divine Nature: *He that is faithful in that which is leaſt, is faithful alſo in much.* Luke 16. 13.

So that now, the glory and protection of Chriſts Church, being conjoyned with, and made ſubſiſtent by that of its Head, and the glory and protection of its Head, being now to be maintained alſo by theſe helps of ſwords and mammon; it follows, that as any do go about to bereave them of theſe truſts (by God and Chriſt put into their hands for the good of the Church) they do alſo thereby riſe againſt the Church, and oppoſe Chriſt himſelf; and ſo are Antichriſts.

And if we look to experience for proof of theſe Propheſies, there is nothing more plain, then that as Chriſtian kingſhip did increaſe in glory or number, ſo did the Church (Chriſts kingdom) increaſe alſo; and that again, as thoſe *Nurſing Fathers* of the Church, were (through the inſurrections and oppoſitions of thoſe *many*, or *the Antichriſt*) eclipſed or leſſened, ſo did hereſies encreaſe, and the truth decay. Our own preſent ſenſes being able to witneſs, that where this unity is loſt, in the perſon that ſhould repreſent Chriſt in the adminiſtration of power, there alſo is unity of Doctrine loſt, and ſchiſm is alſo brought into the Church, as well as confuſion into the State.

The which needs the leſs to be wondered at in us, on whom the ends of the earth are come, if we conſider what befel the Jews themſelves, *when there was no King in Iſrael.* For although *they had the oracles of God committed unto them* (that is, they had not only more aboundance of divine pre- Iudg. 17. 6. Rom. 3. 2.

cepts, but had God himſelf alſo (by his Prieſts and Prophets) always ready to give them expreſs direction in all doubts, as from an oracle) yet how plainly doth the inſtance of *Micahs Idols* tells us, how ſubject each one is at ſuch times to fraim to themſelves (not only new forms of Worſhip, but) new gods of their own deviſing and ſetting up. Which by little and little, may come to be taken up and countenanced by their divided authority, as that was
Judg. 18. 30. by the *Danites*, who had many equal to and under them, to be ſeduced by an evil example, but none above them, to keep them and all others conformable.

All which (well conſidered) may inſtruct us of the reaſon of our Saviours dark anſwer (to ſuch as had no minde to believe him therein, when he ſaith, *My kingdom is not of this world.* This was true firſt, in that this worlds
John 18. 36. kingdom (being not to be compared to his Kingdom in heaven with his Father) did not (therefore) deſerve comparatively to be called *his*, or had in that eſteem, which they that made this queſtion did think of. And then, we muſt underſtand this denial not to reach to his right of Kingſhip, or Supereminence in the Church and Kingdoms of this world, but to the preſent execution thereof by himſelf; that (probably) being the very cauſe of *Pilates* demand. Unto whom, he having been (by ſome) reported as *King of the Jews*, and he beholding his preſent mean condition (ſo unlike that of a King) it made him ſcornfully ask, *Art thou a King then?* aſwel as
Verſe 37. afterwards, ſcornfully write that he was ſo. And therefore our Saviours anſwer can import no farther abnegation of his Kingſhip amongſt us, then to his own perſonal execution, meaning not to be by him immediately managed here now, but by Deputies, whom he ſhall own and empower as *King of Kings.* Whereupon he alſo ſaith, *The Father judgeth no man, but hath*
John 5. 22. *committed all judgement to the Son.* And he is ſo far from renouncing his true being a King, and title hereto, that he ſays, *I am a King*; and that the *teſtification of this truth* (meaning his right in this Office) *was the cauſe of his coming into the world*; adding, *that every one that is of the truth, hear-*
John 18. 37. *eth his voyce*; that is, he believeth and obeyeth him accordingly.

So that we are to interpret this denial of our Saviours Kingſhip, to be upon the ſame reaſon at this time done, as *he had formerly charged his Diſciples, that they ſhould tell no man that he was Jeſus the Chriſt.* For al-
Matth. 18. 20. John 20. 31. though he had wrought all thoſe *miracles to evince ſo much*, yet would he
Matth. 7. 6. have them carefull *not to caſt pearls before ſwine*; that is, he would have them to be wary, in declaring his Divinity before unbelieving Jews, as himſelf was now reſerved in publiſhing his Kingſhip before a ſcornful Roman; leſt he being ſo ſtraitly bound to another Maſter, might be but the more moved thereupon, to turn upon him with reproach.

And therefore they that think that Chriſt did deny his true Kingly Right and Office, by that anſwer, *Thou ſayeſt it*; may alſo, by the ſame rule ſay,
Matth. 27. 11. that at the ſame time he did alſo deny himſelf to be *Chriſt the Son of the living God*; becauſe he alſo anſwereth to that queſtion made by the high
Chap. 26. 64. Verſe 65. Prieſt, *Thou haſt ſaid it.* But in this place (being newly ſpoken before the other) he may be conceived to have made anſwer enough for both; and ſo to adjoyn that time of fuller manifeſtation of his external regency and glory, which was the occaſion of their demand; namely, at that time when
Ibidem. he, as *Son of man ſhall be ſitting at the right hand of the power of God.* By which means his Deputies ſhall be endued with power of earthly dominion; and at that time alſo when he ſhall make his own perſonal appearance *in the*

clouds

clouds of Heaven, to judge all men at the laſt day. And that he had openly acknowledged this truth himſelf before, appears by that requeſt made to *Pilate*, *Write not the King of the Jews, but that he ſaid, I am king of the Iews.* *Ibidem.* John 19.21.

So that now, unto the deniers or oppoſers of this truth of his Kingſhip (by obejection of any other truth) we may make demand, with *Pilate*, *What is truth?* Unto which I ſuppoſe they can make no anſwer, but by propoſing to us ſome wilde fancies and collections of their own. For whilſt they would make the known duty of Charity, producing real good by peace, be interrupted by ſome of their ſpeculative duties which cauſe diviſion, and all under pretence of preferring truth to peace, they would have us leave that good which evidence of ſenſe and experience tells us to be ſo, in hope to enjoy ſome contemplative good (by them called truth) which we cannot apprehend.

But we conceive, that when Chriſt, *the Way, the Truth, and the Life*, is once (on our parts) entertained and believed; when we have once ſought and attained, *the kingdom of God and its righteouſneſs* (that is, have to our utmoſt, endeavoured to promote the glory and Adminiſtration of Chriſts regency in *his Church*, *the pillar and ground of truth*, then, and there are we with gratitude to enjoy thoſe additional bleſſings which peace bringeth. Then, and there are we *to ſtudy to be quiet, to ſeek peace and enſue it*, and the like; which are the proper duties of ſuch, as (being by Gods grace called) *are by the God of peace, called unto peace.* John 14 6. Matth. 6.33. 1 Tim. 3.15. 1 Theſſ 4.11. 1 Pet. 3.11. Pſal. 34.14. Rom. 15. 33. 1 Cor. 7.15.

And therefore, although the Prophet *Zachery* (ſpeaking of the reſtauration of the Jews, and their receipt of the Goſpel) would have them ſeek peace after truth; that is, prefer that truth before all worldly bleſſings; yet, where this truth is once received, there peace is to be preferred to leſſer truths; according to good *Hezekiahs* ſaying (now ſettled and confirmed in Gods Worſhip) *Peace and truth ſhall be in my days.* The like was promiſed to the Jews in their reſtauration, or rather to the Gentile Church, *abundance of peace and truth.* And ſo doth holy *David* alſo, put mercy before it in his bleſſing to *Ittai*, ſaying, *Mercy and truth be with thee.* And other graces and bleſſings are elſewhere more often put before, then after truth. Jer. 33.6. 2 Kings 20.19. 2 Sam. 15 20.

Nay, of ſuch advantage to the preſervation of truth it ſelf and of ſanctity of life this grace is, that we ſhall find it put firſt, as the way to that, *Follow peace with all men, and holineſs, without which no man ſhall ſee the Lord: looking diligently, leſt any man ſhould fail of the grace of God.* That is, leſt failing of the uſual concommitant and conveyer of grace, ye ſhould, through the lack thereof, lack grace alſo. *Leſt any bitterneſs ſpringing up trouble you, and thereby may be defiled.* Where malice, hatred, &c. (the attendants on war) being alſo ſet down under the name of bitterneſs, we are warned to avoid them by keeping peace: for elſe, theſe malicious bitter proſecutions, will not only outwardly trouble, but inwardly defile us. And to let men ſee that, by this peace, the civil peace is meant, it is called *Peace with all men*: And again, to let them ſee it is wrought by patience chiefly, it follows the large commendations thereof ſet down in the twelfth to the *Hebrews.* Heb. 12. 14. Verſe 15.

However (to make anſwer to ſome that would have us endanger both peace and truth, by putting the name of truth always in, to prevent peace)

we have made inſtances of *Peace*, being put before truth, and alſo before *Holineſs*; yet the truth hereof is, they are ſo coincident and depending one upon another, that *Righteouſneſs and Peace have kiſſed each other*: They do become inſeparable in themſelves, and are ſo inſeparably our duties to follow and practiſe, that we can never truly do the one, whilſt we are not highly regardful of the other alſo; and muſt then be guilty, when we prefer (as ſome do) a very uncertain diſcovery of truth, to a certain loſs of peace, and ſo (under colour of new *Goſpel-light*) loſe the benefits *of the Goſpel of Peace*, and make it ceaſe to be an Evangel or *glad tidings*.

Pſal. 85. 10.

And if men would conſider what hath been hitherto ſpoken, concerning Gods owning the Seat and Throne of Chriſtian judgement now ſettled amongſt us; and ſo being (according to his promiſe) *A ſpirit of judgement to him that ſitteth in judgement*, they might thereby perceive, how (amongſt other things *of ſalvation and glory* which ſhould come to the Church) that *mercy and truth are met together, and that righteouſneſs and peace* (as aforeſaid) *have kiſſed each other*: So that now, *truth ſhall ſpring out of the earth* (as from this earthly Throne of judgement) by means of *righteouſneſs that ſhall look down from heaven*; according to the former Propheſie of that good King and Typical Head of the Church, made concerning the Churches future ſtate and proſperity; where it is ſet down that God hath now given his own *Miſhpat* (or rule of right judgement) *to the King* (Chriſt himſelf) *and his righteouſneſs* (or juſtice) *to the Kings Son* (Chriſts adopted ſons of oyl) that ſo, in theſe, there being theſe unions of *Mercy and truth*, and of *righteouſneſs and peace*, they may be enabled *to judge Gods people with righteouſneſs, and his poor with judgement*. And having thus far ſpoken of *the Antichriſt*, according to S. *Pauls* deſcription; we will again re-aſſume, and ſpeak farther of the *many Antichriſts*, mentioned by S. *John*.

Iſa 28. 6. Pſalm 85. 9. Verſe 10. Verſe 11. Pſalm 72. 1. Verſe 2.

Although S. *Paul* gives the livelieſt diſcovery of the one; and S. *John* only names the other, yet are they both of them (as Ring-leaders in the breach of Charity and publike Peace) the ſubject and occaſion of many Precepts in holy Writ; the admonitions and examples that way given, taking up a very conſiderable part thereof; and being (for the greateſt part) the object and aim of what our Saviour either did or ſuffered. For as this general good or charity, conſiſted in, or at leaſt had dependance upon, the reciprocal duties of commanding and obeying, ſo are we from him furniſhed with Precepts and Examples of both kinds: To this end he rides to the Temple, and there, by exerciſing his authority over the Temple, (the type of the Chriſtian Church) as a King, he leaves example and authority for the higher powers to demand ſubjection; *not only for wrath, but alſo for conſcience ſake*, and that *either to Kings as Supreme, or to others as ſent of him*.

Rom. 13. 5. 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14.

To this end again (as being the harder duty) he not only ſets down thoſe many Precepts of Humility, but in his own Perſon becomes the patern (to all admiration) of Patience and Long-ſuffering: *We being to learn of him to be lowly and meek*, and in the teſtimony of our Diſcipleſhip unto him, *to take up our croſs and follow him*. Which we muſt teſtifie chiefly, by our following him in our deeds of meekneſs and patience under ſubjection; patience and ſubjection differing from one another no otherwiſe then in generality. For I may do many things whilſt a ſubject, which ſort with mine own liking, and wherein no patience is required: but I can do nothing as patient, but where ſubjection muſt be preſuppoſed. But ordinarily, patience doth define and conſtitute

Matth. 11. 12. Luke 9. 23.

conſtitute true ſubjection, as vertue doth the vertuous. And as heretofore ſhewed, Gods glory is the end of Charity, and Charity the end of Government and ſubjection; ſo is ſubjection the end and aim of patience: for what need of patience in what I may avoid?

That the formal cauſe of Antichriſtianiſm is inſubjection to Chriſtian Headſhip, S. *John* makes plain, ſaying of the *many Antichriſts* of his time, *they went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have continued with us: but they went out that they might be made manifeſt that they were not all of us*: that is, they were like ſuch as receive ſeed amongſt thorns, *Go forth and are choaked with cares, and riches, and pleaſures of this life*; and ſo minding diviſion and ſeparation, they do (for their ſakes) overthrow Charity, and *bring not fruit to perfection.* 1 John 2. 19. Matth. 13 22.

But nothing can, to my thinking, be a clearer evidence, that this ſin of Antichriſtianiſm is the ſame with Rebellion of one or more Church members againſt their Chriſtian Head, then to conſider that we ſhall never find this phraſe of Antichriſt ſet down by any in the plain terms, but by S. *Iohn*, the only perſon whom we ſhall plainly and expreſly read of, to be in that ſort oppoſed and diſturbed. For although S. *Paul* by his *Corinthians*, and *others, puffed up againſt him, (who had raigned as kings without him)* might be induced (through the ſenſe of *the myſterie of iniquity already working*) to ſpeak ſo largely of *the Antichriſt* to come, yet doth he not name him as doth the other: Who is recorded to be notoriouſly oppoſed by *Diotrephes*, in his juriſdiction and exerciſe of Church power: *in not receiving or ſubmitting unto him, and as loving that pre-eminence*, which was only due to the other, their ſole Head, *And not being content therewith*, that is, with his own departure, *doth neither himſelf receive*, or take into his care and protection, *the brethren*, ſuch members as have no head: and ſo doth not make his pre-eminence, lawful, as over a charge of his own, *but forbiddeth them that would*; that is, ſuch as would come to S. *Iohn, and caſteth them out of the Church*, or takes upon him to excommunicate, where he hath no authority. 1 Cor. 4. 8. Verſe 9. 3 John 9. 3 John 10.

This fault he warns his beloved *Gaius* againſt, under the general notion of *evil*: as though it might be called *the evil*, as being the occaſion of ſo much evil. By which *evil* we may know he means Antichriſtianiſm, by ſaying, he that doth it, *hath not ſeen God*; that is, hath not God, or the fear of God, by not having or receiving us, and the doctrine of Chriſt, namely, that *Chriſt is come or preſent in the fleſh*: And ſo *denying the Son, he hath not the Father, becauſe he and his Father are one: for whoſoever tranſgreſſeth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Chriſt, hath not God, &c.* 2 John 7. 1 John 2. 3. John 10. 30. 2 John 9.

It is farther highly obſervable, towards the clearing Antichriſtianiſm to conſiſt in the breach of Charity or Love (even by defeating the fruit thereof through diſobedience) that theſe two fore-alledged Writers, that do moſt ſpeak of this crime in direct terms, are themſelves the moſt plentiful of any, in preſſing and commending this duty of Charity or Love, The latter of them (Saint *Iohn* the beloved Diſciple) making it the chief argument of his whole Epiſtles; and is (by occaſion hereof) found to be more often ſtating and diſcourſing of Antichriſt then the other. Who yet, by reaſon of his more frequent converſation amongſt the Gentiles, and thoſe ſubjected unto the *Roman* Emperor, had occaſion moſt to ſpeak of, and diſcover that *great man of ſin* (the Antichriſt) that ſhould hereafter (in the Churches

Churches ſplendor) *exalt himſelf above* her glorious heads, *called gods*, even as S. *John* again (being more confined in his charge) had more occaſion to ſpeak of thoſe leſſer Antichriſts, that (for the preſent) oppoſed himſelf and his fellow Heads; whom, by reaſon of their ſmaller eminence in power, he writes unto under the notion *of little children*, as ſhall be ſhewed anon.

But although we have not in S. *Jude* the name of Antichriſt, yet almoſt his whole Epiſtle ſets forth his deſcription, and particularly by that mark of ſeparation; wherein he doth alſo refer back to theſe and like former admonitions herein given from the Apoſtles: *Remember* (ſaith he) *the words that were ſpoken before, by the Apoſtles of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, how that they told you there ſhould be mockers in the laſt time, who ſhould walk after their own ungodly luſts: theſe be they that ſeparate themſelves, ſenſual, having not the ſpirit.* Where (by the note of Separaters to come in the laſt time) we may well account his *Mockers* to be S. *Iohns Antichriſts*. And farther (to make the ſame mockers to be like, and coming on to S. *Pauls* Antichriſt) he ſaith, *Theſe filthy dreamers defile the fleſh, deſpiſe dominion, and ſpeak evil of dignities* (the which is like unto *ſeating themſelves as gods, above all that is called God*:) *Yet Michael thi Arch-angel*, ſaith he, *when contending with the Devil, diſputed about the body of Moſes, durſt not bring againſt him a railing accuſation, but ſaid, the Lord rebuke thee.* And if the Devil himſelf (in ſo clear a caſe) muſt not be reviled, but left to God; what pretences can ſubjects have to juſtifie themſelves by, that *will ſtrike Princes for equity*, unleſs they can prove them worſe then he?

Jude, ver. 17. Verſe 18. Verſe 19. Verſe 8. Verſe 9. Prov. 17. 26.

By the expreſſion of *defilers of the fleſh*, he comes plainly home to S. *Iohns deniers of Chriſt come in the fleſh*, and ſo he makes it plain he means the ſame Antichriſts that this his brother Apoſtle had told *ſhould come into the world, and were already entred.* For how elſe ſhould we conceive that defiling of the fleſh, ſhould be thus put properly to accompany *diſpiſing dominion, dignity, &c.* if it were not, that, through Chriſts manifeſtation in power in theſe our *Maſters of the fleſh*, our diſpiſing them, came to be diſpiſing of him. The which their Antichriſtian humour of diſpiſing dominion, is alſo hinted to grow from the ſame root of inſubjection we formerly noted in *Iſaiah*: that is, as men would be there taſting the ſtrong drink of Morality, and Divine Precept upon Precept, they ſhould in the end be found of no farther aſſurance, then ſuch *as dream of meat, and behold he is empty, &c.* So theſe, that (through temptations of fleſhly Pride and Luſt, ſhould deſpiſe Dominion, in hope to gain thereby power to act without control, ſhould be found *filthy dreamers* alſo.

1 John 4. 3.

And as luſt and concupiſcence is the uſual parent of ſtubborneſs and rebellion; ſo is that a parent to theſe again; as *heretofore noted in the myſterie of iniquity*. And to evince ſo much, and clear theſe places of S. *Iude* to intend the crime of Antichriſtianiſm, he, in his firſt deſcription of theſe *defilers of the fleſh*, makes it the ſame with S. *Iohns* other deſcription of Antichriſt, which we ſhall ſpeak of anon; where they are noted to have been ſuch people as did profeſs the ſame faith with others, and that were not manifeſted to be againſt Chriſt, but by deſerting Apoſtolical Communion or Authority. So here, S. *Iude*, writing of *the common ſalvation*, and deſiring Chriſtians *to contend for the faith once de-*

1 John 2. 19.

livered

livered to the Saints (that is, the faith that is accompanied with patience, humility, &c.) he tells them that *certain men are crept in unawares*; that is, they are ſuch as profeſſing the ſame common ſalvation (or the ſame Jeſus) do thereupon creep into our Communion uneſpied. Jude, ver. 3. Verſe 4.

Although their Antichriſtian departure or ſeparation, be not here ſet down as by S. *Iohn*, yet, becauſe we cannot think them blamable for being of their Communion, it is to be neceſſarily ſuppoſed as the cauſe, for which, *theſe ungodly men were of old ordained to this condemnation*; and then the reaſon of their Antichriſtianiſm is plainly ſet down, *Turning the grace of God into laſciviouſneſs*; that is, uſing Chriſtian liberty *as a cloak to maliciouſneſs*; they ſhall proceed to the fact of Antichriſtianiſm, *denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Ieſus Chriſt*; which is the ſame with, *he is Antichriſt that denieth the father and the ſon*. By the title of *Lord*, added *to God and Chriſt*, we may alſo gather that their denyal of them was in regard of power. Jude, ver. 4. *Ibidem.* 1 John 2 22.

And the two inſtances following, of the ſtubborn Jews, and revolting Angels, do farther manifeſt that Chriſtian inſubjection, was the fault which S. *Jude* did here forewarn and reprove. And the diſobeent Angels being ſet out to us, *as ſuch as kept not their firſt eſtate, but left their habitation*, he gives us a farther paralel of S. *Iohns* Antichriſts, *they went out from us*; that is, they left that firſt eſtate, or habitation they had under Chriſts Government, as Angels left that they had under God.

Then S. *Iude* proceeds: *But theſe* (deſpiſers of Authorities) *ſpeak evil of thoſe things which they know not*; that is, they know not, or at leaſt will not conſider, what is the end or good of humane ſociety, and how the ſame is preſerved by ſubjection and obedience; *but what they know naturally* (*as bruit beaſts*) *in theſe things they corrupt themſelves. Woe unto them, for they have gone in the way of Cain, and run greedily after the error of Baalim for reward*; *and periſhed in the gain-ſaying of Core*. In which place (by *Cain* and *Baalim*) we may underſtand revenge, and coveteouſneſs (the two ordinary ſpurs to Rebellion, perſonated; as in *Core*, we may ſee pride and rebellion it ſelf, brought by Gods juſtice to deſerved puniſhment, and ſo alſo counterfeit and diſſembling propheſie, to come to the like end in *Baalim*. *Theſe are ſpots in your feaſts of Charity when they feed with you*; that is, they are ſuch as would overthrow Charity, by overthrowing Government, and ſerving their own ends, and *feeding themſelves without fear thereof. Clouds they are without water, carried about of winds*; that is, all their pretenſions of publike good, conſiſts in popular oratory; *whoſe fruit withereth, twice dead, plucked up by the roots*; being ſpiritually, or civilly rotten, or dead members, they are fit only, as thorns, for the fire and deſtruction. Jude, ver. 10. Verſe 11. Iude, ver. 12.

By raging waves of the ſea, foaming out their own ſhame: we may underſtand popular inſurrections, which are but to their own ſhame; and by *wandring Stars* we may conceive their giddy leaders; for whoſe unrepented ſin, *is reſerved the blackneſs of darkneſs for ever*; when, according to *Enochs propheſie, the lord ſhall come with ten thouſand of his Saints, to execute judgement upon all, & to convince all that are ungodly among them, of all their ungodly deeds, which they have ungodly committed*; that is, of all things done in diſobedience to Gods commands, *and of all their hard ſpeeches, which ungodly ſinners*, or ſinners not fearing God, *have ſpoken againſt him*; that is, againſt dominion ſet up by him. *For theſe mockers*, or Antichriſts, *are murmurers, complainers, walking* Verſe 13. Verſe 14. Verſe 15.

after

after their own luſts: and their mouth ſpeaketh great ſwelling words; having
Verſe 16. *mens perſons in admiration becauſe of advantage.* All which ſets forth rebellion (in its cauſe and growth) to the life: but the laſt eſpecially, namely hope of private advantage: this is that which ſtill makes us cry up the heads of Rebellion and their Cauſe.

The like deſcription of theſe Antichriſts hath St. *Peter*: but he is ſomething more expreſs in ſetting forth the way of their prevalence amongſt us: namely, *through promiſes of Liberty*, and ſuch things as are taking with fleſh and blood. And this again they do, as under colour of moral equity or legal right: *for* (ſaith he) *when they ſpeak great ſwelling words of vanity* (as of the peoples paramount power, and Authority) *they allure through the luſts of the fleſh, through much wantonneſs*, (that is, through temptations thereby to enjoy our luſts and wanton appetites) *thoſe that were clean eſca-*
2 Pet. 2. 18 *ped from them, who live in error; while they promiſe them liberty, they themſelves are the ſervants of corruption.* That is, although under countenance of their right, to be interpreting the Law themſelves, they do promiſe liberty unto them, yet it falls out otherwiſe: *for of whom a man is overcome,*
Verſe 19. *of the ſame he is brought in bondage. For if after they have eſcaped the pollutions of this world, through the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt*, that is, Pride and Luſt (which cauſeth pollution), through the Goſpel of love, *they are again entangled therein and overcome, the latter end is*
Verſe 20. *worſe with them then the beginning. For it had been better for them not to*
2 Pet. 2. 21. *have known the way of righteouſneſs, then after they have known it, to turn from the holy commandment delivered unto them:* namely, that one Com-
Joh 15. 17. mandment which Chriſt gave for all the reſt, when he ſaid, *theſe things I command you, that ye love one another.*

Saint *Paul* alſo warns *Timothy, how that in the latter times ſome ſhould de-*
1 Tim. 4. 1. *part from the Faith, giving heed to ſeducing ſpirits and Doctrines of Devils:* that is, there ſhall come *Enthuſiaſts*, whom the devil ſhall beguile under the ſhape of an *Angel of light*, and that theſe ſhall thereupon ſpeak *lies in hypocriſie*, or deceive others under ſhew of Religion. Being men ſo wilfully ſet to entangle and enſnare the Conſcienres of others, and lead them to the ways of deſtruction, as if their own *Conſciences were ſeared with hot irons:*
Verſe 2 even by prohibiting as unlawful, what was in it ſelf indifferent, or lawfully enjoyned.

But more particularly he afterwards ſets down the nature and practiſes of theſe men, that by their unſociable diſpoſitions ſhall make *perilous times in the laſt days*, when he calls them *lovers of their own ſelves, covetous, boaſters proud, blaſphemers, diſobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natu-*
Ver. 2, 3, 4. 5. *ral affection, truce-breakers, falſe accuſers, incontinent, fierce, deſpiſers of thoſe that are good, traitors, heady, high minded, lovers of pleaſures more then lovers of God.* Of all which this latter age hath had but too true and ſad experience, to be the fruits of thoſe that are ſtill *putting on a form of godlineſs and denying the power thereof* in their lives and actions: even whilſt they are truely found lovers of themſelves and their own pleaſures more then God, by their covetouſneſs and pride, being lead to blaſpheme and diſhonor his name amongſt men by their daily diſobedience to their Chriſtian Parents and ſuperiors: and thereupon alſo to be unthankful and unholy in their lives. And while they ſtand partially affected to one another under the notion of more ſpiritual brotherhood they come to forget all natural ties and relati-

ons;

ons; to the breach of all Truce and Commerce; and alſo by being make-bates, incontinent, and fierce in their deſpightful uſage and cenſure of ſuch as be good and peaceable, they ſhew themſelves to be Traitors, heady, high-minded, *&c.*

But when they are ſet down for ſuch *as creep into houſes* (plainly ſhewing their love to Conventicles and private Meetings), and there *leading captive ſilly women laden with ſins*, that is, ſuch weak diſpoſitions as are by them frighted with their Sermons of damnation, and alſo ſuch as are *led away with divers luſts*, or liſtening after novelty of Doctrine, ſuch as are *ever learning* Verſe 6. *and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth*, they are yet more lively Verſe 7. ſet forth. For how ſhould truth or obedience be known when theſe men are ready with their ſeditious incantations to oppoſe and reſiſt *the ground and piller* thereof, *the Church*, and that publike Miniſters of Chriſt that ſhould uphold it, after the ſame manner *that Iannes and Iambres* formerly *withſtood Moſes.* Being *reprobate concerning the Faith*, or having but a Verſe 8. falſe and reprobate Faith, for want of that true *tryal of Faith, the work of Patience, and work of love*; and ſo *being not able to endure perſecutions*, they ſhew themſelves to be none of thoſe *that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus*: but evil Verſe 12. men and ſeducers, *waxing worſe and worſe, deceiving and being deceived.* Verſe 13. But our comfort is in the confinement of their prevalence, *they ſhall proceed* Verſe 9, 10. *no farther*, that is, no farther then with ſuch ſilly Auditors; *for their folly ſhall be manifeſt to all men as theirs alſo was:* they ſhall be diſcovered in their plots againſt Chriſts Miniſters, as thoſe that formerly oppoſed Gods Miniſtery in *Moſes.*

And now farther, to prove that Antichriſtianiſm is not onely denial of Chriſt as God, but alſo the denial of him or his power in the fleſh, (that is, as before ſhewed denying of dignities and fleſhly power under him), we will note a little of Saint *Johns* other deſcription of him. *Every ſpirit* (ſaith he) *that confeſſeth not that Jeſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is not of God: and the ſame is the ſpirit of Antichriſt.* And again he ſaith, *Many deceivers are entred into the world, who confeſs not that Ieſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh.* He ſaith not, was come in the fleſh, but in the preſent tenſe, *is come in the fleſh*; and therefore cannot mean Jews or Infidels, or ſuch as openly profeſſed denyal to Chriſtian Doctrine in matters of Faith; but ſuch, as profeſſing the Doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, did overthrow it by conſequent: eſpecially in matters of Charity; and ſo endanger the *loſs of that full reward*, which this Verſe 8. Doctrine of Chriſt, or Doctrine of love (by practiſe of charitable ſubmiſſion to our maſters in the fleſh) would bring. When at the laſt day men ſhall have ſentence according to the charitable Offices one towards another: and, in juſtification of thoſe that have been obedient to Chriſt in the fleſh, *he (as King) ſhall anſwer and ſay unto them, Verily I ſay unto you, inaſmuch as you have done it to one of the leaſt of theſe my brethren, ye have done it* Matth. 25 40. *unto me.*

1 John 4:3. 2 John 7.

Under which notion of King, he taking upon him to vindicate the Authority of ſuch as he had deputed in the exerciſe of his Kingſhip amongſt us (until *himſelf ſhall come in his glory with all the holy Angels, and ſhall ſit upon the Throne of his glory*) makes it farther manifeſt, that that very title of Kingſhip was to be the moſt uſual and eminent ſtile of his Deputy. And therefore, under the expreſſion *of the leaſt of theſe my brethren*, (diſtinguiſhing theſe his brethren from other his Chriſtian brethren, (as heretofore noted),

Verſe 40.

ted), he makes the exerciſe and expreſſion of our love or Charity, which ſhould be performed to him or his body the Church, to take meaſure and eſtimation according to extent of that reſpect and obedience which we have done to theſe. For they being made inſtrumental *in the day of Chriſts earthly power*, as well to make *Sion* or the Church *the rod of Chriſts ſtrength, whereby to rule in the midſt of his enemies*, as to ſettle his Worſhip *in the beauties of holineſs*; it will therefore come to paſs, that as to be againſt them is to be againſt him; ſo alſo it muſt be granted, that what we have done by their direction in matters of love and obedience, is as if we had done it by his.

Pſal. 110. 2, 3.

For if we cannot otherwiſe (litterally) conceive, that to do theſe things to the *leaſt* Chriſtian, or but to *one*, were in themſelves ſuch high ſervices unto him, otherwiſe then as that *one*, and that *leaſt*, were the Repreſentatives of many, or all; even ſo, underſtanding thoſe particulars of Charity or love (there ſet down), to ſtand for the whole duty of love, (the which theſe Deputies of Chriſt were to make uſeful to all in general and each one in particular, by being our directors, according to that Talent in power and truſt, which their proportionable charge in each Church did require), we may then well conceive, how, as Chriſt is not to be wronged but by his Members, ſo then moſt, when the wrong is done againſt ſuch, as being more neerly his, their wrong muſt be more neerly ſaid to be his; and ſo reputed Antichriſtianiſm.

And although the ordinary rank of believers, be not in this place diſtinguiſhed from his Deputies (under the notion of *Citizens*) as they are by St. *Luke*, (which might have regard to the Jewiſh Nation, who more generally were to refuſe the Authority of his ſubſtitutes, which the Gentiles ſhould be but partly guilty of, and partly not,) yet may we diſcern a diſtinction made by their ſeparate ſentence: beginning with his ſervants that had Talents of great truſt firſt, before the general judgement of the reſt. And we may obſerve alſo, that in approving or condemning them, under the notions of ſheep and goats, (the one a Creature full of inward love and innocence, and therewithal moſt tractable and obedient to their ſhepherd, whereas the other was contrary,) that as well the neceſſity of outward obedience, as inward love was intended.

And therefore *whoſoever tranſgreſſeth, and abideth not in the Doctrine of Chriſt*, (that is, obeyeth him not here as King, as well as hopeth in him as Saviour) *hath not God: but he that abideth in the Doctrine of Chriſt, he hath both the Father and the Son.* That is, he that acknowledgeth the power of the ſon, as to that end anointed from the Father, doth therewith acknowledge the Fathers power alſo: but he that denyeth him that *is ſent, denyeth alſo him that ſent him*: even as denyal, or overthrow of Kingſhip, is (to our power) to overthrow the King of kings power alſo, who gave them theſe their Offices.

2 John 9.

Ibidem.

And farther, to ſhew that Antichriſtianiſm here meant, is not oppoſition to Chriſtian Doctrine as ſuch, they are called *deceivers*, that is, ſuch as did make profeſſion that way, for how elſe could an open enemy deceive? Appearing yet more plainly to be ſuch, by St. *Johns* former deſcription: *they went out from us*, &c. meaning they had been of the ſame outward profeſſion.

And that Antichriſtianiſm is oppoſition to the precepts of love, and not matters

matters of Faith, appears alſo by St. *Johns* former deſcription: where the ſpirit of Antichriſt being ſaid *not to be of God*, he afterwards makes Anti- 1 Joh. 4. 3.
chriſtianiſm to conſiſt in diſobedience: *he that is not of God heareth not us: hereby know we the ſpirit of truth and the ſpirit of error.* And then goes Verſe 6.
on with the deſcription of who is of God: *beloved let us love one another, for love is of God; and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God: he that loveth not, knoweth not God, for God is love.* Which laſt words, do Verſe 7. Verſe 8.
knit up the myſtical perfection of Charity: and ſhew how from that all things are united and take place. For from the love of God, his Creation and benificence to Creatures did proceed: and through the inward plantation of Charity and love in Creatures, providence towards them had its being alſo. And again, all Creatures, according to its meaſure, (in themſelves received from God), came to be more or leſs participant or reſembling of him: that is, God-like. And therefore, *if God ſo loved us*, as Verſe 11.
not onely to eſtate us happy, but to reſtore us fallen, *we ought alſo to love one another.* For ſince *no man hath ſeen God at any time*, (that is, cannot perſonally requite him) *if we love one another* (that is, his next image in our brother,) *God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfect in us: for he that dwelleth* Verſe 12.
in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him. And then follows our innocence Verſe 16.
thereupon: *herein is our love made perfect*, (that is, brought to its iſſue) *that* Verſe 17.
we may have boldneſs in the day of judgement: for there is no fear in love: Verſe 18.
that is, no fear of future torment; becauſe of their Faith and aſſurance, gathered through preſent obedience.

And if we conſider the perſons unto whom more particularly this deſcription of Antichriſt is addreſſed, (as moſt concerning them) it will give us full light and confirmation herein. For the warning hereof is particularly given to the Apoſtles, (or heads of Churches) under the notion of *little Children:* a loving term, which this beloved Diſciple uſeth to difference them; in imitation of *his Maſter* (as formerly noted,) *ſaying, Children, it is the laſt time*, &c. 1 Joh. 2. 18.

And that the perſons compriſed under this notion of *little Children*, were different from others, whom he therefore ſtiles *my Children*, and *my Beloved* 3 John 4. 9.
&c. becauſe he hath begotten them in the Faith, appears, in that he writing particularly to *Gaius*, ſalutes him under theſe notions.

And the matter comprehended under theſe different addreſſes, will (by its difference), ſhew the difference of perſons thereby meant. And therefore, when we finde *little Children* ſpoken to before Fathers, it muſt ſhew ſome of higher rank: for if we ſhould have thought him, to have proceeded with the inſtruction of the lower rank firſt, then, *young men would* have been ſpoken to next, and Fathers laſt of all. But by writing to thoſe little Children firſt, twice over; and that under ſuch deſcriptions and repreſentations as were to them moſt proper, muſt ſhew that they were different perſons from *theſe Fathers and young men*: and from thoſe he calls *my little Children*, 1 John 2. 1. Chap. 3. 2. Chap. 4. 17, 13.
Brethren, Beloved, and the like: all which are indifferently uſed when he is to expreſs thoſe duties which may generally concern all men.

And becauſe ſome of thoſe admonitions and duties, may alſo concern all in a ſecond degree, which are given to the heads of Churches under the notion *of little Children*, therefore do we not finde them ſet down in reſtrictive terms. And this, not onely in regard of that common engagement to mutual love and obedience, (they as others are concerned in), but alſo, in regard

care is always taken, not to make the difference too plain: whereby perſons in Authority might be too proud, or the myſtery of Antichriſtianiſm too much revealed. Which may be the reaſon why our Saviour (ſpeaking of theſe things), would not give St. *Peter* a direct anſwer, when he asked, *Lord ſpeakeſt thou this Parable to us, or even to all*; but goes on with the deſcription of their duties, *as Stewards or Rulers over Gods houſhold*: not letting them know their own power (it is like) till after his Reſurrection; that he *ſpoke of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God.*

Luke 12. 41.

So that when he ſays, *My little children I write unto you that ye ſin not*, and then tells them that *if they do, they have an Advocate with the Father*, we are to conceive them to be ſuch as he had newly converted to the Faith, and ſo needed inſtruction to know that *Chriſt was the propitiation of ſins*. Whereas the others, becauſe they more fully *had known the Father*, (according to Chriſts former Promiſes), might be ſaid (by vertue of that waſhing they had from him, and many exhortations made for loving one another and keeping his Commandments), to have *their ſins forgiven for his names ſake*: or to be more remarkably ſanctified by the promiſed ſpirit of truth, and by Gods word to be left in their truſt.

1 Joh. 2. 1. Verſe 2. Ibidem. Verſe 13. John 14. 7. Chap. 16. 25. Joh. 13. 10. Chap. 15. 3. 1 Joh. 2. 12.

By which means alſo, they come to have higher degree of illumination into this myſtery of Antichriſt, according to the following words; *but ye have received an Unction from the Holy One, and know all things*. For no doubt, (in the number of all thoſe truths they were to be guided into,) they ſhould have the revelation of this myſtery more then other men: which was (it is like), ſome of thoſe *many things Chriſt had to ſay unto them*, which were not fit for their knowledge, till after Chriſts Aſcenſion. At which time they might be ſuppoſed to expect revelation from the Holy Ghoſt, in that particular concerning Chriſts Glory; according to that Promiſe, *He ſhall glorifie me, for he ſhall recive of mine, and ſhall ſhew it unto you*: which we may preſume to import ſomething of eminence and power, by the following words, *all things that the Father hath are mine, therfore ſaid I, he ſhall take of mine, and ſhall ſhew it unto you*. Twice (we ſee) the word is uſed of *ſhew it unto you*: whereby we may conclude it was not the Unction of power onely, but of Revelation of ſomething concerning the exerciſe of that Power and Function. And this may be farther evinced by the following words: where his departure is made an Argument of his greater manifeſtation unto them. *Again a little while and ye ſhall ſee me, becauſe I go to the Father*: that is, as at by my departure ye ſhall be ſent by me, as I was ſent by my Father, ſo ſhall ye alſo have farther knowledge concerning your Miſſion, and of thoſe croſs accidents which ſhall accompany it. In which reſpect, this ſpirit of truth ſhall be to them alſo a ſpirit of joy: when they ſhall be enabled to endure thoſe indignities from the world which ſhall come unto them by reaſon that Chriſts name is more remarkably ſet on them, then on others.

1 Joh. 2. 20. Joh. 16. 12. Verſe 14. Verſe 15. Verſe 16.

And therefore, ſince this anointing could not but teach them of theſe things, (in the next mention of *little Children*), theſe heads of Churches are ſpoken to by way of exhortation, to be notwithſtanding abiding in him, that is, to be keeping themſelves (like good Stewards) in the juſt execution of their charge, according to his commandment: *that then when he ſhall appear, they may have confidence, and not be aſhamed before him at his coming*: as expecting his ſentence of *well done thou good and faithful ſervant*, &c. And further alſo, if *that abide with them which they heard from the beginning*, *then*

1 Joh. 2. 28. Verſe 24.

then ſhall they continue in the Son, and in the Father: That is, the Power and Unction from them received, ſhall be both their director and protector. According to that former ſaying of our Savior to his Diſciples, *if ye keep my Commandments, ye ſhall abide in my love: even as I have kept my Fathers Commandments, and abide in his love.* Joh. 15. 10.

As for the next verſe, it contains alſo an aſſurance to them of uprightneſs, or juſtice in the execution of their Offices, whilſt they continued as obedient Children to him that was the Fountain of Juſtice or Righteouſneſs. *If ye know that he is Righteous* (or juſt) *ye know that every one that doth righteouſneſs* (or Juſtice) *is born of him:* that is, ſuch as are his particular ſeed for righteouſneſs ſake, and are by him entruſted for adminiſtration of juſtice or righteouſneſs, are by his power and grace ſo illuminathed and upheld, that the righteouſneſs of their acts, is not to be queſtioned by any below them. 1 Joh. 2. 29.

For ſo are we to underſtand the next place, where the term of *little Children* is ſet down: *little children let no man deceive you, he that doth righteouſneſs is righteous.* That is to ſay, be not terrifyed at the voice of theſe deceivers that ſay, *Ieſus is not come in the fleſh:* nor let the ſhews of moral or legal righteouſneſs, of thoſe that *would lay a ſtumbling block for him that reproveth in the gate* diſhearten you; *for greater is he that is in you then he that is in the world.* Even ſo great, that he is both able to confirm you in Juſtice, that are his Deputies, and do act in his name, and alſo to juſtifie ſuch as do hear and receive you. For *the Prince of this world* (Covetouſneſs) with his uſual miniſters and ſervants, (legal and moral ſanctity) *ſhall be caſt out and judged* by the coming of the Holy Ghoſt: and the world reproved by a new way of righteouſneſs; making Chriſtian obedience incluſive of all perfection. For as the former way, of legal or moral ſanctity, (to be gained by each ſeparate mans obeying Precepts and Directions from God immediately received), was from Heaven concluded in implicite obedience to Chriſt, *when there came ſuch a voice to him from the excellent glory, this is my beloved ſon in whom I am well pleaſed hear him*; ſo, upon Chriſts going to his Father, and being ſeen no more, then thoſe former words of *he that heareth you heareth me*, &c. made Righteouſneſs to be fixed to his Deputies. Whereby, *as Gods name was glorifyedby the glorifying of his ſon*, ſo was Chriſt to be glorifyed by that adminiſtration of power and illumination which the Holy Ghoſt ſhould give them from him. Chap. 3. 7. 1 Joh. 4. 4. Joh. 16. 8, 9, 10. 2 Pet. 1. 17. Matth. 17. 5. Luke 10. 16, & Joh. 13. 20. Joh. 17. 1. Chap. 16. 14.

And if our Saviours own ſpeech to his Diſciples, when he is giving them their Miſſion and Power be marked, we ſhall plainly finde him ſetting forth the ſame thing: namely that his miniſter, and the righteous man are convertible: and that obedience to ſuch an one, doth eſtate righteouſneſs or innocence to the obedient party alſo; even as if they had received himſelf as their Prophet or director, or as their righteous man or adminiſtrator of Juſtice. *He that receiveth you, receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that ſent me: he that receiveth a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, ſhall not loſe a Prophets reward; and he that receiveth a righteous man, in the name of a righteous man, ſhall not loſe a righteous mans reward:* even he ſhall be as aſſuredly rewarded for his obedience, as others ſhall for their Alms, to theſe my preſent indigent Miniſters and ſervants. For ſo it follows, *Whoſoever ſhall give to drink to one of tehſe little ones, a cup of cold water in the name of a Diſciple, verily I ſay unto you, he ſhall in no wiſe loſe his reward.* Matth. 10. 40. Verſe 41. Verſe 42.

And

And although it be no wonder for worldly minded men to be inclined to Antichriſtianiſm, (for covetouſneſs is commonly the root of this, as well as all other evil) yet it is to be preſumed, that (through Chriſts aſſiſtance) *thoſe little Children have overcome them*, that have no higher a ſupport, then that Prince of the world, to whom they do homage for theſe things: and ſo need not be wondred at for deſerting obedience to Chriſt or his Deputies, through their ſervice to Mammon.

1 John 4.4.

For we are to conceive, that as this Tempter at firſt tempted our Saviour himſelf, *to fall down and worſhip him for theſe things*, ſo are his members every day enticed by theſe worldly ends, to deſerting of Chriſt alſo: and to yield homage to them, rather then to his Deputies and Miniſters. But that this deſpiſing of Chriſts Miniſters, is deſerting of God and Chriſt, and ſo is Antichriſtianiſm, appears moſt plainly by the next verſe: *We are of God, he that knoweth God heareth us: he that is not of God heareth not us; hereby know we the ſpirit of truth and the ſpirit of error.* That is, by diſobedience to Chriſts Deputies, the ſpirit of *lyers* or Antichriſtians is to be known: for as every one that teacheth any Doctrine, without the leave of theſe heads (whom Chriſt hath particularly promiſed *to be with to the end of the world*) is a *deceiver*; ſo, if his Doctrine be againſt their repreſentation of Chriſt *in the fleſh*, he is *an Antichriſt* alſo.

Matth. 4.9. 1 John 4.5. Verſe 6. Matth. 28. 20. 2 John 7.

The laſt mention of little Children is to warn them againſt this idolatry of covetouſneſs: ſaying, *little children keep your ſelves from Idols.* That is, ſince *the luſts of the fleſh, the luſt of the eys, and the pride of life (being not of God)* are to be moſt avoided by you that repreſent his Authority, ſo will Covetouſneſs and Ambition work greater miſchief, being ſought after by you that are in high places, then it can do by others. And therefore, are they ſtrictly and particularly charged by our Saviour againſt this Vice of Covetouſneſs, upon his giving them their firſt Miſſion: *provide neither gold, nor ſilver, nor braſs in your purſes*; and the like.

1 John 5.21. Chap. 2.16. Matth. 10.9.

Anſwerable thereunto, was that admonition by S. *Paul* given to *Timothy*, the head of the *Epheſian* Church under him; *having, food and rayment let us therewith be content. But they that will be rich, fall into temptation and a ſnare: and into many fooliſh and hurtful luſts, which drown men in deſtruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil: which while ſome have coveted after, they have erred from the Faith* (or been ſeduced to do, or teach otherwiſe then becomes the Doctrine of Faith), *and pierced themſelves through with many ſorrows. But thou O man of God, flee theſe things: and follow after righteouſneſs, godlineſs, faith, love, patience, meekneſs:* that is, add littleneſs or humility, to thy purity of life and ſanctity. For as *the man of God* (or Gods Miniſter), is to be exampler in fleeing *youthful luſts*, ſo alſo in fleeing Covetouſneſs, the uſual idolatry of age. At that time eſpecially, when things expreſſing humility and poverty, did beſt become the mean condition of the Church, and her preſent little heads. Which preſent heads, having been by our Saviour warned in eſpecial manner againſt this Vice, and to truſt to the care of God whoſe *workmen* they were, it cannot therefore ſeem otherwiſe then needful, they ſhould have cavears againſt this fault.

1 Tim. 6.8. Verſe 9. Verſe 10. Verſe 11. 2 Tim. 2.22. Matth. 10.10.

And that the *not hearing of us* (before mentioned) is the denyal of God and Chriſt, and is formally the crime of Antichriſtianiſm, will further appear by conſideration of thoſe many places, where Chriſt, delegating his Diſciples

ſciples and the ſeventy with power to perſonate him in the power of the *Kingdom of God*, doth acount their refuſal to be his: *he that ſhall deny me before men*, (that is, deny me by denying my Authority in you), *him will I deny before my Father which is in Heaven.* Which, and the like ſpeeches implying, that himſelf (being now in Heaven), cannot otherwiſe have his Authority *denyed in the fleſh*, then by denying obedience to his Deputies, it muſt conſequently prove diſobedience or denyal of them, to be denyal of him; and ſo Antichriſtianiſm. And the like muſt be underſtood of every other ſucceding *little one* in the Church or *Kingdom of Heaven*: namely, that *whoſoever ſhall receive one ſuch little one in Chriſts name, receiveth him, but whoſo ſhall offend*, &c. ſhall have a puniſhment denoting the greatneſs of the ſin of Antichriſtianiſm.

Matth. 10.33. Marke 8.38. Luke 12.9 & Chap. 10.16.

Matth. 18.5,6.

But now (at laſt), to appeal from diſcourſe to matter of fact, we may with great grief finde, both the deſcription of *the Antichriſt*, and the *many Antichriſts*, but too plainly made good in our days. How is this falling away from the life and power of godlineſs, accompanied with the ſad conſequences of deſtroying Kings more now then ever? How doth *the Antichriſt* prove himſelf more and more, as well *a man of ſin* (by his Doctrines) *as a ſon of perdition*, by his many encouragements to, and practiſes of rebellion and civil war: and in eclipſing and ſubjecting of Monarchy? By *whoſe* cleer revealing, we may think *that the day of Chriſt is at hand.* For now, more then ever, *is Nation riſen againſt Nation*, &c. and not onely ſo, but to make good *that a mans enemies ſhall be them of his own houſe*, how doth the Doctrine of this ſon of perdition, prevail in ſetting up Civil wars in every corner?

2 Theſſ. 2,3. Verſe 2.

And I would to God, that many that have taken pains in diſcovery of this man of ſin, had not been themſelves partakers and guilty of the ſame ſin of Antichriſtianiſm alſo. It is not enough to cleer themſelves, by crying whore firſt: for let the Pope be the whore of *Babylon* whilſt he will, yet if they joyn with him in this Doctrine of Antichriſt, it is not their leaning their heads another way can excuſe the miſchief and effects thereof: whilſt (like *Samſons* Foxes) they joyn with him in their tayls, by throwing abroad thoſe firebrands of Civil war, wherewith all Chriſtendom is inflamed. By which, they prove to be the *many Antichriſts* (heretofore ſpoken of); and to be real friends to that *ſon of perdition* alſo. So that as *we have heard, that in the laſt time Antichriſt ſhall come; even now are there many Antichriſts, whereby we know it to be the laſt time.*

1 John. 2.18.

For as *he that did let* (to wit the Roman Emperor) was by little and little *taken out of the way* (or his ſeat), *and ſo the man of ſin* therein, and thereupon, did ſet up and reveal himſelf; how many Antichriſts did (under Ariſtocracies and Democracies) ſet up for themſelves alſo in ſundry parts thereof? How have they ſince encreaſed, in encroaching not onely thereon, but on parcels of the Dominions of other Chriſtian Kings beſides? And as it is the nature of ſin, (and particularly that of rebellion), to encreaſe and ſteal on us by degrees (like *witchcraft*), mark we (with grief and aſtoniſhment), to what height and temerity we are now grown herein. So that (at this day), men are not content to pare away from Kings ſome parcels of their Dominions, but now they think fit, (yea and duty) to take all: and would have it everywhere believed, that while they can but pretend Chriſts ſervice, and ſo (with a fair *Corban*) *be ſitting in the Temple of God*, they muſt be all that while doing

ing his will: as though Antichriſtianiſm were not a ſin of fact, or that to be againſt, and for Chriſt were the ſame thing.

In that which hath been hitherto ſpoken (in the deſcription of Antichriſt), if I be not throughly convincing, it is not to be wondred at, conſidering the prejudice which every reader will have againſt it: he being in ſome kinde or degree or other, guilty in act or deſire, of the encroachment of Authority himſelf. And next conſidering, that the thing it ſelf is both ſet down to be, and accordingly delivered to us as a myſtery. But yet, ſince the deſcription and propheſie of his coming, was to warn true Chriſtians of his danger, it is our duty to be intent to finde out whom this myſtery doth concern. In which doing, the myſtery it ſelf is made (by the good providence of God) our beſt help, to diſcover the perſons that prevail by this myſtical working: that is, not by open oppoſition againſt God or Chriſt, but by being ſecretly againſt them, whilſt ſitting in the Temple, and pretending to be moſt zealous and religious.

Such were the perſons, and ſuch were the practices of the Phariſees at firſt, againſt the perſon of Chriſt himſelf, under colour of ſerving God. A people ſo bewitching unwary mindes with their legal pretenſions of ſanctity, that all Chriſts miracles could not be ſufficient to convince his divine Authority. And ſuch are the perſons, and ſuch are the pretenſions of their Diſciples, and followers, the Antichriſtian zealots of our time. So that beſides *the Antichriſt*, that (under ſhew of religious power over the whole Temple) doth bare-faced trample on ſacred Authority, how cleerly may we (and with grief) behold, this *form of godlineſs* always moſt cloſely put on by the many Antichriſts now, when any of Chriſts Deputies are to be oppoſed. Inaſmuch, as there is not an Antichriſtian attempt, which Chriſt is not brought to owne, under ſome religious pretence or other,) by theſe kind of men: who now (againſt his Vicegerents), conform themſelves unto all the examples of thoſe that at firſt moſt oppoſed himſelf.

Thus ſhall we obſerve this *generation of vipers*, (and who (like vipers) are ready to gnaw out the bowels of the Church and State that bred them), to be hypocrites like them: that is, *they ſay and do not. They binde* (like them) *heavy burthens and grievous to be born, and lay them on mens ſhoulders: but they themſelves will not move them with one of their fingers.* Even ſo, how *is line upon line, precept upon precept*, added as fundamental in Religion: that under a cloak of ſanctity, *greetings in the market-place*, (that is, popular applauſe) may be gotten: *that they may be called of men Rabbi, and to have the chief ſeats in the Synagogues, and the uppermoſt rooms in feaſts?* How ambitious do we ſtill finde them, to have honorable places and eſteem in meetings? But as for loving room at feaſts, I think our Trencher Phariſees, will with their formal *long Prayers*, put down any ancient Phariſee: even to the *devouring of all widdows houſes they can creep into.*

Matth. 23. 3.
Verſe 4.
Verſe 7.
Verſe 6.

How do our Phariſees reſemble old ones, *in compaſſing ſea and land to make Proſelites?* How do they again, in preſſing ſome ſuperſtitious obſervations; and thereby failing *in Judgement Mercy and Faith?* How do they reſemble them in *ſtraining at a gnat, and ſwallowing at a Camel?*

Verſe 23.
Verſe 24.

But above all, (as if by divine Providence permitted, to ſhew of what extraction the Antichriſtian Phariſees of our time are), how is the *Corban* and the Sabbath, (the two old Phariſaical marks of Devotion), retained and preſſed ſtill by Papiſts and Sectaries: with ſuch Superſtitious degree of obſervation,

ſervation, that they would have men think that their Church and Sabbath, were incluſive of all Sanctity and duty beſides. But truely, when we conſider (in the laſt of theſe), how often the ſtrict obſervation of the Sabbath hath been by Chriſt and his Apoſtles reproved, and never once ſpoken for in the New-Teſtament (it looking like a command appropriate to that Nation to be kept *in remembrance of their deliverance out of Egypt*, being never kept till then) and that it ſhould yet remain a mark and cognizance of what theſe men are (that ſo much pretend to follow him) we cannot but wonder at their imprudent choice, in not laying their formal devotion elſewhere, then on that fatal badge. Exod. 3. 15. Deut. 5. 15.

But, while they are thus drawing neer God with their lips, and honoring him with their mouths, in their works they deny him; and make it manifeſt that it is Mammon they ſerve. For, all the while they are ſo clamorous for a day for God to reſt on (becauſe it coſts them nothing), they will not allow him a houſe to reſt in, becauſe that will yeild them ſomething. Our Saviour (with that other *man after Gods own heart*) could ſay, *the zeal of thine houſe hath eaten me up*, when as theſe mens zeal doth everywhere eat up the houſes themſelves. Our Saviour *drove the buyers and ſellers, and ſuch as made Merchandice, out of the Temple*: but theſe bring in ſuch as are to make Marchandice of the Temple. And, while they are *thus taking to themſelves all the houſes of God into poſſeſſion*; and, with ſacrilegious hands, robbing him and his Miniſters of all thoſe honorable Monuments of Devotion and Charity wherewith their more pious and holy Anceſtors had made Chriſt and his Religion honorable in the eys of the world, theſe men, in relation *thoſe bags they carry* and adore, are (with *Judas*) crying out *wherefore all this waſte?* A Barn, and a Cobler, are, in their eſteem, places and perſons good enough for the ſervice of that great God *before men*, whom, in a hypocritical zeal, they ſo much pretend to reverence and reſpect. And while we are ſolemnly ſerving *our Father, in houſes of Prayer* dedicated to his Worſhip, they are ſerving their Father and their *God, their belly*, in places of like dedication: a Dining-room or a Kitchin; on a Table for an Altar, and with a Cook for a Prieſt: and yet all this while, that they are thus *without God in the world*, and *denying Chriſt before men*, they would be apprehended as the onely heirs of Heaven, and ſo inwardly and heartily addicted to their ſervice above others, that it cannot at all break forth into action of Love or Obedience. As though holineſs and righteouſneſs were contemplative graces onely, or that any one could be a true and worthy member of Chriſts Church who endeavored not his praiſe *before men*, but were by their diſobedient and unſociable lives a ſcandal to that Religion which hath the higheſt Reaſon and morality in its practice of any in the world.

How is that old phariſaical Tradition of *waſhing of hands, pots, cups*, &c. imirated by the ſelect tones and phraſes of our modern Phariſees? whereby (as by a ſort of canting language) they take liberty (with their predeceſſors) at once to commend themſelves, and condemn others: as if in this kinde of devotion (becauſe they deviſed it) all Religion were to be put. By this light, and rule of diſtinction, do our Phariſees (like thoſe of old), *ſpie the moats in their brothers eys*. And as thoſe of old could boaſt *they were not as other men*, ſo *theſe be they that ſeparate themſelves* now: raſhly judging all that are not of their crew, to be worldlings, ungodly, malignant, reprobate, and what not. And that themſelves are not thus carnally minded, they do moſt evidently declare by fact; for after, by their devout pretenſions, they have ſeated themMatth. 7. 3. Luke 18. 11. Jude 19.

ſelves in that earthly dominion and power they did ſeem to deſpiſe, they will thruſt out theſe their ungodly and worldly brethren out of their legal eſtates and poſſeſſions, as being but uſurpers in that right of the creature which is peculiar unto themſelves.

Which Antichriſtian fatal badge of *ſeparation, and going out from us*, me thinks they ſhould have prudently declined alſo: not onely becauſe they finde it ſo often reproved, in their predeceſſors by our Savior, but alſo by the Prophets; admoniſhing them to *ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and to walk therein*; as the ſure courſe to *to finde reſt for their ſouls*. But ſince they have refuſed to *walk therein*, *or to hearken to the watchmen by God ſet over them*, and are thereupon run into a mutual courſe of *ſtumbling and periſhing*, by following their new and private ſpeculations, I ſee not why any conſcientious man ſhould be ſcandalized with their obloquy: ſince it is but equal, or ſhort of what their predeceſſors gave our Savior himſelf. For as this (on the one hand) will prove us Diſciples of Chriſt, ſo (on the other hand), will it prove them Diſciples of the Phariſees.

Jer. 6. 16, 17. Verſe 21. Mat. 11 19, &c

Yes, the true ſucceſſors, and imitators of thoſe hypocrites of old, are all theſe whom we daily finde extolling themſelves above others, by models and rules of diſtinction of their own framing. For as of old, thoſe that were rebellious againſt Chriſt and his Goſpel, are by the Evangelical Prophet ſet down ſaying to others, *Stand by thy ſelf, come not neer me, for I am holier then thou*; even ſo now, how do our late Phariſees vilifie and abandon, under the like notions of Publicans and ſinners, all that are not by themſelves cannonized for Saints and Holy? For it is not now the being members of Chriſts body the Church; alas, that's a common grace; but being of their gang therein; that can truely ſanctifie. No, that glorious appellation of Saints, in the New-Teſtament given to the houſhold of Faith in honor of the Maſter thereof, even to *ſuch as were ſanctified through Faith in Chriſt*, and equivalent to that of believers (all thoſe being *priviledged* with this notion of *Saint*, or *ſon of God* that (at firſt) *believed on his name:*) as the beginning of moſt of the Epiſtles do declare, (addreſſing them ſometimes to the *Church*, ſometimes *to the Saints*) muſt be no longer appropriate to Chriſts followers, but to their own. Not well conſidering, that that Church Saint *Paul* is ſaid to *make havock of* in one place, himſelf calleth *Saints* in another, confeſſing to have done it *in oppoſition to the name of Jeſus*. The which appellations *Ananias* alſo indifferently uſeth when he is ſetting forth S. *Pauls* perſecution againſt the Church: calling them in one verſe *the Saints*, and in the next, *ſuch as called on Chriſts name*, for handſomneſs and variety of expreſſion; and not to make Gentile believers to be none, or leſs Saints then Jews. No, but, as amongſt them formerly, ſanctity was appropriate to the Circumciſion, ſo, amongſt Chriſtians, becauſe *every one that nameth the name of Chriſt ſhould depart from iniquity*, therefore it came to paſs that a *believer* and a *Saint*, came to ſignifie the ſame.

Act. 9. 13. Verſe 14. Act. 8. 3. Act. 26. 9, 10. Act. 26. 18. John 1. 12. 2 Cor. 1. 1.

But let not us now take this ill: for S. *Paul*, S. *Peter*, and other of Chriſts own Diſciples, (becauſe not of them) ſhall not be by them called Saints alſo: no not ſo much as Mr. *Paul*, &c. Whenas, if any Author is mentioned by them, he hath the addition of Mr. as Mr. *Calvin*, or the like. And their excuſe for not doing it, is the greateſt Argument of their pride: which is, becauſe the Apoſtles (in their parity) uſed not to give theſe titles to one another: therefore are they not to give it to them neither. Concluding (as it ſhould ſeem) that becauſe they had now attained an equal pitch of ſanctity with them, they might thereupon ſay *our brother Paul, Peter*, or the like. But

But they ſhould remember, that as God alone is the ſearcher of hearts, in ſuch ſort as to to diſtinguiſh between men of the ſame outward profeſſion and ſay, *Behold a true Iſraelite in whom there is no guile*, ſo is it becoming Chriſtian Duty and Charity, to leave men in theſe cenſures, to ſtand or fall to their own Maſter. To him that hath the Keys of Heaven and of Hell, we muſt leave the judgement and diſtinction of thoſe perſons and their qualities, that are fit for the one or the other. Whereas to us, that cannot diſcover the hypocriſie of perſons, nor tell who in the viſible Church are of the Communion of Saints, and who not; it is no ways ſafe nor becoming, to make theſe arrogant and deceivable diſtinctions: ſo as to call ſome Saints, & count others caſt-aways, in regard of any ſecret tokens of Grace and Salvation by our ſelves diſcoverable. Whereas our Saviour, that could beſt foretel of theſe hypocriſies, bids us have an eſpecial regard to theſe kinde of men that ſhould *come in ſheeps cloathing but inwardly were ravening wolves.* Matth. 7. 15.

Yes, ravening Wolves indeed, even too plainly found to be ſuch, by thoſe ſeditions and deſtructive courſes which do every day appear to be the fruit of theſe Trees of ſhew. In which reſpect, although none on earth can judge of theſe hidden Graces and Endowments by which one man is preferred before another as a Citizen of Heaven, yet ſo far as men are here to be Citizens in Chriſts Kingdom the Church, in that reſpect, there are again certain moral Vertues and qualities differently ſeated and appearing in the Members of each Church whereby the head thereof may, in reference to publike Peace and Order judge one man better or more holy than another. But becauſe theſe ſorts of men do uſually raiſe their Diſcipline and Tenents by abuſing ſome Texts and Phraſes of Scripture; as ſuppoſing them plainly appliable to their uſes when they are therein but ſet down as myſteries, we ſhall now ſhew ſome Reaſons for the darkneſs therein ſometimes uſed.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Myſtical Delivery of ſome Divine Truths, and the Reaſon thereof.

SOme there are, who contend very ſeriouſly, and with many arguments, to make it appear, that that work of Creation which is to ordinary apprehenſions, ſet down to be the imployment of ſix days, was wholly effected in one; chiefly perſwading themſelves, that the contrary aſſertions of allowing ſix days time was derogatory to the Almightineſs of ſuch an Agent as was occupied herein. In thoſe that oppoſe them, there is as much invention uſed to ſhew why we ſhould keep our ſelves to the belief of ſix days work; and that the litteral ſenſe of that ſtory could import none other. And truly, were I to judge, I ſhould aſſign to theſe laſt the greater hold of truth; as not deeming it a diminution to the ſufficiency of any workman, that is not bound by any thing beſides his own will, to be as long, or as ſhort a time as he pleaſeth in the finiſhing of what he undertakes; eſpecially, ſince it is not therewithal ſet down, that he had not ability to do it ſooner. For, if the diſpatch of the Creation in one day, ſhould have argued Almightineſs, more then in ſix, then, they ſhould have left him but one hour, or rather but one minute for the doing thereof; if they muſt ſuppoſe him meaſuring his Almightineſs in his operations, by the time of their production.

Therefore, as the only will and good pleaſure of God Almighty, was at firſt the cauſe why all things were by him at all, or in ſuch and ſuch manner created, ſo was it alſo the only rule and guid, that ſet meaſure and form to the way and means of their preſervation, and ſo conſequently was it the reaſon why the ſeveral ſpecies of creatures came to be endued with ſuch friendly aſpects and inclinations, as that they proſecuting the ſame naturally and continually ſhould therewith alſo, preſerve and promote the good of their fellow creatures. Which affection, although to that end, common to all, was yet only neceſſarily and inſenſibly to themſelves, impoſed on the lower ſorts of things; when as the moſt noble race of creatures, which had more reſemblance to him, had alſo ſo much knowledge and will implanted, as to enable them, not only to be ſo far apprehenſive, as to be expreſly thankful for theſe favours, but alſo to furniſh them with power for farther acquiſition of things delightful and good, and of avoidance of what was contrary, as hath been heretofore obſerved.

In which courſe of liberty and freedom of will, whereby the welfare of voluntary Agents comes to be referred to their own demeanor and guidance, God makes another manner of condition with us men, then he did with Angels: For the Angels that fell, he hath ſo abandoned in his juſtice, that they cannot riſe; and theſe that do ſtand, he hath ſo ſurrounded with his grace and providence, that they cannot fall. For they ſinning actually and perſonally, or elſe, after the ſame manner continuing upright and obedient, could

not

not but from his juſtice or goodneſs, expect perſonal ſentence accordingly; whereas to us men, that ſinned by imputation, as tranſgreſſing in the originals and repreſentatives of our kind we (in our ſeparate perſons) are neither irremediably cenſured to puniſhment, nor yet to mercy or reward. For although traduction made eternal death liable to all (*even to ſuch as had not ſinned after the ſimilitude of Adams tranſgreſſion*) yet foraſmuch as we had not (like our firſt Parents) perſonally ſo ſinned, God appoints us another means and way of deliverance, whereby it ſhould come to paſs, that none ſhould ſuffer for the fault of *Adam*, in his actual diſobedience againſt God, but ſuch as ſhould perſonally afterwards incur that guilt of diſobedience, by renewing it againſt his Son Chriſt Jeſus; nor ſhould the bite and contagion of that *Serpent* in *Paradiſe*, prove mortal to any, that ſhould with the eye of faith, look unto this *Brazen Serpent* for cure. Rom. 5. 14.

But then farther, ſome of mankind being for their original fault (as aforeſaid) in juſtice to be puniſhed, and ſome again in mercy to be freed, it ſtood not agreeable to Gods impartial rule of adminiſtration, particularly to appoint and proſecute any peremptory and unavoidable means of diſtinct ſaving of all thoſe perſons which ſhall hereafter be taken into mercy, becauſe even thereupon the reſt (who could in *Adam* be looked upon but with equal guilt) muſt have been unequally puniſhed; but it became expedient, ordinarily to leave them free to the contrary. As therefore, that medicine or plaiſter, which is made for any diſeaſe, doth not cure by being, but by being applyed; ſo (in this common cure of mankinde) it became expedient, that Chriſt ſhould (for application) be freely offered to all; that each mans deſtruction might be from his own fault, and the means of ſalvation not forcably impoſed on all that are ſaved, to involve the reſt in inevitable ruine: Wherefore, when we read of a *Pharaoh* hardned, or a *Paul* particularly choſen by God, for ſome ſpecial and extraordinary uſes (and to ſhew Gods freedom and power over his creature, as the Potter over the clay) we muſt not take it as his ordinary courſe. No more, then when (in our fortunes and affairs of this life) we find God ſometimes making uſe of his good pleaſure and power, in more remarkably bleſſing and countenancing ſome particular Nations or perſons more then ordinary, we are thence to conclude, that the good or ill fortune of each Nation in general, or each perſon of that Nation in particular, is not uſually to be aſcribed, as left unto the guidance of their, and his own judgement and will. Which thing (well conſidered) might ſilence much controverſie in point of Predeſtination.

But now (upon the grounds before ſhewed) it appearing fit that this general means of ſalvation, ſhould be in ſuch manner ſet forth, as all ſhould not accept, although offered, nor none with juſt excuſe deny, we ſhall find reaſon, why the name and notion of *Myſtery*, is ſo often applied both to the Goſpel, and Chriſt himſelf: and why our Saviour was ſo frequent in parables.

Doubted it cannot be, but that it ſtood within the compaſs of Gods Almightineſs to have made ſuch inward preparation of mans heart, and to have ſo encreaſed the light and evidence of divine truth (both by continuance of miracles, and increaſe and plainneſs of diſcourſe) that it had been impoſſible for any one to have denied his aſſent and obedience thereunto: For ſo even the unbelieving Jews, and malicious Scribes and Phariſees that could not be convinced and brought to acknowledgement of the truth by thoſe many other

other miracles wrought by our Saviour, are yet profeſſing that if he would (ſhew one of their chooſing, that is) *Deſcend from his croſs and ſave himſelf they would then believe on him alſo*. Whereas now, by this offer of ſalvation, in ſuch a way as cannot by all be accepted or refuſed, his mercy and juſtice, in ſaving or puniſhing part of mankind, are both preſerved without partiality.

Mar. 15.30,32. Mat. 27.42,&c.

For thus, when we find the Goſpel preached to any particular Nation or People (whereby God may have a Church, or Company of men more expreſſly ſerving and praiſing him) it is yet ſo ordered, that the neceſſity of particular and definite perſons believing unto ſalvation, follows not thereupon: for that the many reſplendent beams, of divine light and truth in ſcripture contained, do ſo dazel and divert mens underſtandings, that they prove for the moſt part unable, truly to make uſe of, and diſtinguiſh that direct beam, pointing at their moſt neceſſary duties: but pleaſing themſelves with the forms of godlineſs, loſe the true vertue and power thereof that ſhould bring them to heaven. When as, on the contrary, ſuch ſorts of people to whom ſo much hath not been given, and have not ſo well known their Maſters will, ſhall, by obedience to the ſubſtance of the Law written in their hearts, prove themſelves better Diſciples of the two. For theſe, having never refuſed or oppoſed, as the others have, muſt therein be acknowledged as for him, whilſt not denying, or againſt him. And ſo, becauſe (in works) all we can call our own is abſence of ill; therefore faith being the gift of God, abſence of diſ-belief frees us from condemnation, where it is with innocence accompanied.

Upon which grounds, it ſhould follow, that men in their future condition, ſhould be diſtinguiſhed into three ranks; that is, firſt, ſuch as through actual faith in Chriſt, attain remiſſion by repentance, and participation of the reward of heaven, through imputation of good works done in his obedience. The other, of ſuch as diſ-believe him; or elſe, not knowing him, do (beſides the miſs of heaven) pull upon themſelves the deſerved puniſhments of hell; by breaches of charity in thoſe puniſhments they bring on others. The middle rank may be ſuppoſed of ſuch, as, miſſing the deſert and reward of heaven (through want of actual faith in Chriſts merits) do yet avoid the puniſhment and condemnation of hell, by obſerving the ſubſtance of the Law, which is love; and avoiding thoſe crimes that accompany actual and known diſobedience and breach of Charity.

From which it might be farther gathered, that had man continued innocent, hell had not been for puniſhments of his charity, nor a heaven appointed for the reward of his faith; but being then led by the light of his uncorrupted nature, as it would have kept him from guilt, ſo the good he did (through charitable propenſion) being by her light done too, and ſhe having her object of benefit not higher then here below; he could not merit beyond an earthly Paradiſe, had not a divine perſon (by owning our Charity as his) made them more highly rewardable. For ſo in the Goſpel, ſhall we find our Sentence at the laſt judgement running according to works: and as works alſo done to, or againſt our Saviour himſelf; he anſwering,

Mat. 25.40,45: *Inaſmuch as ye did it, or did it not unto one of the leaſt of theſe my brethren, ye did it, or did it not unto me.*

But becauſe now, all men are more or leſs harmful, and tranſgreſſors of the moral Law, or Law of Providence, this third middle condition is quite

taken

taken off: And as men ſtand differenced in degrees of reward and puniſhment, anſwerably as they have been faithful and charitable, or otherwiſe: So, there being none that can ſay of himſelf, he is at all times free from uncharitableneſs, it follows, that all without Chriſt, muſt be liable in degree to future puniſhment alſo.

Theſe things thus ſtated, we may find reaſon, why, as there is a hell and heaven prepared for mankind, ſo thoſe qualities and conditions leading thereunto, ſhould reſt for the moſt part in his own power; and that, as God is not to be accuſed for thoſe puniſhments of the wicked, in what he doth to the glorifying of his juſtice, ſo, that the rewards of the righteous may be the more to his honor, in their ſervices and obediences towards him, he will have it done with, and through as great difficulties as humane frailty is capable of, *even making his ſtrength perfect in their weakneſs*; leaſt they doing it, as lead in too plain a way, it might be objected (in prejudice to Gods glory in their obedience) as the Devil did to *Job*, *Do theſe ſerve God for nought*, hath he not put them in ſuch a condition as they could not do otherwiſe? To which purpoſe (as *Iob* in the fortunes of this world, ſo) we, for tryal of our faith, are ſuffered to have tares and falſe lights, ſowed amongſt us by that wicked one, that we from thence eſcaping, might ariſe more glorious in the praiſe of the goodneſs and power of that God, to whoſe glory and ſervice we directed it: and to the greater condemnation of him, that in ſo great a light fell away. 2 Cor. 12. 9.

Nor yet can there be any ground taken from thence for any ſuch impious conjecture, as that God propoſed theſe lights and truths to his Church as in mockery: and with direct intention of rendring them ineffectual through obſcurity; and not, as truly and ſincerely therein, purpoſing their benefit and ſalvation. For we may confidently affirm, that the diſcovery of the errors and inconveniencies of Atheiſm, Antichriſtianiſm, Uncharitableneſs, Diſobedience, &c. are in nature, and many places of Scripture ſo plainly delivered: and the contrary truths and duties ſo evidently expreſt and aſſerted, that it were not poſſible for any man (whom licentiouſneſs hath not prejudiced, and pre-poſſeſſed with the ſpirit of Infidelity, Rebellion, Malice, Stubornneſs, or the like) to be ignorant thereof upon any reaſonable inquiry. But if the corruption of our depraved nature, helped on with the malice of that wicked one (moſt forward to ſow his tares in the field of the Church, and moſt ready to enter the places thus ſwept and garniſhed) do ſo commonly keep us from diſcerning thoſe truths and duties, which we are ſo loath to find and conceive to be ſuch, it is not (as before noted) to be wondred at.

And, to come nearer our own preſent buſineſs by inſtance; if there ſhould have been ſet down in Scripture ſuch plain Precepts for ſettling the office and power of Monarchy, as ſhould have neceſſarily and univerſally, driven men to implicite obedience to that Government and none elſe, it would not only have overthrown our liberty, and rendred all men equally good and bad, as aforeſaid, but alſo have endangered the loſs of Gods honor (the end of mans conſervation) whilſt it thus, for peace ſake, went about to confer it too cloſely and abſolutely on his deputy; on whom (as in a kind of Idolatry) men might elſe come to fix thoſe expreſs returns of thanks and praiſe, which to God himſelf were only due, as to their fountain and original. Theſe leſſons intending as well to enjoyn obedience in ſubjects, to whom all places of

obedience

obedience muſt be underſtood, as to take off arrogance in Princes, and ſo each one to learn their own parts, not that of others.

And therefore, when we ſhall find Chriſt ſo obſcure in his deſcription of the Kingdom of God or heaven, and of his appearing, as to give occaſion to ſome to think the words altogether to imply Gods inward Kingdom, or Chriſts coming to judgement at the laſt day, and not his glorious appearance in his Kingdom, the Church, it is not much to be admired to be miſconſtrued, and that conſtruction always made uſe of, by ſuch prejudiced minds as are loath to examine how then it ſhould be true, that the Apoſtles themſelves *ſhould deſire to ſee one of the days of the Son of man, and ſhould not ſee it*: it being unconceivable, how they ſhould not ſee his ſecond coming to judgement, or not be partakers of his glory therein, as well as of his inward comforts here.

Luke 17.22.

Upon which grounds we may alſo find reaſon, why our Saviour was ſo cloſe and reſerved in all thoſe places, where he hath occaſion to ſpeak of that power he was to delegate and leave to his Apoſtles; even ſo, that he not only forbears to put their Authority under the plain notion of obedience, and doth it under the more familiar terms of *hearing or receiving* (ſaying, *He that receiveth, or heareth you, heareth, or receiveth me*: But alſo, whilſt he is giving them this power, he doth ſo intermix it with ſuch other diſcourſes (that may ſeem, or are common to others alſo) that the Apoſtles themſelves could not (it is like) underſtand the plenitude of their own power, until after his Reſurrection; that *he had particularly ſpoken to them of the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God*: Which things, being the proper duties and inſtructions of the Apoſtles only, was the reaſon we find him not mentioning the like to any other perſon.

Mar. 10.40. Luke 10.16.

Acts 1.3.

And when, by reaſon of this obſcurity, S. *Peter* is asking whether themſelves *or all* are ſpoken to, he neither gives anſwer I, nor no; but (as before noted) goes on with the deſcription of the duty of their Offices, under the notion of *Stewards*. Which office, although it muſt of conſequence draw on eminence and power in Gods houſhold the Church, yet he delivers the duty thereof in ſuch expreſſions as might concern others, as well as themſelves.

Luke 12.41.

But, when there, or in other places, he is inſtructing to humility moſt, we are to conceive it done becauſe the Authority of this office is moſt ſubject to tempt to pride and oppreſſion. And where we find him ſo frequent in giving admonitions to mutual love, and particularly, ſo often giving his Apoſtles warning for *loving one another*, and ſo expreſly, *forbidding them to ſeek to exerciſe Authority one over another* (as it cannot be conſtrued as excluding their juſt authority over ſuch as are under them, ſo) this admonition is to be conceived of high import to the peace and good of his whole Church: Which might elſe, by the diſagreement of theſe ſeveral Heads, in their divided juriſdictions one againſt another, draw on perpetual wars, by their ambitious ſeeking to encroach on their fellow Stewards Office and Authority, and not reſting content with their own Charge.

Mat. 20.26. Luke 22.26.

Which *Gentile imitation*, or ſtriving to obtain a ſole Monarchy in Chriſts whole Church (as formerly the Greeks, Romans, or others had done in the world) hath been (as experience tells us) not only unſucceſful to the undertakers, but always of high miſchief to Chriſtendom. And therefore, if this ſeaſonable admonition of mutual ſervice and love one to another do oftner

Luke 22.25.

and

and more plainly appear to be given to the Apoſtles, then the deſcription of their power, there is good and plain reaſon for ſo doing.

We may alſo find reaſon from hence, why the Apoſtles themſelves were ſo myſterious and dark, in declaring their own great Power in the Church. So that S. *Paul* having been put to it by his ſtubborn *Corinthians*, doth yet do it as in a myſtery: for fear of arrogating too much to himſelf, and through his too great eminence in power, to prove more obnoxious to the reſt of the world, and more ſcandalous to his new Believers. Therefore, ſaith he, *Theſe things brethren I have in a figure transferred to my ſelf, and to Apollo for your ſakes: that ye might learn in us, not to think of men above that which is written: that no one of you be puffed up for one againſt another.* Meaning, that as he had myſterouſly thus avowed his own power, and ſtill uſed *meek and loving* intreaties; whereas he might have *come with a rod*, in vindication of his *power in the kingdom of God*, it was out of jealouſie of robbing God of his honor, by thinking of men *above what was written*; and to leave them alſo an example of greater humility; ſince he that was chief amongſt them took no more upon him. Having alſo, by this abatement of himſelf (who as an Apoſtle was their chief Head) an aim to reduce them from Schiſm, cauſed through their eſteeming too highly of others that were *puffed up*, and yet had no Miſſion; nothing *written* for their ſo doing, as he had; who was endued with power to command them *in the Lord*, or in *Chriſts name*; according to the *written* texts of, *He that receiveth you, receiveth me, &c.* So that we may ſee, the myſterie of their duty of obedience to Chriſts Miniſter plainly inferred, when by forbidding *to think of men above what is written*, it muſt be ſuppoſed their duty, to give what *is written.*

1 Cor. 4. 6.

Ver. 18, 19, &c.

Without this way of interpretation, and by conſideration and regard had unto the Dignity and Authority of *Chriſts Miniſters, and the Stewards of the Myſteries of God*, it will be very hard to make the word *For* to be pertinent in the ſaid ſentence, *That no one of you be puffed up for one againſt another*: Becauſe we are to conceive, that although *faithfulneſs be required in Stewards*, yet it being not (as heretofore noted) ſubjected to *mans judgement*, but to Gods, whoſe Stewards they are, the people are therefore to refer their cenſure of their Superiors power or prudence to him that is the Guide, as well as the Searcher of their hearts. When Chriſt, at his ſecond coming, *ſhall bring to light the hidden things of darkneſs*; that is, ſhall diſcover the reaſon of this myſtical way of empowering his Subſtitutes; and ſhall then alſo, *by making manifeſt the counſel of hearts*, convince men that many things were by their Superiors done upon good counſel and conſideration, which they, by hearkning to private Doctrines and Guides, might miſconſtrue, and ſo be led into ſchiſms and ſeditions, whilſt they ſhall be thus *puffed up for* one another (as they ſtood each one diſtinctly conceited and intereſſed in their ſeveral Congregations and Heads) and thereby come to be really and effectually *one againſt another*: in reſpect of that breach of publike Peace and Charity which this factious proceeding and diſ-reſpect to one Head muſt produce.

Verſe 1.

Verſe 2.

Verſe 3, 4.

And of this myſtical delivery of his authority, we ſhall farther inſtance in one place, as particularly remarkable, for ſetting the power of each Churches Head in ſuch a way, as not to be ſubject either to rob God of his honor, or to give ſcandal, by his own claiming authority to himſelf in too

plain a manner. He having praiſed the *Corinthians*, for *keeping the Ordi-*
1 Cor. 11. 1: *nances delivered unto them* (whereby they had ſhewed themſelves Diſciples,
Verſe 2. or *followers of him as he was of Chriſt*: he then adds (to take off all ſhew
of boaſting) *But I would have you know, that the head of every man is*
Verſe 3. *Chriſt, and the head of the woman is the man, and the head of Chriſt is God*:
That is, I would not be underſtood as claiming this obedience in mine own
name, but as under Chriſt, *the head of every man*: that is, more eſpecially
of every man thus exalted in power. For as we cannnot interpret Chriſt to
be Head of every ſingle man, ſo as to exclude the whole ſex of women, no
more can we think, that in regard of power and ſubjection one to another
(which is the ſcope of what went before, and what follows) that every man
ſtands in like relation to Chriſt. But that, although all ſingle men and wo-
men (ſo far as they are Chriſtians) are alike his members, yet do they differ
as they ſtand in their Oeconomy, relating as Miniſters and Members in each
particular Church.

Therefore we cannot conceive, that all this ſerious diſcourſe ſhould be
litterally taken; as driving at nothing but womens covering their heads, or
of mens being bare-headed in time of praying or propheſying: as if God
cared for the one or the other, as in themſelves: But to ſhew, that (accord-
ing to the drift of the former Chapters) there ought to be order kept in all
our publike ſervices; and that alſo, this order and uniformity is to be directed
by obedience. So that by *Man*, we may underſtand the Head of each
Church; and by *women*, the members thereof, and moſt eſpecially thoſe
of the Clergy; who are (as wives) to be directed herein by their husbands:
And *Praying and Propheſying*, we may underſtand put for the whole out-
ward ſervice.

That this was only Parabolically ſpoken of women, with intention that
(under the inſtance of their ſubjection to their husbands) general ſubjection
might be inferred, will appear in that the woman is herein propoſed as doing
that which ſhe is not permitted to do; that is to propheſie, and eſpecially
1 Cor. 14. 34. publikely. For ſo we ſhall find him preſently ſaying, *Let your women keep*
ſilence in the Churches, for it is not permitted unto them to ſpeak, but they
Verſe 35. *are commanded to be under obedience, as alſo ſaith the Law; and if they will*
learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home, for it is a ſhame for wo-
men to ſpeak in the Church. In which place, the occaſion of the ſpeech was
Verſe 40. alſo the ſame; namely, the avoidance of Schiſms, by having all things
done decently, and in order; that is, by means of ſubordination and ſub-
Chap. 12. 28. jection, of the *ſecond and third ranks of Prophets and Teachers*, unto Apo-
ſtolical Authority, which is the *firſt*, and ſo eſtabliſhed by Chriſt alſo.

Again, it will appear paraboſlically put, for that the tokens of ſubjection
there put down, are not pertinent to ſet forth the ſubordination of women
to men (litterally taken) but are myſteriouſly proper to ſet forth the ſub-
jection of each Church to that husband, unto whom in Chriſt ſhe is marri-
ed. For being bare-headed, did not ſignifie Power and Freedom; nor being
covered, ſignifie ſervitude, but the quite contrary, both in the ſenſe of thoſe
1 Cor. 11. 3, 4. times and ours. But if it be ſuppoſed not fit, for the Head of the Church
to *pray with his head covered, for diſhonoring his head*; that is, Chriſt, from
whom all his Authority is derived; even ſo again, by covering, underſtand-
ing publike Church Rights and Orders, each Church is not then to be ſup-
poſed left bare, and at liberty in theſe things by her Head, as the Head there-

of

of is by Chriſt his Head: But that ſhe is to obſerve them as her covering, or elſe renounce her obedience by *being ſhorn*. Verſe 6.

Again, apprehending the duties of obedience and ſubjection to be ſignified under ſigns contrary, we may obſerve, *that the man ought not to cover his head, foraſmuch as he is the glory of God*; that is, in his head he is more particularly repreſenting his Authority and univerſal Headſhip, in reſpect of his Government and Power amongſt us. Which his glory, being to ariſe from that ſubjection and obedience which theſe below do give unto him, therefore *the woman is the glory of the man*. And when it is ſaid, *The man is not of the woman*, it is meant the Commander and his Power is not derived from the commanded: *But the woman is of the man*, meaning the ſubject from the Subjector. And ſo again, when it is ſaid, *The man was not created for the woman, but the woman for the man*; it is to be taken as relating to their reſpective duties of commanding and obeying only; and as thereby cauſing Gods encreaſe of glory, by being more eminently glorified by perſons in Authority. For elſe they themſelves (nay in their relations too) are not for one another, but for the glory of God. Verſe 7. Verſe 8. Verſe 9.

But to make God the God of order here below, *The woman ought to have power on her head becauſe of the Angels*: that is, each Church and her Angels, ought here (by their obedience) to acknowledge the power of their own Head (claiming it to Gods glory as his image of Authority) even becauſe in Heaven, God hath the like done to him by his Angels or Miniſters, and doth therefore require, that the like ſubordination be obſerved by thoſe members, which in each Church ſerve as Angels to miniſter unto his Vicegerent the Head thereof. Verſe 10.

Afterwards, the Apoſtle explains how the Head and his Angels (or Miniſters) are to be reciprocally ſupporters of each other. For *in the Lord* (that is, in the execution of Church matters) the King is not to act without his Biſhops, nor they without him: *even as the man is not without the woman, nor the woman without the man in the Lord*: And therefore, after the pacting faſhion the Commanders and Obeyers (in their reciprocal relations) are not to ſhut out God: but the Superiors themſelves ſhould be careful to attribute that honor to God, which they do by his power receive, becauſe all *things are of God*. For looking upwards to the honor and end of the work, *neither he that planteth, nor he that watereth are any thing, but God that giveth the encreaſe*. And looking downwards again, to the object of their imployment, the whole Church, *All things are theirs alſo, whether Paul, or Apollo, or Cephas, and they are Chriſts, and Chriſts is God*: that is, all things return to God, as having his glory the laſt end of all power, even as himſelf was the only efficient thereof. Verſe 11. Verſe 12. Chap. 3. 7. Chap 3. 22, 23.

In the three next verſes, the neceſſity of each Churches obſervance of appointed order in her publike ſervice to God, is farther implyed and urged as conſonant to ordinary reaſon: *Judge in your ſelves, is it comely for a woman to pray unto God uncovered*; that is, for ſubordinate men and Miniſters to frame what Forms of Worſhip they pleaſe. *Doth not even nature it ſelf teach you, that if a man* (in Authority) *have long hair* (that is, be ſubjected in Church Orders) *it is a ſhame to him: but if a woman have long hair, it is a glory, for her hair was given her for a covering*; where on the other ſide we may find, that all tokens of ſubjection are proper for Inferiors, and that eſpecially in Church Rites and Ceremonies, being 1 Cor. 11. 13. Verſe 14. Verſe 15.

most properly allude unto those under the Figure of *Veil* or *Covering*.

This Allegory is largely continued, and set forth in his Epistles to the *Ephesians*, taking occasion there also, to press it in the like behalf of submission and obedience, and in particular, about publike Church Orders. In
Ephes. 5.22. which place likewise, *Wives were to submit to their own husbands, as unto the Lord*: But because those Texts, may be easily conceived by what hath been already delivered, I shall omit the application of the particular allusions of the power of each Churches Head, and of each Churches reciprocal subjection again, there set down under the figure of Man and Wife. But plain it is that the Apostle doth expresly there set it down not to be meant litterally, but
Verse 32. *as a great mysterie concerning Christ and his Church*: and so leaves none but the following Verse, to set out expresly the mutual duties of man and wife; *viz. Nevertheless, let every one of you in particular, so love his*
Verse 33. *wife, even as himself: and the wife see that she reverence her husband*; that is, although I have before appointed each Church to be in subjection to her Head or Husband, as the whole Church is to Christ, its Head and Husband; so now I do litterally intend to direct you in these conjugal duties. All which the words *Nevertheless*, and, *In particular*, do manifest; by cutting it off from the other discourse, and appropriating it to this; implying, that before he alluded to another thing; even the general relation between each Church and its Head, but here, of the particular relation of each man and his wife.

And by this means we may know how to unfold the mystical delivery of the power of each Churches Head under Christ, which else (by stubborn persons) might have seemed so great a mysterie, as not to be conceived farther extensive, then of the Catholique Church her obedience to Christ himself. A thing not to be otherwise performed then by each Churches obedience to its own Head in his stead; as heretofore declared: nor at all available to stopping of Schisms and Divisions, by settling of Order in each Church, which was the drift of the admonitions, but rather to encrease
1 Cor. 1.12. them, as heretofore noted also: Where *the followers of Christ himself* are reckoned amongst other Schismaticks. Nor need we much wonder why the Apostle, in setting forth the duty of Obedience, should personate the wife; and allude unto that relation more then any other, since we shall find this perfect obedience to be first enjoyned to wives; and that, not only to be given upon most strict terms, but as done upon reason foregoing; and upon the first promise of prevalence of Christ and his Church, as the *seed of the*
Gen. 3. 16. *woman: Thy desire shall be subject to thy husbands, and he shall rule over thee.* So that as the general rule for Civil subjection was first given under the notion
Exod. 20. 12. of *Father and Mother*, even so also, the mystical Precept for Ecclesiastick Subordination and Obedience, was at first intimated, and since continued, under the notion of *Husband*: Thereby inferring, that although, according to these Oeconomical relations, men in Orders stood not naturally so subjected as others, yet should their more Religious and Sacramental tye thereunto, incite them unto such demeanor of themselves in Gods *Houshold the Church*, that they may evidence themselves men of Orders, whilst serving and obeying the God of Order, by submission to this their spiritual Husband, in such degree and manner as he appointed.

The case therefore thus standing, between the fear of robbing God of his

his proper glory, and the fear of destruction of men (the instruments thereof) by Civil war, as we may see good ground for divine permission of those many changes of Families in Christian Monarchies; to wit, least too much should be arrogated by them in right of succession, or derogated from Gods honor by that continued obedience given to such a race only (which by Gods appearance in a remarkable change is taken off) So also we may finde reason, both why the Direction and Precepts for Monarchy and Obedience should be so many (as in maintenance of so necessary a duty) and why again they should not only be sometimes darkly delivered, but why also, there should be some scattered examples, that seemed to speak the contrary, permitted to stand in the Scripture without expres censure.

Thus shall you find *Amaziah* slain, and no mention of any justice done by his *Son on the Murthers*, as himself had before commendably done, on those that murthered his Father *Joash*. Thus shall you find *David* offering to fortifie *Kelaih* against *Saul*, without any noted remorse, as he had when he cut off the skirt of his Garment. Thus shall you find *Eliah*, not only disobeying the King in not appearing before him, but (as in a seeming president for resistance) causing fire to come from Heaven upon the Messengers, until an Angel better admonisheth him, and bids him go. The which was suffered to pass uncensured likewise, until the Heady Disciples of our Saviour, would on the behalf of a far greater then *Eliah* have been imitating him in this fiery example of revenge, against a cruel, and more unjust authority. And so shall you find the same revengeful spirit, that had caused *Elisha* to curse, and thereby slay the little children (in pursuance of mistaken Legal Justice of *An eye for an eye, &c.*) to provoke him also, not only to call his King *the Son of a Murtherer*, but (with intention of *returning evil for evil*) to instigate the Elders of his City to resistance also, as thereby *shewing himself subject to like passions with others.*

2 Kings 14. 19.
Verse 5, 6.
1 Sam. 23. 11.
Chap. 24. 5.
2 Kings 1. 15.
Luke 9. 54.
2 Kings 2. 24.
2 Kings 6. 30.

And so farther, as there may be examples picked from Scripture, of some Prophets reproving their Kings, without any expres mention of their warrant from God so to do (which might yet be evidently enough presumed) so are there such now to be found, as, by vertue of their Priestly power, would from thence gather warrant for their boldness to vent their open reproofs in the face of Majesty, pride or interest carrying them so headily herein, as not to consider that the very calling and spirit of these Prophets was both extraordinary and miraculous, and their power and office, as heretofore noted, was instituted to the very intent of being extraordinary Monitors towards the preservation of that Nation and Kingdom. And therefore if some find *Isaiah* set down as coming to reprove *Hezekiah*, without such expres direction as *Nathan* and others had, they will be thence collecting, that those of the Clergy may do the like now, without marking that it is afterwards by *Isaiah* declared as a message to come extraordinary from God, and not by him pronounced by vertue of any Text of the Law.

Whereupon, since we shall never find those of the Priesthood, who were the Statute-Officers for instruction and interpretation of Law, offering to reprove any Prince; and yet it is plain that these Laws have been by their Kings manifestly broken (as in the prohibition of multiplying treasure and horses, and other things) it is most apparent, that there can be no just claim to any such Authority for reproof challenged by any of the Priest-hood now, having no pretence of claim to higher Authority then those formerly. And

therefore

therefore from all these and like instances we may (in truth) as soon gather arguments for Rebellion, as others do for Drunkenness, Incest, or Adultery, from the facts of *Noah*, *Lot*, *Judah*, &c. which are all set down without reproof.

But in the discovery of this, and other sins, as there is still plainness enough used, to enable him *to hear that hath ears to hear*; so darkness sufficient, to *let him that is filthy be filthy still*. Which was the reason of S. *Pauls* words, when he said, *we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery*: but *not so to them that are perfect, but unto them that perish*.

1 Cor. 2. 7. Verse 6. Chap. 1. 18.

Nor need we wonder that these and such like presidents, should prevail with men now, amidst their many worldly temptations, when our Saviours own Disciples (as before noted) would have had him been imitating *Elias* by fire from heaven, in the pursuit of this revengeful and resisting humour. So that, when we finde the particular instances of *Jeoiadah*, or the peoples sole, or more remarkable intermedling recorded as instrumental in setting the Crowns on *Jehoash* and *Azariahs* Head, made (now adays) by Priests or Subjects) as good arguments to wear them when they have doneour, admiration will be well abated, by consideration of that degree of self-interest and prejudice, which prevails with men usually, to search the Scripture and its examples, to serve as proofs of those things they like already, and not to submit their wills to be guided by it: In which respect it is no wonder, if we *come forth ten times more the children of wrath then before*.

Ephes. 6. 13.

For in this case, it will fare with men, balking plain Precepts, and seeking to find Gods pleasure to be in some other places of Scripture signified more consonant to their aims and interests, as it did with *Balaam*: who, being tempted with riches and preferment, and *loving the wages of unrighteousness*, did thereupon make a demur upon Gods plain Precept, *Thou shalt not go with them*, and doth therefore upon another enquiry find God saying, *Rise up and go with them*. Even so I say, such as come with pre-possession to search the Scriptures, as being blinded with ambition, covetousness, or the like, and are thereupon willing to find God Almighty contradicting of himself, shall never fail of an answer *in the night*, contrary to the plain Precepts they received before, the which their worldly lusts and engagements shall make them readily obey *in the morning*, without farther search, as *Balaam* did.

Numb. 22. 12. Verse 20. *Ibidem.* Verse 21.

Thus, in that plain Precept of *Honor the Lord with thy substance, &c.* Covetousness will prompt them with Texts of limitation and excuse against *all this waste, &c. The true Worshippers are those that worship in spirit and truth*, and the like. Whereby, under colour of rendring the Church more *glorious within*, the former *cloathing of wrought gold and needle work*, shall be thought unbecoming a *Kings Daughter*. And so again, to elude those plain texts of, *Let every soul be subject*, and that *for conscience sake* also, and the like, the text of *Fear not them that can kill the body*, and some o-others will readily be embraced as limitations of their duty, by such who being resolved on a course of stubbornness and insubjection, may thereupon think they do still yield obedience to their Prince, whilst they obey him in such Civil matters as they shall think fit: even as they may think they serve and honor God well enough, whilst they say they do it inwardly and in the heart, and so may carry some flattery of conscience along with them, like unto *Balaam*: who thought he might now go, so long as according to Gods

Prov. 3. 9.

direction,

direction, yet in such cases, where a plain Precept is transgressed, even so plain that every vulgar capacity, like *Balaams* Ass, may *reprove the madness of the Prophet*: for men to think of venturing upon their own interpretations, and think they can stop soon enough in their rebellious journey, must be always dangerous: as rendring them subject to be beguiled by the *Prince of the ayr*, instead of an *Angel of Light*. 1 Pet. 2.15,16. Jude, ver. 11. It is observable, that in both these places *Balaam* is ranked amongst the hypocrites and rebellious.

And we are by so much the more in danger of abuse and misinterpretation of Scripture, by how much the design and advantage thereby to arise is more general, as leaving none to contradict, or bring us to rights therein; as doth too evidently appear in the interpretation of all those Texts where insubjection is aimed at. For each one being himself a subject, and having a desire and interest towards encrease of freedom, it is to be expected that all wayes of plausible addition should be still found out for advancement of a speculation so pleasing to all. Whereas in the divided interests and opinions between Sect and Sect, the violence of one is kept in moderation by the fear of his opposite; who will be sure to use all the skill and diligence he can to detect him of error, and to extol his own contrary tenent; even so that an indifferent adjudication may be made between them.

And therefore, if we put not *on the whole armour of God, and have not our feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace* (that is, with meekness and poorness of spirit) we shall *not be able to stand against the wiles of the Devil, nor his stratagems devised*, to the breach of Charity; *nor be able to quench the fiery darts of the wicked*: Those many arguments which he and his children of disobedience make use of for setting whole Kingdoms, on fire by Rebellion. Ephes. 3.16. Ephes. 6.13. Verse 15.

But because many now under the Gospel, have been the more drawn into these, and other errors in matter of their practise, out of their mistaken liberty, in the imitations of some such presidents as they find in the Old Testament recorded without reproof, it will not be amiss to discourse somewhat of their and our different conditions; that so, making it appear how their doings might be lawful in such things, and how it comes otherwise to pass in ours, we may then take off the ground of so much abuse.

After man had taken on him the knowledge of good and evil, he stood thereby obliged (as heretofore declared) to the performance of all such explicite pious duties as were requisite for Gods service; and all such vertuous moral actions as were advantagious for the good of others. And albeit under the Law these were abreviated, and under the Gospel contracted again into one Precept, yet until that time it still remained so much their duties, that men were more or less good or evil, as they more or less kept, or violated these Rules. And from thence it again followed, that those promises made to *Adam*, as in the state of innocence, and those threats sentenced on him as lapsed, remained, for rewards and punishments, differently due and proper to his race.

The first great transgressor in this kind was *Cain*, in the cruel slaughter of his brother: and on him and his race (as now exiled from Gods more particular care and right of the Creature) we shall find the first curse of sterility to be again particularly laid. And so himself understands it; as appears by his answer, *Thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the earth, and from thy face shall I be hid, &c.* But when *Seth* is born, and his first Gen. 4.14.

firſt ſon reckoned, you will preſently find, the diſtinction of the righteous
Verſe 26. ſeed from the other: and that it is ſaid, *Then began men to call upon the name of the Lord*: And then, we may next gather him and his, for this cauſe eſtated in the right of their Fathers promiſes, as the other was of his Curſe: For it
Chap. 5.3. is after ſaid, *That Adam begat a Son in his own likeneſs, after his image, and called his name Seth*: So that he being repreſented in his Sonſhip to *Adam*, un-
Gen. 1. 26. Luke 3.38. der the very ſame expreſſions of *Image and likeneſs* as *Adam* was made *the Son of God*, we may conclude their undoubted propriety.

But when afterwards theſe *Sons of God* began to mingle, and learn the vices of the other, then by degrees did the whole world become corrupt: and had been univerſally involved, in natural death and deſtruction by flood, had
Gen. 6.9. not *Noah* (as a perſon *upright in his generations*) found favour with God, and ſo ſtopped ſpecifical ruine. So that we are henceforth to look, that thoſe promiſes made to mankinde in *Adam*, ſhould be renewed to him and his righteous ſeed.

Amongſt whom, we may again find this ſeparation made, and men ſtill to be diſtinguiſhed, in regard of more eminent acts of Juſtice *and Iudgement*, until the promiſes come more remarkably to deſcend, and be conferred on *Abraham*, and on his ſeed: that is, to the particular Nation of the Jews. Unto whom, thoſe common bleſſings of nature, were ſo often particularly promiſed, as if they were their onely right: whereas we ſhall find little mention in Holy Writ of the reſt of the world, other then as in relation to their affairs with this peculiar people. In which, we ſhall find them bleſſed, as they were to them more kind, or puniſhed or deſtroyed, as to them more malignant: as the utter overthrow of *Amaleck*, and the compleating of thoſe many propheſies, againſt all Nations that had any ways diſtreſſed them, makes it plainly to appear.

Theſe conſiderations being well weighed, we may find reaſon for that right which the Iſraelites had unto the Land of *Canaan*. We may finde a good right they had unto the *Egyptians* goods. And of that right alſo which *Moſes* had of being *a god unto Pharaoh*, in demanding liberty of him for the Iſraelites departure: to wit, becauſe theſe things were done and enjoyned in the name of that God that was ſupreme Lord of all, as it was both to the Iſraelites and *Pharaoh* evidenced by miracles. And ſo we may find a good right *Iacob* had unto the *Amorites* goods too, although his ſons had unjuſtly taken them away (becauſe done without his authority) and ſo of divers other inſtances, which would be by men (now adays) reduced into practiſe; not conſidering our different conditions, and how our Saviour (the ſecond *Adam*) took not on him to reſtore, or eſtabliſh the rights of any particular People or Nation, but dyed for all mankind: and that in him, the right of the creature became equally and univerſally reſtored. For that now, the wall of Separation being taken down, there is no diſtinction in theſe things, between the poſterities of *Cain* and *Seth*, or *Cham* and *Iaphet*: but as the Chriſtian duty of faith, is of a more ſpiritual allay then that former Covenant of works, ſo is their promiſes of a higher nature alſo. Inſomuch, as we ſhall not find any where in the Goſpel, that there is warrant given to make theſe things the object of our aims or hopes, as to the Jews was uſually done, but rather to the contrary. Whereupon we may ſay, that however a Church or particular members may (as additional bleſſings to the *righteouſneſs of the kingdom of God*) expect theſe bleſſings to follow, yet have they

they no ſuch particular right, as (for gain ſake onely), to diſpoſſeſs the greateſt infidel. And much leſs can particular Chriſtians, under colour of diſtinctions by themſelves made, have right againſt one another: and ſo make God, the Author of Peace, to be the Author of Confuſion and Civil war.

And as the Scriptures and their meaning are thus difficult, and ſubject to miſinterpretation, in regard of the temporal promiſes made in the Old-Teſtament, ſo are the more ſpiritual promiſes of the Goſpel and New-Teſtament, (for want of due regard to alteration of times and difference of perſons), made the occaſions of much abuſe and diſquiet alſo: through mens haſty and partial interpretations of all things, as relating to their particulars, and to their own benefits onely.

To avoid which, we are to obſerve a difference of perſons: and to know, that whereas our Saviour uſually addreſſed his ſpeech to his Diſciples, (as thoſe he chiefly intended to teach, becauſe they ſhould teach others), ſo many of thoſe ſpeeches concerned them as preſent Teachers and Guides chiefly, and not their ſucceſſors: as that place, *fear not little flock*, &c. and the directions following it, *ſell what ye have and give Alms*, &c. Luke 12.32. Verſe 33.

Some again, concerned their ſucceſſors and not them: as thoſe places before mentioned, *of taking the ſwords*, *and making friendſhip with Mammon.*

Some things again, concerned both them and their ſucceſſors: as the power of the keys, *whatſoever ye ſhall binde on earth, ſhall be bound in heaven:* and the power of Miſſion and Inſtruction, as, *he that heareth you, heareth me*, &c. thereby making a neceſſary difference between ſuch as ſhould teach and govern, and ſuch as ſhould learn and obey. Which diſtinction hath been of late ſo little conſidered of in the world, or rather ſo prepoſterouſly practiced, that thoſe that ſhould be, by their places, obeyed as Governors and Teachers, are now made the only objects of Diſcipline and Inſtruction. For there is not the meaneſt Subject or Artiſan but are daring to cenſure and direct both Prince and Prieſt in performance of their duties: as if theſe Texts *Do all things without murmuring and diſputing, &c.* and *obey them that have the guide over you*, &c. had been purpoſely ſpoken to Kings and Preachers; that thereby they might learn ſubmiſſion and attention to their Subjects and and Auditors.

Some things were ſpoken that concerned other Chriſtians alſo, but themſelves in the firſt place, as *whoſoever will be my Diſciple*, *let him take up his Croſs and follow me*, &c.

And laſtly, ſome things are generally ſet down, as concerning all men; as the Doctrines of Faith, Love, Humility, Patience, Obedience, *&c.* although men may differently be concerned in the outward exerciſe of them, as heretofore related.

As concerning ſuch Promiſes and Precepts, as had different regard to Chriſtians through alteration of times, we ſhall finde ſome that concerned the primitive Believers, and not thoſe that followed in the latter age: as in thoſe glorious ſignes promiſed to accompany Believers, *to caſt out devils*, *to ſpeak with tongues*, *to heal the ſick*, &c. The which, and other miraculous aſſiſtances and ways of inſpiration and illumination, heretofore promiſed and granted to ſuch *as ſhould aſk in Chriſts name*, and had *but Faith to the quantity of a grain of Muſtard-ſeed*, ſome in theſe latter times, have been vainly boaſting of; whilſt others, have as diſconſolately expected: and for want of Mark.16.17,18. John 16.23. Matth.17.20.

them, been ready to think they muſt want Faith alſo. Not rightly weighing, how neceſſary theſe miraculous ſignes and wonders were to be then ſhown, for the honoring Chriſts name from above, which was as yet had in ſo little repute here below. Inſomuch, as, for that very cauſe, we ſhall finde the gift
Luke 9:49. of miracles granted to him that *caſt out devils in his name*: who, for ought we finde, pretended neither to follow, nor at all to believe on him. Nay, to ſhew theſe extraordinary endowments were not ſure ſignes of Faith, we ſhall
Matth.7.22,23 finde our Saviour condemning them that had them.

But when his name ſhould be the moſt glorious of any, and his Church ſhould have attained that degree of ſtrength and learning, as to be able to provide for its own ſafety and illumination in an ordinary way, then came the time again, when (upon the contrary reaſon), theſe endowments to private perſons ceaſing, we are to conſtrue ſome admonitions as chiefly proper to Chriſtians in the laſt times, and to happen when his ſervice ſhall be an honor: as are theſe Admonitions, to beware of (pretenders to new lights,) ſuch as
Matth. 24.23. ſhall ſay, *Lo here is Chriſt, and lo there is Chriſt*, &c.

And having hitherto ſo largely endeavoured to prove our Aſſertions out of the Texts of the holy Scriptures, and having done it with ſuch ſtrength of evidence, as to me ſeemeth of value to convince any that hath real and firm belief that they are truely proceeding from God; or that rather, there is indeed any God at all; it ſeems laſtly neceſſary, for conviction of both theſe ſorts of men, that is, open Athieſts, and ſuch ſecret ones, that confeſſing a God and the Authority of Scripture, (the better to ſerve their own turns thereby), do yet in their works deny him, to ſay ſomething for conviction of Deity, and the daily exerciſe of divine Providence amongſt us. The which, ſhall ſerve by way of addition, to our firſt enterprize therein at the beginning of this work: which, for haſte to other things, was but curſorily there handled.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Athieſm.

AS the Nature of all kinde of vertue is to be operative, ſo, by the degree and extent of operation, is the proportion and extent of the vertue to be meaſured. For, neither to do by help, is ſo powerful as to act alone; nor to do one or few things, as many or all.

Again, as extent of ability is beſt meaſured by extent of operation, in the objects it undertakes, ſo is the proportion of vigor by diſtance in execution: even as that loadſtone that can attract at greateſt diſtance is beſt; and that fire that can heat or burn fartheſt of, is ſo alſo.

And as potency and vigour, are to be thus meaſured by diſtance between Agent and Patient; ſo much more, when that diſtance ſhall be ſo encreaſed, as the preſence of the Agent ſhall not ſenſibly appear, as to the preſent work: but a weak or unlike thing, (having of it ſelf no effectualneſs thereunto) ſhall by its power, be made the Author of his proper execution. Thus, when a knifes point empowered by touch from the Load-ſtone, or an Iron or other thing heated by fire, do in ſuch degree draw and burn, as if the Loadſtone or fire were preſent; it muſt undeniably, argue more ſtrength in that caſe, then where, without perſonal preſence, the ſame could not be performed.

And, (to proceed in examination and compariſon of the cauſes of things according to diſtance), if there could be found, a Load-ſtone or fire of ſuch efficacy, as to have empowered or heated any Iron to ſuch perfection as it ſhould have continued that vertue without itteration; or could again one Load-ſtone or fire, without ſo much as touch but only with one efflux of power, have at diſtance ſo ſtrongly impowered all iron, that each piece and part thereof can now, (as of an inherent and proper vertue of its own), effectually and perpetually burn and attract, without farther immediate communication with its firſt cauſe or original power, it ſhould then happen, that the power of that power muſt be acknowledged ſo much greater in it ſelf: although its efficatiouſneſs herein, muſt (through its diſtance in operation), be in a manner wholly concealed and clowded from our knowledge. Even as in our ſports, that gameſter that can make one Bowl or Ball ſtrike another, and that another, in ſuch certain places ſucceſſively, as to cauſe the laſt of them to reſt or move as he deſires, is more to be admired for his power and artifice, then he that can do it but with his hand: and he moſt, that can do it at greateſt diſtance, and with moſt itteration and repetition of ſucceſſive ſtroaks, in the Bowls or Balls.

After the ſame manner we may conceive of Deity, making one thing the cauſe to another, for the effecting of that courſe of providence he determined. In which doing, his working in, and through all intervenient cauſes and occurrents, without being ſeen in any, and making them to do it with ſo great eaſe to himſelf as not to be ſeen therein, muſt diſcover as well his real being, as our ignorance in not conceiving it.

For to fix and faſten thoſe effects we daily behold as iſſuing onely from nature, chance, or I know not what occult quality, (without through light into Deity and Providence, as the prime cauſe), is as if one caſt at Dice or Bowls, were more from chance then another: and not neceſſarily depending on, and following that ſtrength of caſting, and thoſe occurrences of bounds, rubs, *&c.* as well as others: but theſe having turns beyond our expectations or notice, we put them on chance; becauſe we cannot ſee through all that variety of intervenient cauſes that muſt make them ſuch.

For as the ſeveral motions, and change of place in the particular Cards, in ſhuffling, and cutting, if leaſurely demonſtrated to us, would make thoſe dealings we count moſt ſtrange and depending on chance, ſeem moſt reaſonable; even ſo alſo, (were we artificial enough), when the hits of a Bowl or bound of a Ball is ſhewed us, we might by eſtimation and meaſuring the effect, know and meaſure the cauſe, and ſay, that Bowl or Ball that did it, muſt come from ſuch and ſuch a point, and be projected with ſuch and ſuch a ſtrength. In which regard as we finde ſuch different abilities, even amongſt our ſelves in the comprehenſion and practice how theſe things are or may be effected, ſo may it eaſily be conceived that, by degrees of proportion, he that could not be by any defect impeded in notice or comprehenſion, no more then in act and execution, muſt have both his exiſtence and providence made apparent hereby: for as the Bowl or Ball have no power to act of themſelves without our impulſion or a forraign mover, even ſo the Elements of which they are compoſed, cannot without the influence of a Deity, be reaſonably preſumed to have power to move and act alſo.

Although theſe inſtances of fire, of Load-ſtone, and of ſports, may ſerve to bring to our conceits ſomething of the manner of appearance of Gods Ommipotency in his works of Providence and Government of the world, yet, being themſelves but created bodies and vertues, they muſt in proportion of vigor, (even in that kinde wherein they ſo much excel all other things), be infinitely excelled by that power that cauſed it: and that, even by the ſame reaſon of ability of power before mentioned, namely working at greater diſtance. For as the Load-ſtone doth excel in vertue of attraction, that of the touched knife, (as being thereof the formal cauſe) ſo muſt that again which was the cauſe hereof in the Loadſtone, excel in power that alſo; (eſpecially, being the cauſe of other things beſides); and ſo on, till we come to the univerſal cauſe of all things and their Vertues: who, as the more diſtant from the immediate effect and execution, muſt proportionably, have the prime, and higheſt degree of energy and power aſcribed unto him.

And then again, although abſence from preſent execution prove diſtance, and diſtance prove power in that cauſe which is the cauſe of any thing, yet, becauſe unto men, the inward and formal cauſes of effects are ſeldow known, but our knowledge is meerly experience, (that is to ſay, from the experience of ſo many conſtant effects proceeding from ſuch or ſuch an immediate Agent, to conclude that to be the ſole cauſe thereof). It is therefore hard for us to look beyond that preſent cauſe: (eſpecially if its cauſe had but few effects, and thoſe hardly remarkable), and ſo to look on, till we come to God the cauſe of all.

As for example, could the effect of the Load-ſtone upon iron, or the Mariners Needle, have been ſo inviſibly repeated, as no man could have by preſent ſenſe known it to be the cauſe, we ſhould (beyond all peradventure) from the

the conſtancy of effects proceeding from the ſame Needle, have imagined it the ſole cauſe thereof.

So then, we, that can neither from true inſpection into the formal Nature and activity of heat, and of the influence of the ſuperior bodies, nor ſuſceptibility of the lower Elements, as ſeverally mingled, tell from thence (that ſuch and ſuch ſpecies muſt be produced; or that again cannot tell, that theſe principles we finde in Nature, were neceſſarily to be ſuch and ſo many, for maintenance of the effects of unity and propriety of place, (as thoſe were again for maintenance of Creation), we (I ſay), cannot be wondred at, for not being able to forejudge more, or other ſpecies in Nature, then thoſe we know by ſenſe; and that alſo, in productions neereſt us. And ſince in our moſt ordinary and familiar ſports (as aforeſaid), we cannot judge of events, although their true cauſes be within the compaſs of preſent ſenſe, we are ſtill leſs to be wondred at, when ignorance and doubtings ſhall often ariſe of a cauſe ſo far of: which is never, but by way of miracle, made the Author of any immediate effect. Whereas, in truth and plain reaſon, this Aſcenſion and Progreſſion of cauſes, muſt (as elſewhere declared), end in an omnipotent Author: whoſe power is more rationally to be concluded the prime and ſole cauſe of all things, as ſtanding in that ſupreme order he now doth, then if he ſhould be acting beneath; and of but one thing at once.

And as he is more admirable in his own Throne of power, ordering all things by his ſole word and command, then if he ſhould deſcend to be perſonally doing of every thing, ſo, (could we rightly conſider it), any one thing, is (in it ſelf) as miraculouſly and powerfully wrought, in that kinde of efficiency which we call ordinary, as when done in an extraordinary way. So for example, if wood ſhould have been by God endued with power to draw Iron, or one Iron to draw another, as now the Load-ſtone doth, would not the ordinary effect that way, have made the Load-ſtones attraction as great a miracle, as it ſeemeth for wood to do it now? And if none can give reaſon, why other things ſhould not have as great attractive force as theſe, why ſhould it not be a greater proof of Deity, to be conſtantly powerful in all and every operation, then to be ſo but now and then: which is all the proof that miracles have?

And therefore, as men of riper judgement and experience, would much laugh at the folly and weakneſs of ſuch, as (beholding the Mariners compaſs) do aſcribe the effect of the Needle to ſome hidden quality, or ſecret property reſiding in it ſelf: and as again, the aſcribing and occult quality unto thoſe operations of the Load-ſtone, (without farther knowledge or derivation of its cauſe), is but a ſhift of ignorance, as the ſetting down of all other hidden cauſes are; (each thing having a cauſe beyond it ſelf), ſo is there none *but fools that ſay in their hearts*, or really think, *there is no God*: becauſe they cannot diſcern his efficacy through, and beyond intermediate cauſes. And they are (at moſt), but middle witted men: for that, albeit they can (from a little farther experience), tell of Cauſes above the loweſt degree of men, yet are they not wiſe enough to ſearch farther.

So that Athieſm is always bordering on folly and narrowneſs of comprehenſion: being nothing elſe, but a ſtubborn relyance on preſent ſenſe: as from the certainty of effects in things we ordinarily behold, concluding thoſe Cauſes within reach of our obſervation to be the moſt ſupreme. And farther, thinking that if a voluntary Agent were in thoſe things univerſal Cauſe

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and Author, he would (as fancying his inclination by our own) be more perſonally appearing for his greater credit-ſake amongſt us: and make his preſent operation ſerve to direct our acknowledgements unto him. Not duly conſidering, that it would be ſo far from encreaſing the worth, as it would redound to the actors diſeſteem: as arguing decay of the Vertue of Agency, if the ſupreme and higher Cauſe, ſhould (for want of ſtrength otherwiſe), be forced immediately to work on a lower effect: for that, (hereby again) the ſupreme Cauſe ceaſing, (by becoming an intermediate one), it muſt follow, that as Cauſes were fewer, Effects and Creatures muſt be fewer alſo. And when all is done, that ſupreme Cauſe that is now intermediate in operation, would by its conſtancy in ſo doing, be as far from diſcovering a Deity, as the other was before: unleſs they could imagine, that for their onely ſatisfaction ſake, cauſes of things ſhould not have been conſtant and uniform, but on purpoſe various, to have drawn on their notice.

Again, if God Almighty ſhould have been diſabled to the degree of an humane Artificer, and have been ineffectual farther then where his own hand hath been expreſs, (as is the workmans in making the Watch), then it muſt next follow, that either Creatures muſt have been ſo few and periſhable, as Watches made by one hand, or elſe they muſt have ſuppoſed, this Agents power advanced to ſuch degree, that, as a Monarch can manage a Kingdom by his Laws, (ſo as the ſame needed not to be afterwards guided by him, but by inſtruments obedient to him), or as the Artificer can frame and contrive a Watch, to go for as long time as he pleaſeth, (ſo as the ſame can now go without his appearance) in like manner, there ſhould be alſo ſuch proceſſion of the firſt cauſe of operation and motion in theſe things, as they ſhall be infinitely continued. If this courſe could have gone on, this firſt Cauſe would have been a God: becauſe his operation and exiſtence muſt have been eternal. But on it could not go to any degree of eternity; inaſmuch as all progreſſive operations and motions muſt be finite and determinate: in regard that that end and reſt, which cauſed motion through deſire of approach, muſt ceaſe it, having now attained it.

And therefore, to make things continue, there muſt be a circulation of Cauſes and Effects allowed: whereby, each individual thing having attained that proper end, (for which its laſt Cauſe or next Agents produced it in Nature), muſt return into its firſt matter, through corruption and alteration of its laſt ſpecifick forms; and be ready to obey the more general Cauſes in Nature, and the Laws of that matter which is moſt homogenius unto it; in correſpondence to the next more proper and powerful Agent. Even as in the affairs and atchievements in kingdoms, (although the hands of the loweſt ſort of individual Officers is moſt immediate in the work, yet theſe, having their power from the next general Officer, and ſo he again from next above him, till theſe Officers (growing higher and fewer), do at laſt terminate in the King, as Fountain of all their power; ſo,) any of thoſe next periſhable individual Officers deceaſing, that formal power that made them ſuch, returns to the hands of thoſe next Officers above him: who conſtitutes others, and thoſe more or fewer in theſe places, as they finde the exigence of that Kingdoms affairs call for in relation thereunto: no otherwiſe then as (with us), a Conſtable dying, the Juſtices (as the more general Officers), do by vertue of their Commiſſions and derived power, conſtitute new in the place. In which courſe, as the affairs of the Kingdom, is ordinarily managed without the Prince his appearance

rance, or again, the ſpring can move the ſeveral wheels of the Watch, without particular touch of any but that next him; why may there not, nay why muſt there not be a Deity; to be the firſt mover in things of this univerſe? Who, (according to his good pleaſure), ordering that the appointed continuance of this world, ſhould be maintained by periſhable individuals; hath in his providence (to that end) ordered that the corruption of one thing, ſhould be ſtill progreſſive to the generation of another. Why may he not again (in the doing thereof), be yet as far, or more removed from our notice in ordinary operations, as the cauſe of Government, or the motion of Watches (or the like), is hid and unknown to the weaker ſort of people, and to other Creatures below us; and are of them thought to proceed from no farther cauſe, then what preſent ſenſe can diſcover?

For ſhould the King be as much hidden from our bodily ſence, as God is, and ſhould we again know no more of the Commiſſions and powers granted to Juſtices in each Kingdom, then we do of the Laws of matter and internal forms in Nature, it would be as hard to apprehend any prime Agent above thoſe Juſtices in the Kingdom, as to conceive the power and exiſtence of Deity in the world. A ſuppoſition that may be well made good, if conſideration be had of thoſe ſtrange conceits of the form and figure of Kings, which are entertained by ſome ignorant people, that as yet never ſaw any, nor heard them deſcribed. And the reaſon is the ſame, for our ignorance in appearance of Gods operation in Creation, Providence, and natural Cauſes, as is for the ignorance of theſe before mentioned, in the knowledge of the Cauſes of political or artificial productions with us: unleſs we ſhall impiouſly, as well as arrogantly conclude, that we ſhould have knowledge in this life in ſuch perfection, as to ſee him intuitively: as Angels do now, or as our ſelves ſhall do hereafter.

Of the reaſon of the preſent courſe of Gods proceeding in many particulars both of Creation and Providence, we did ſpeak in the beginning, and other parts of this work: in which we declared the divers ſympathies and natural propenſities wherewith Vegetatives and Inanimates are indued: all of them tending to ſpecifical, and mutual preſervation and Providence. We alſo ſhewed, how Senſitives were provoked by the affection of pleaſure, (naturally implanted in them, and accompanying things beneficial), to be continually active in purſuance of what was to themſelves and others behoof-ful. We alſo manifeſted, how rational Creatures (by the affection of love and deſire of beneficence, and by the thirſt of honor accompanying them as their reward), were provoked alſo unto the like continual endeavors towards mutual good and preſervation. All of them infallibly concluding that there muſt be an Author or prime Agent, of ſuch univerſal concern, and ſuch continual care in conſtituting and ordering theſe things, as to be their original Cauſe, and perpetual guide and ſupport according to the method of his own good pleaſure.

For ſhould there not be theſe natural propenſions to love and pitty, nay to acts of juſtice, and of ſubmiſſion therein to others, as to honor Parents and the like, it would come to paſs that through that too great thirſt of ſelf-ſeeking heretofore ſpoken of, and through anger and envy of being croſſed therein, no one man would now be left alive: inaſmuch as there is no man but is by one or other ſo much hated as to cauſe his death to be heartily deſired, were not manifold hinderances by divine Providence and appointment put in, to keep off execution.

And in this regard, we may alſo collect another ſtrong proof for Deity and Providence,

Providence, from that awful and reverential reſpect which is by each one born towards Authority. For experience every day tells us, that thoſe very perſons that are come to that height of daring, as to challenge and enter the field for a lye, an abuſe to their Miſtreſs, or the like, (where, beſides the equal hazard of their lives in preſent, they muſt have a certain expectation to ſuffer according to Law, in caſe they do out-live the other) are yet ſo kept in order by that divine and providential terror by God impreſſed on his Image of Authority here on earth, as not to have courage to withſtand the Attachment of a publike Officer.

Whereupon, our Diſcourſe formerly, and ordinary reaſon it ſelf always teſtifying, that theſe his works, and the way of Government of them, are ſuch as cannot be bettered; why ſhould we think, Change and Alteration any ways convenient? For if it be an act proper to goodneſs, wiſdom, power, *&c.* to make things well and good, and afterwards to diſpoſe them ſo, will not conſtancy herein, be as commendable to the ſame goodneſs, wiſdom, and power, in their continuance in that order, as it was for creating and thus ſtating them? And ſo, if God had not made and ordered all things ſo as cannot be bettered, he could not have been God: and if he ſhould not keep them in the ſame order, whilſt they remain the ſame things, he ſhould not be God neither: wiſdom in deſignation, requiring conſtancy in proſecution; and irreſiſtible power being the neceſſary attendant of both.

And having thus far ſpoken in defence of the conſtancy of the courſe of Nature and Providence, againſt ſuch as would not believe a God, becauſe *ſince the Fathers fell aſleep, all things are alike till now*, ſo alſo, for conviction of ſuch, as from inconſtancy and irregularity of the actions in voluntary Agents, and Gods permiſſion of ſin and oppreſſion, would conclude againſt Deity too, according to that divine Aphoriſm, *becauſe ſentence againſt an evil work is not executed ſpeedily, therefore the heart of the ſons of men, is fully ſet in them to do evil*, we ſhall now farther ſpeak. In this ſaying of the wiſe man, we may apprehend the two uſual grounds that make men lean to Atheiſm. The firſt is, in thinking all the acts and works of men evil which they cannot apprehend as good: not being many times able, to look through the miſtaken or preſent particular ſuffering of ſome few, unto that real and more laſting good, thereby procured to many. The other, in thinking that the acts permitted unto, and proceeding from humane Judgement and Will, (as it is ſeated in divers perſons for the guidance of their own affairs), ſhould be alike conſtant to thoſe of God, in the Government of the world and courſe of his Providence; who hath an uniform end to cauſe ſteadineſs of his actions therein. Unto which an anſwer may be alſo made, out of the ſame conſideration before ſpoken of: namely, the ſufficiency of the one above the other. And if they wil allow any Creature to be ſo perfect, as to have Will and Underſtanding ſeparate, they muſt in order to their ſpecifical freedom of Will, allow them variety of actions alſo: eſpecially, ſince their private ends muſt differ, as before noted.

2 Pet. 3. 4.

And therefore, as we muſt conclude Gods works muſt be uniform and conſtant, in reference to his Unity of Will and end to deſign, and all-ſufficiency of power to atchieve; ſo, we muſt allow to things ſubmitted to the power of inferior voluntary Agents, (if at all you will grant them voluntary), freedom unto variety of productions and execution: and that in bad, as well as in good. Unleſs we ſhall at once, and againſt ſenſe conclude, all men are alike good, wiſe, or powerful: and that, from ſuch plurality and diſparity of Judgement, Intereſt,

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and Will, we ſhould think that conſtant proceſſion could be expected.

From which liberty and freedom of action, in good or bad, guided according to the true light or corruption of humane judgement and Will, it muſt alſo follow that the evidences and directions given for mens guidance, ſhould not be in ſuch continuing and preſſing manner repeated to each ſingle perſon as that by peremptory conviction to good, his liberty to ill ſhould, (as heretofore noted) by conſequence be debarred. But that God ſhould be as myſterious and reſerved in the diſpenſation of his Providence in Nature, as in his Precepts in Scripture. It is enough, that there is *Moſes and the Prophets*, ſuch ſufficient revelation already given to all men in general, as to ſave any one in particular: when as a miraculous extraordinary defeat, or conviction of every evil action, like one riſen from the dead, deſtroys not onely mans liberty, but will look like partiality: yielding hereby, greater light to direct evil perſons, then was before given to good ones. And, to inſtance in that which yet comes neerer our preſent buſineſs, (for the conviction of the demi-Atheiſt of the world, (ſuch as oppoſe God, in that God he hath placed over us) if there ſhould in all ſuch Enterpriſes new Advertizements from Heaven be given, to prevent, or always infelicity follow, to deter, then could no ſuch things as Loyalty and Rebellion have been exiſtent. Whereas now, God permitting the ſtubborn and obdurate hearted ſometimes to proſper in that evil, as he thereby leaves us to our freedoms, ſo yet, by means of thoſe many Precepts againſt it, and examples of puniſhment, he leaves us unexcuſable for all our attempts therein: notwithſtanding ſucceſs may for a time attend this, as well as it doth other ſins.

Which ſucceſs, we may well conjecture alſo tolerated for a juſt puniſhment, as well to ſubjects Rebellion, which on their parts cauſed it, by having the *woe of many Princes*, as alſo for a common puniſhment to other Princes and Monarchs themſelves: who, out of their greater hatred and malice to one another, and covetous deſire of gain, have ſuffered theſe common diſturbers and enemies to them all, thus to ſettle and proſper, divine permiſſion ordering thoſe things in ſuch ſort, that we may well believe, that, as an adequate puniſhment for theſe faults on both ſides, theſe leſſer Antichriſts ſhall, like the great one before noted, continue in the World *till Chriſts ſecond coming in brightneſs alſo.*

Again, as the eſſential freedom of Will muſt produce variety of actions, ſo muſt the privacy thereof and of its inclination and aym in atchieving them, cauſe or endanger ſuch mens miſtake, that undertake to judge and cenſure them, either to good or bad. And the like muſt alſo happen through ignorance of Circumſtances accompanying the acts themſelves; and alſo through ignorance of former merit or demerit in the parties now proſperous or unſucceſsful: all which may alter the ſtate of the preſent event, from what we now ſee and apprehend to be called juſt, or otherwiſe.

Beſides, ſince the beſt of humane actions cannot be in full degree perfect, if, evil ones had not been permitted, all would have been not onely naught comparatively, as being much beneath the perfection of God or Angels, but naught alſo in the higheſt degree; as having none

worse. Whereupon, Gods justice against sin might have lighten upon whole mankinde, as equally evil and guilty, and the work of mercy in saving some, could not, for want of disparity, take effect, without partiality: whereas now, by his fixed rule of Providence, he hath so bounded the power of the most wicked as they cannot make destruction in this life to any great height. And this, because the pleasures and appetites of Food and Generation, the natural affection of *Storge*, pity, and sense of honor, will be so perpetually prevalent to the advance and preservation of specifical and personal being, that the most malicious and tyrannical Athiests cannot make any contrivance, or have any certainty to be generally prevalent to destroy others, but they shall (withal) thereby injure themselves here, besides most assured destruction (by this means) brought to themselves hereafter. At which time, the good shall also have their reward: it being unreasonable, that that sentence and reward which must have respect to the actions of mens whole life, should be expected until after it is finished.

And therefore, as to the other part of the wise mans Reason given for entertainment of Athiesm and wickedness amongst men, namely Gods forbearance *to execute sentence speedily against and evel work*, as the forepassed reasons may in part satisfie why he should so do, so is there a farther ground thereof. Which is, our inconsiderate measuring Gods time and motives in execution of Justice to be the same with ours, and according to our own present sense thereof. For because, when any thing is done against our Commands or Authority, we should our selves be presently and personally shewing our mislike, and proceed to correction or reproof, even so we may imagine God should do also: not duly weighing those differences between him and us that might justly make alteration herein.

As first, we our selves, being personally and more immediately affected with the injuries which are wrought unto us, must, out of natural desire and delight in acts of revenge, needs be more personally and presently pressing to self-repairation: and that, without thought of the prejudices of others to arise thereby. Whereas God Almighty, being not patible himself, nor otherwise to be prejudiced then by those harms done to others of his Creatures, and that disturbance which our sins do cause in the course of his Providence, cannot be imagined to be so hastened in the course of his punishments, as thereby to cause a greater and more general harm to ensue: but, as he doth punish but in order to universal care and Providence, so, to contrive and watch such means and opportunity for doing it, as may best advance the general good of all. Again, unto us that have but an uncertain and momentary time of abidance in this world, it must therefore seem necessary that we should be always as speedy as we can in execution of all acts of Justice, for fear it will not be after in our power here, and knowing it will not be at all in our power hereafter: whereas these hazards, being not compatible with Gods eternity, both in existence and power, as well in this life as that to come, he cannot thereupon be streightned in time like us. Whereupon, since *a thousand yeers are with him but as one day*,

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therefore are we to answer these *scoffers* with S. *Peter*, that *that which some men count slackness, is not to be attributed to God:* but we are rather gratefully to admire his *long-suffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance.*

And could men but silence or suspend that partial respect and estimation which each one is ready to cast towards the justice of their own Cause, and also that natural impatience and thirst of present revenge and reparation which he expects should appear in maintenance of his right, and in vindication of his sufferings, he might then finde great reason why God should not expresly appear in his redress; although his case should be as deplorable, and his usage as injust as himself doth now judge it to be. For since these injust and oppressive acts are usual amongst men; nay since in all kinde of judicature and dealing, one party or another will think himself defrauded or oppressed, if therefore divine Justice should interpose in all cases where wrong were done, it must also proceed to reparation of the party wronged upon him that did it, to the utter disheartening and defeat of humane Judicature: where, many times, for want of sufficiency of judgement or information, wrong sentence is given against their Wills. Or should God appear but in some more remarkable occasions of redress, how would their discontent be hereupon increased, who were not in their distresses so righted and relieved also? Each one being to be presumed to carry as partial a valuation of his own merits, and to be as impatient in the sense of his own sufferings, as he must be presumed to be separately perceptible of them by his proper Understanding and sense, and not that of another. It must therefore come to pass that either God Almighty, by his remarkable appearance in some mens Causes, must consequently leave others but so much the more discontented: or else, altering that more majestick way of Providence and Government he now exerciseth, descend to judge in every case whatever. Which done, what neerer hope of general content? since even therein the Verdict and Sentence can but pass on one side still, and must thereupon leave the other as it were directly discontented with God himself: and it will besides submit the justice of his proceedings to the censure of every one also. Whereas now, the party that by prosperity enjoys the things of this world, is not at all taken off from the acknowledgement of Gods supreme guidance and favour, and the other, laying his misfortunes on humane partiality and corruption, is the more stirred up to seek and relye upon supernatural redress and sustentation: the sense of affliction and oppression here, being by divine Providence made the most ordinary and effectual means, of any, for the bringing men to be Religious, and to acknowledge both himself and his goodness, as heretofore declared.

And then again, why may we not, from example in our selves, finde reason (on the other side) to conclude both for Gods existence and Providence; and that, even from this his concealment from present sense in this case likewise. For is it not usual with Parents, Masters, and persons in Authority, out of design to reap to themselves the highest assurances they can of the loves and faithfulness of their Children and Servants, wholly to leave unto their full dispose the exe-

cution of some Commands and Directions, and then so to withdraw and conceal themselves, as that the parties put in trust herein shall suppose them without the compass of any knowledge of theirs, whether they have in these things done their duties or no? And again, is it not with them usual, as to fix this tryal upon such objects and imployments wherein they had first used such Providence and circumspection that, in case of failance of duty, the evil thereby to happen should neither be general nor great, so also, it is usual not to take notice of the performance or neglect of duty in the present act: but to suspend the reward and punishment thereupon due, to be expressed in a fuller measure afterwards. Even so may we conceive of God Almighty, as, on the one side, trying our love and respect to him through these great obscurities and difficulties, so also, respiting our punishments or rewards till the world to come.

Beyond all which, as that divers necessary regard which humane preservation doth require should be thereunto continually had with due respect to men as they are either naturally or politickly to be considered, will, in the conduct of these things, lay such an exigence of having both a continual and steady, and yet of a secret and impartial care, so, when it shall be well weighed, it will be found a work proper and superable by Almightiness onely, between things and actions, in themselves so jarring and enterfering, to carry so even and respective a hand to both, that man shall neither be pined through want of care in one; nor suffocated through indulgence in the other.

Should that natural thirst to pursue and obtain things pleasurable, be unto men permitted, as unto other Sensitive Agents, without any stint of positive Rule or Law, how soon (as heretofore shewed) should we finde this heady pursuit of each ones delight to prove each ones torment and ruine? Or if, again, in all the actions and emergencies of mans life, he should be onely considered as a sociable Agent, and by strict rules of polity, be wholly limited in his desires and attempts by the good of others, and not permitted to follow in any thing his own pleasure, must it not then follow, that as each single man did, by this way of restraint, come to be defeated of his separate content, so (consequently) must all men want it: since all must needs want that which no one man could have. And thereupon, that natural way of serving and honoring that great God of all beneficence, must, for want of relish and more fresh resentment of the particulars of his bounty, come to be smothered or lost. As the necessity therefore of having regard to both, is the reason (on the one hand) of all those natural instincts and abilities, and of those large affordments of the Creature for mans use and delight, so (on the other hand) is it the cause of all those positive Edicts and Precepts, whereby, in reference to Society, we come to be directed and bounded in their use.

When therefore we finde God Almighty, in the general way of sustentation of his Creation, both working at distance, and also by second Causes, and yet doing it so strongly and assuredly as to manifest both care and Almightiness in him, (through weakness of the intermediate Agent and constancy of operation) so, in rules of Government and Society, and in those ways and directions to be set for mens restraint, it

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was (on the other ſide) likewiſe expedient, that he ſhould be no more apparently and convincingly expreſs, then in the other: but ordinarily, to ſubmit and entruſt to his Authoriſed Deputies, the execution of thoſe affairs which he held neceſſary for proſecuion of that courſe & degree of providence which was by him appointed. In the atchievement whereof, as the Prince or Magiſtrate, without his ſupreme influence and ſuſtentation, could be no more effectual to preſerve mankinde politikely, then ſecond Cauſes could, of themſelves, preſerve them naturally, ſo would it ſeem partial and deſtructive for God to appear more expreſs in one then another: as well as it would be a derogation to his Almightineſs, to be ordinarily expreſs and perſonally working in either ſort.

Even as we ſee, in Kings and Governors, the greateſt difficulty to reſt in their even carriage between acts of ſeverity or indulgence: in ſuch ordering of poſitive Laws for preſervation of mans life, that, through their abundance or rigor, his happy life be not defeated. And, no otherwiſe then as it reſts as the higheſt proof of each ſingle mans judgement and ability, to carry himſelf in ſuch a juſt and ſeaſonable moderation between *Epicuriſm* and *Stoiciſm*, between natural enjoyment and vertuous reſtraint, that neither the vigor of youth may be ſuffered to defeat its own or after pleaſures by intemperate abuſe, nor the too great care for enjoyment hereafter, not onely needleſly deprive him of preſent poſſeſſion, but render him unfit for delight for the future, like him that hath loſt his ſtomack through too long faſting: or like him that hath borrowed beyond ability to repay.

All which reaſons ſeem to me of ſo much weight, that I cannot but in humility joyn with that unerring wiſdom and truth, in eſteeming him *a fool that ſaith in his heart there is no God*: And all becauſe *they are become corrupt and abominable in their own doings*, being ignorant wherein true pleaſure doth conſiſt: and becauſe alſo they would with greater freedom act in their own way of licenciouſneſs, and continue in their rapine and uncharitableneſs: *eating the people of God as they would eat bread*; and then *flatter themſelves with a belief that God ſeeth it not*. Pſal. 14. 1. Verſe 2. Verſe 4. Pſal. 94. 11.

For Religion muſt be acknowledged the onely thing that can ſteadily keep loyalty and and all other vertues in perfection. For the terrors of ſhame and the Law may, through ſecrecy, power, and corruption of manners, be many times wholly defeated of their force of reſtraint; but, to him that believs the eye of an all-ſeeing God is perpetually over him, as no ſeverity can be found ſufficient to ſcare him from goodneſs, ſo no encouragement can ariſe valuable to entice him to evil.

No, no, no certainly, let men boaſt of their godlineſs, or of eying or ſeeking God while they will, if they were but ſo far removed from Atheiſm as really to believe his power and continual preſence over them, thoſe daily acts of diſloyalty and uncharitableneſs would not then be ſo frequently ſounding in our ears. Can we think, that if any one did verily believe, that to reſiſt the higher powers were to receive to himſelf certain damnation, that he would then adventure his ſalvation upon ſuch nice grounds and diſtinctions, as, for any temporal hope or gain, to make doubt of obeying his King as ſupreme, did not his belief of Gods veracity, and his fear of offending him grow ſlack, and Ambition, Pride, or Covetouſneſs, (on the other hand) more forcibly draw

cution of some Commands and Directions; and then so to withdraw and conceal themselves, as that the parties put in trust herein shall suppose them without the compass of any knowledge of theirs, whether they have in these things done their duties or no? And again, is it not with them usual, as to fix this tryal upon such objects and imployments wherein they had first used such Providence and circumspection that, in case of failance of duty, the evil thereby to happen should neither be general nor great, so also, it is usual not to take notice of the performance or neglect of duty in the present act: but to suspend the reward and punishment thereupon due, to be expressed in a fuller measure afterwards. Even so may we conceive of God Almighty, as, on the one side, trying our love and respect to him through these great obscurities and difficulties, so also, respiting our punishments or rewards till the world to come.

Beyond all which, as that divers necessary regard which humane preservation doth require should be thereunto continually had with due respect to men as they are either naturally or politickly to be considered, will, in the conduct of these things, lay such an exigence of having both a continual and steady, and yet of a secret and impartial care, so, when it shall be well weighed, it will be found a work proper and superable by Almightiness onely, between things and actions, in themselves so jarring and enterfering, to carry so even and respective a hand to both, that man shall neither be pined through want of care in one, nor suffocated through indulgence in the other.

Should that natural thirst to pursue and obtain things pleasurable, be unto men permitted, as unto other Sensitive Agents, without any stint of positive Rule or Law, how soon (as heretofore shewed) should we finde this heady pursuit of each ones delight to prove each ones torment and ruine? Or if, again, in all the actions and emergencies of mans life, he should be onely considered as a sociable Agent, and by strict rules of polity, be wholly limited in his desires and attempts by the good of others, and not permitted to follow in any thing his own pleasure, must it not then follow, that as each single man did, by this way of restraint, come to be defeated of his separate content, so (consequently) must all men want it: since all must needs want that which no one man could have. And thereupon, that natural way of serving and honoring that great God of all beneficence, must, for want of relish and more fresh resentment of the particulars of his bounty, come to be smothered or lost. As the necessity therefore of having regard to both, is the reason (on the one hand) of all those natural instincts and abilities, and of those large affordments of the Creature for mans use and delight, so (on the other hand) is it the cause of all those positive Edicts and Precepts, whereby, in reference to Society, we come to be directed and bounded in their use.

When therefore we finde God Almighty, in the general way of sustentation of his Creation, both working at distance, and also by second Causes, and yet doing it so strongly and assuredly as to manifest both care and Almightiness in him, (through weakness of the intermediate Agent and constancy of operation) so, in rules of Government and Society, and in those ways and directions to be set for mens restraint, it

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draw him on to perpetrate ſuch actions, as he had ſtronger belief ſhould yield him a preſent gain, then was that terror of forbearing them, out of a more remote and leſs feared puniſhment to enſue.

In the mean time, however want of Conſcience may make ſuch as theſe forget God, yet generally, ſuch as have more real thoughts and aims of publike good and humane conſervation, are, for want of ſufficient judgement and inſight wherein general and more publike good doth conſiſt, led to the miſtake of divine Providence: even when the private ſence of the ſufferings of themſelves or friends, amidſt thoſe changes and calamities which are incident to the ſons of men, do preſs them to be impatient for want of preſent redreſs. Yet, could we ſeparate our ſelves from our Paſſions and intereſts, why might we not plainly ſee, that Rebellion, Civil war, and the like ways of humane deſtruction, were, like Plagues and Famines, many times by God ſent and permitted for the general good of men alſo. For theſe, naturally and ordinarily happening but unto ſuch places and people that are ſo crouded with company that the bleſſings and benefits of Nature cannot, through the envye and ſtrife of neighbors one towards another, be by any one truely and quietly enjoyed, why may we not in this caſe ſuppoſe God, even by way of Providence, to make uſe of our ſins and the puniſhment of them; and hereby to cut off and take away ſuch as are moſt haughty and entermedling, that the more meek and patient may, through their more free and quiet enjoyment, have greater cauſe to praiſe him then before?

Nay, why might we not herein perceive him to be moſt truly and impartially vindictive alſo? For ſince himſelf, in his good pleaſure and ſecret wiſdom, and for reaſons heretofore given, had determined not to be perſonally and expreſly intermedling in the preſent judging and vindication of humane affairs, what cleerer way could there be to argue, both Almightineſs, Juſtice, and Providence, then to make the ſins themſelves to be the conſtant puniſhments to the offenders? Thus, perſonally, may we finde that luſt, intemperance, and the other exorbitances which each perſon entertains contrary to the rules of Vertue or modeſty, are to himſelf prejudicial alſo. And ſo, in polity again, diſobedience, inſurrection, and all diſloyal acts, which are introductive of publike diſturbance and Civil war, are, by means of the ſame Civil war, a certain puniſhment to the Authors. Wherein, although thoſe that have perhaps had the leaſt ſhare of introducing them, may, for tryal of their Loyalty or Patience, be the greateſt ſufferers, yet, as none can ſay but he hath ſuffered far under his deſerts, and may well think themſelves happy that in this life their portion of puniſhments and afflictions have been ſhared, ſo are the other, in the life to come, to expect that fuller meaſure of puniſhment, which their more full contribution in theſe violations of Charity may claim from the divine and impartial Juſtice of that great *preſerver of men*. In the mean time, becauſe none, as bearing Gods Image, and becauſe of that inward plantation of love, can be without ſome charitable deeds and intentions, therefore, as that their *portion* of proſperity which they ſhall be in this life poſſeſſed of, may be underſtood as a full reward for what hath been by them well done here, ſo is that meaſure of happineſs they therein have above others, but like the advantage that fatted Oxen have above lean: even while they, in their jollity, are filling up that meaſure of wickedneſs, which may provoke divine vengeance, both to deprive them of life here, and alſo bring them to eternal puniſhment hereafte.

Thus

Thus far have I laboured, in setting forth that perfect harmony which is between the voice of Scripture and Reason; and declaring (as far as was to our present purpose necessary) how they do joyntly conspire and point to the same ends, Gods glory and mans good: between which too great a divorce hath been hitherto apprehended and made use of, by some, who, discovering how in some particulars they seem to cross and turn several ways, have thereupon in a hasty Zeal, followed one alone, with such neglect and direliction of the other, that they have not endeavoured to finde where they do again meet and unite.

Thus, because it hath been often observed that men in the prosecution of their own benefits or pleasures, do interrupt or grow careless of Gods service and glory, a conclusion is thereupon presently drawn, that mans profit or pleasure is to be laid aside, as we do in any case aim at the honor and glory of God: whereas, if they had but ability or Patience enough to consider it, they might finde how both of them do still meet in that very point of humane content and preservation, as heretofore declared.

And so again, such as have reflected upon the many self-respects and designes by some Princes practised after they attained unto their great pitch of power; and that, without due regard to Gods glory whose servants they are; or to the good or welfare of their subjects, one main end of their greatness, they think that they have then arrived at no small height or reputation, when they have so far abased that worth and respect which is due to him, in comparison of what is due to God; as men shall, in a manner, be brought to judge them as enemies and contrary to one another; and to conceive there is no duty or respect due to them at all. Not duly weighing how these things do again meet and conspire in the same end: and how it is not the honor or good of Princes (personally and separately considered as men) which is hereby aimed at. But that it is to be given him in reference to that representation of power he hath from God himself, and in respect of that preservation and good of mankinde by this means brought to pass: which is Gods end as well as ours.

And having so far proceeded in giving proofs and reasons to confirm those Propositions we have delivered, our next work shall be to shew those grounds whereby many shall come to receive prejudice against them, and think them otherwise: which we shall do in that which follows.

CHAP.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF *GOVERNMENT* and *OBEDIENCE*, AS

They ſtand grounded on, and relating to each ones natural inclination and affection.

The Introduction.

AS that general good to ariſe by publike Peace and Agreement was the end of this whole undertaking, ſo were thoſe many and ſad examples of Civil diſturbance every day ſet on foot upon the ſcore of Religion, the cauſe alſo why, in the paſſed Book, I made ſuch particular diſcourſes on that ſubject; that upon a ſhort view of Religion, as in it ſelf, and a more ſtrict enquiry into ſuch Texts as did look moſt directly that way, it might be found whether theſe *Wars and Fightings* could be rightly attributed to that faith which we profeſs; or were not rather to be imputed to *our luſts which war in our members*. By the which, ſuffering our ſelves to be too impetuouſly ſwayed, it doth thereupon come to paſs, that when Authority doth oppoſe us in any thing of our deſired enjoyments, we do preſently caſt about how our cauſe may be made Gods, that ſo, under colour of more near relation and ſubjection unto him, we may ſhake off all that our bounden duty which by the Laws we owe to our Prince, his Vice-gerent.

That Pride and Intereſt, and not deſire of any Self-Reformation, is the uſual cauſe of mens extraordinary ſearch of the Scriptures, may appear from the manner of choice therein made; even for that no places are ſo much quoted and inſiſted upon, as thoſe that are Prophetique and moſt Myſterious; ſuch as are thoſe texts of the *Revelation*: a Book the moſt controverted of any other, as being the greateſt ſtranger to the Apoſtles times (which ſome would ſeem wholly to relie upon) and having in it leaſt inſtructions of any how to ſteer our ſelves in the courſe of our lives. But becauſe the underſtand-

ing hereof is generally acknowledged moſt difficult; and becauſe again, by reaſon of this myſteriouſneſs, no good agreement can be yet found where juſtly and preciſely to fix thoſe deſcriptions of *the Beaſt*, *The Whore of Babylon*, *Antichriſt*, and the like, therefore, as well for renown and glory-ſake in the diſcovery, as for anger and revenge againſt thoſe they moſt hate, ſhall we find ſome ſo reſolute and peremptory in their expoſitions, as if they would have us believe that theſe Propheſies were but reſpective to their intereſts, not only to bring them honor by interpretation, but thereby prove themſelves the *Saints and People of God* there ſpoken of.

In theſe following Diſcourſes, I ſhall therefore let men ſee how our natural and proper conſtitutions, educations, cuſtoms, &c. nay our own intereſts alſo, do inter-weave themſelves in all we do; and that as well our Opinions and Tenets in Religion, as thoſe in Polity and Government do take tincture from theſe. So that, as in my ſecond Book, I took that Political body again into pieces, which I had reared up in the firſt, to handle and examine its grounds according to ſuch notions and parcels of policy, as were vulgarly entertained and inſiſted upon; ſo now, in further proof of this third Book, I ſhall take man himſelf into pieces, and ſearch him in his very firſt principles, and the natural riſe and cauſe of both his appetites and affections, and of his diſlike & averſions; to the end that each one diſcerning how theſe things come to be framed in us, and how, all along, they receive ſuch influence from our breeding and manner of life, as eaſily to pre-occupate and miſlead us, he may be the ſooner induced to an ingenuous review of his own opinions, and before he grow too magiſtral in any thing, be careful he is not overtaken by any of theſe prejudices.

But then, as in this Tract, I bring in theſe more Philoſophical Speculations, but by way of illuſtration, and farther proof of what was formerly handled in the diſcourſes of Religion and Polity, ſo is it not to be expected, that I ſhould here deliver any thing of this kind as in an entire Treatiſe; or make any ſuch long ſtay, as generally to accommodate them with a proper method or demonſtration, or with definition of terms, ſince they are now only to be Probationers and Remonſtrants themſelves; and, in that kinde, to be attendant on that which all this while hath been our main Argument.

BOOK

BOOK IV.

Of the Cauſes of LIKE and DISLIKE, OF CONTENT & DISCONTENT;

AND

Whether it be poſsible to frame a *Governments* in it ſelf pleaſing and durable, without Force and Conſtraint.



IN many of the Diſcourſes hitherto, Government hath been treated of, as having its riſe, and alſo its efficacy and ſupport, from conſtraint and force; that is, from the exerciſe of the power of the Governor upon the Governed; which being the occaſion of that continual reluctance and reſiſtance in the Subjects, and conſequently the author of all Civil broils; it will not be amiſs to enquire what remedy may be herein found, or whether any may be found or no? It may therefore be doubted, ſince (as before ſhewed) the love of our ſelves was only purely natural, how thoſe forraign affections come to have their riſe and being.

Whereupon, we muſt again conſider, that as Gods praiſe and glory was the end of all things, and accordingly (as heretofore ſhewed) the reaſon why things naturally done ſhould be pleaſurable alſo, to wit, that the Creature thereby exulting as in a benefit received, God might be honored, as having performed the work he intended, even the ex-

preſſion of his power and goodneſs; ſo now, men being to live in Society (that the honor and praiſe of all, as his onely due, might therein be increaſed alſo, it was expedient that our content ſhould by natural inſtincts and rules be affixed moſt to what was moſt uſual amongſt us, and our diſcontent upon ſuch things only as were but few, and of rare event.

All things do hereupon come to be loved by cuſtom and acquaintance: For ſo, I love an Engliſh face better then another, and think that worſt that moſt differs. Out of which cuſtom alſo, doth the Blackmore prefer his colour, flat noſe, great lips, &c. to that which is contrary in us. From this reaſon alſo, we come to ſet particular affection upon ſome faces; and (although we have forgotten it) to place moſt affection, and to be ſooneſt taken with the like face unto that of Nurſe, Mother, or ſuch we converſed with in our youth. Which inclination and ſtrength of appetite, being by cuſtom made familiar (although by ſuch various and inſenſible degrees as we did neither heretofore conſider, nor do now remember) comes for want of farther knowledge of its original, to be ſtiled ſympathy; and that which is hateful upon contrary reaſon of diſaquaintance, or from ſome extraordinary compoſure of our fancy to diſlike at the time of its firſt impreſſion, to be called Antipathy.

For we muſt not ſay, that God made any thing ill favoured or miſſhapen; but our oftner ſight of the ſame, then other Creatures, makes us even love their ſhape better, then of ſuch things as be hiders, and do ſeldom appear. Not, but that the ſhapes of Rats, Hedge-hogs, Snakes, Frogs, Owls, Bats, &c. are as good as thoſe of Horſes or Dogs; or that the braying of an Aſs, is a worſe noiſe then the crowing of a Cock; but the new and unuſual preſentation of theſe things to our ſenſes, puts our already ſettled and compoſed fancies, to a ſudden ſtartle and new labour.

Therefore, when we will paint a Devil, or ſet forth any thing as ugly, the uſual way to do it is by moſt unuſal ſhapes. But, becauſe nothing can come from the pencil, but what was before in the fancy; nor from fancy, but what came in by ſenſe, we are conſtrained to make up this deformity by miſapplication of members in the intire conſtitution of a body, together with ſome unuſal figure or colour; all which apart, and in their proper creatures or poſture, had been nothing terrible or ſtrange. So that, to put wings to a Beaſt, or four feet to a Bird, a mans head to a Beaſts body, or a Beaſts head to a mans, cannot but diſaffect. And if any ſhape hath in it ſelf priority, then mans would have it; and thereupon, the Ape, a creature moſt like him, would be handſomeſt, which now, with us, not uſed to ſuch a ſhape, is eſteemed ugly, upon the ſame reaſon that Devils are painted white by Blackmores.

And as ſeveral Species and Shapes come to affect by their own oftner appearances one above another, ſo do they by common reſemblance one to another; whereby things moſt like come by this means to be oftner in preſence then things of more proper ſhapes. Thus Hogs, though we may be more uſed to the ſight of them then Deer, are yet from their different ſhapes and qualities to that of other four footed creatures in general, eſteemed leſs lovely; upon which ground, Bears appear more ugly then Lyons or Leopards.

So

So again, though thoſe women, &c. that are accounted moſt beautiful, are more rare and few then the ill-favoured; it is to be conceived that they are ſo only as to the general and whole number of them; but, divide the ill favoured ones into ſorts (according to their likeneſs to one another) and you ſhall find fewer of any ſort of the ill favoured, and greater difference between thoſe ſorts (compared one to another) then between handſome faces compared one to another. And with us that uſe not to go naked, a man is not ſo comely naked, as adorned with cloathes; which alſo by cuſtom of wearing, is diſtinguiſhed into faſhions; and ſo made pleaſant. And thoſe people that cloath not themſelves, have their accuſtomed decorums of painting, or the like, for ſetting forth of their ſhapes and bodies; ſhewing that cuſtom, and not natural ſhapes of themſelves pleaſe us.

And ſo farther, although there be more ill then good hands written, yet the beſt hands are thoſe that come neareſt that copy which is in each Country eſteemed moſt perfect of the kind; which muſt thereupon be more like one another then bad ones; becauſe they maintain method, through evenneſs of line, and equality of diſtance and proportion in the letters; which bad ones do not; and ſo come, more or leſs to diſaffect. As we ſee that thoſe coloured horſes which we call pye-bald, are becauſe of ſtrangeneſs, called and counted ugly: For firſt, few horſes are of theſe ſo different colours in their bodies, in ſuch ſort placed and mingled, but are uſually of one and the ſame colour, and with like marks. And then again, theſe Pye-balds have as great difference amongſt themſelves, as they have to the reſt. Whereas Spaniels, that are not uſually of an entire or like colour and mark, do pleaſe in this varity.

A Tune takes above other confuſed noiſes, for that becauſe of the method therein uſed, we are able to remember and conceive it: But an Outlandiſh Tune is unpleaſant at firſt to us, and ours to them, as they differ from the uſual ayrs of each other. Nor are they, nor any new Tune made pleaſant, until by our fancy they are apprehended and made familliar, in ſuch degree, as we are able to conceive the cadences thereof before they are ſounded. And thoſe faſhions and tunes which we ordinarily call new, are but ſmall variations from thoſe generals formerly entertained; and yet pleaſe us not at firſt ſight or hearing, ſo well as afterwards.

So that Cuſtom frames appetites; and appetike provokes the will to particular applications of good and bad, of like and diſlike. Beſides our wills, there is nothing that can be properly called ours; for the deſire of property and enjoyment of others things is but in order to that; nay, my very body and the parts thereof, are valued as they are uſeful to the reaching and fruition of ſuch content as fancy offereth not to be enjoyed without them. So that, ſhould I want arms, legs, or any or more parts (not depriving me of life, and ſo of will) I ſhould yet be I; and thoſe parts reckoned as additional, not eſſential; even as they are my arms, my legs, &c. and we may properly enough ſay, my body, my ſoul; becauſe the will ariſing from the harmony of both, is not either of them; but the individual is there only, where the unity of direction and application is; whereas in ſeparated

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parts, the general Laws of Nature (in corruption, alteration, &c.) take place, and local motion ceaſeth, as to proper and intern direction.

And from the uſefulneſs of members and organs, comes their number, poſture, and ſymetry to be ſuch and ſuch, each creature and thing being handſomeſt, that hath that ſhape which is moſt uſual: Whereas all diſtortions, pluralities, and defects carry (by their ſtrangeneſs to us, and difference amongſt themſelves) a loathing with them.

But if that will which ariſeth from collections in our ſelves, may be called ours, what ſhall we think of thoſe affections which we call Innate, as almoſt all ſorts of Creatures to fear Men, Lyons, &c. and Birds to fear Hawks? this only proceeds from the like grounds, namely, from unuſualneſs of ſhape, deportment, and countenance; and is proportionably entertained according to our conceits of that their ſuppoſed power to harm us (appearing in thoſe individuals we now ſee) and not from innate knowledge of any thing truly formidable in the ſpecies feared. And hence our firſt fears are uſually bigger or leſſer, as the ſize of the feared thing is. For a Bird in the neſt, or which never yet ſaw Bird but its dam, will be then more afraid of a Gooſe, then of a Hawk. But after it hath obſerved its dam or others to be ſcared with the laſt, and not with the firſt, it is otherwiſe. But if a Hawk be brought to hatch a Pidgeon, or harmleſly aſſociate another Bird, theſe Birds fear not Hawks afterwards. And ſo, we ſee creatures that are not uſed to the ſight, nor are able to know that a Wheel-barrow, or other ſuch engines, are not living creatures, ſtand more ſcared becauſe of the bigneſs and ſtrange appearance of theſe things (which they could not ſo much as fancy before) then of other living creatures which they are uſed unto, and which may indeed, and do ſometimes really hurt them.

And Creatures fly us not after they have been ſometimes converſant amongſt us, which we call made tame, even as upon trial of indemnity, Birds and Beaſts come to reliſh the company of Haws, Lyons, Bears, &c. well enough; but if the firſt ſight or uſage of any thing, or if formidable and ſtrange report hath made an extraordinary averſion in our fancy, then we carry to that thing a particular hatred and dread. And although all ſorts of things are at firſt equally feared, becauſe new born creatures (till they have obſerved ſo far as to make difference) muſt fear and truſt every thing alike; yet when experience of ſecurity hath once paſſed under the power of any thing, we thereby come to fear other things as they do there-from differ; nor can we forbid our ſelves (out of natural deſire of Safety) to fear all ſtrange things, accounting a ſtranger and an enemy the ſame.

And however the paſſion of fear be natural and common to all, as tending to each ſenſitives preſervation; yet, as touching the choice of the particular objects of its dread, cuſtom and prejudice, and not nature nor reaſon do uſually bear ſway: for we find that weakeſt creatures, and women, and children, are moſt ſubject to theſe antipathies and averſions; for as they have leaſt knowledge and obſervation elſewhere, ſo as from ſenſe of ſecurity from other inductions, to ſtop themſelves in this particular fear, ſo they may be obſerved to be ſo over-

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maſtered by extreamity of this ſudden fear even of that very object now before them as not at any time too look wiſtly upon it, or to acquaint their ſenſe therewith; but they ſtill flying it, it muſt thereupon be kept from ever being familiar; for elſe we find they are, and may be won by degrees, if they will intend it.

And, that fear is the beginner of all diſlike (and attendant to the firſt ſenſe of new differing objects) we may conclude from our proneneſs to ſtartle upon ſudden occurences; and then moſt eſpecially, when leaſt reſolved againſt it, or apprehending our ſelves leaſt ſecure; and although (in ſtrong and confirmed impreſſions) the name of hatred and diſlike be drowned in the paſſion of fear: yet theſe always follow and are where fear is.

For ſo experience tells us, that ſubjects do at firſt ordinarily contract greater dread and diſlike againſt the Goverment of Kings and Monarchs, then againſt Polarchies, even becauſe of their greater diſtance from them, whereas the more near familiarity and converſe with the other is a means to abate of their dread. And generally thoſe Laws and Governments are by ſubjects moſt diſliked, that carry greateſt ſtrictneſs againſt offences: and anger is diſlike with courage, as fear is diſlike without courage.

And as this fear may keep us from ſeeing or converſing with any thing (and ſo from loving it) ſo, after things have been loved, a violent or unexpected ſtrangeneſs may dilete (by its difference) all former conception; and conſequently induce loathing of the thing; which uſually we ſee come to paſs in meats, after ſurfeits and ſickneſs gotten by them, or in them, or other things upon occaſional diſcourſes. And yet have we our proper taſtes, whereby (according to our accuſtomed feedings) we are able to like and reliſh ſuch things as are of neerneſs of ſavour, above what is otherwiſe. Upon which ſcore again, ſuch ſubjects that have lived under Monarchy, and upon ſome inſinuation of Tyranny, Oppreſſion, or the like, have been induced to a change thereof, are afterwards, by experience of the benefits and enjoyments received under that Regiment, brought the more ſtrongly to affect it again, and all things that lead, and are like thereunto.

But ſome affections ſeem altogether hereditary, eſpecially ſuch as are proper to the ſpecies or ſex: in which we muſt look for cuſtom farther off, to wit, that thoſe portions of the Parents ſpirits, that now find in the womb fit matter and temperament for action, put themſelves into the ſame method of operation, they were before habituated unto: and ſo producing a like creature, produce alſo thoſe ſtronger affections and impreſſions. Whereupon all creatures have like natural voyces and gate to the reſt of their ſpecies: for as the like motion of the generative ſpirit produceth like ſhape and poſture of parts, ſo doth the ſame again continue and adapt them to like motions of limbs and inſtruments of voyce, they having nothing objected to their appetites to introduce forraign imitation, as men do in their language and gate.

When Birds build neſts, it taketh its firſt inſtigation from hence: and alſo the young ones lying therein till they can fly, learn by ſenſe to do the like for their own broods afterwards: and therefore we may obſerve, that thoſe birds that ſoon run when they are hatched, build no neſts, or ſuch as have little workmanſhip. And all birds of a kind build neſts alike, whoſe artifice, and the webs of Spiders, Silk-worms, &c. in all things, beyond neceſſity, is the proceſſion of cuſtom and fancy. For fancy, to its utmoſt ability, pro-

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duceth method; and as long as it can be able to hold on in that (as a thing comprizable) it proceeds with eagerneſs and delight; but where it cannot be maſter of method, it undertakes nothing.

The Pye, Crow, Cucko, and ſuch Birds as have differing noats from the ordinary, have not in our ears the ſame pleaſure as the Nightingal; who reſembling in her ſeveral Noats, that which is uſual in other particular Birds, differs only in generality of perfection and imitation; and though the proper voyces of Pyes, Crows, &c. are as uſual to us as thoſe of the Nightingal, ſeparately and apart conſidered, yet are they not equally uſual to thoſe of the Nightingal, and all other Birds beſides of like tone. And Parrats diſpleaſe in their own ſingular and unuſual tones, but pleaſe us when they ſpeak and reſemble ours: and then moſt, when moſt imitating.

As for muſick, we ſee little children, not yet acquainted or uſed to one voyce or tone more then another, as ſoon ſtilled and pleaſed with any other noiſe, as that which we have reduced into a method, and call harmony: diſcords and concords take them alike, and a ſixth is as pleaſant as an eight.

But now, as pleaſure ariſeth from cuſtom, ſo pleaſure from continuance and cuſtom, may again decreaſe, as to the preſent ſenſe thereof, and become that which we call nature, which is nothing elſe but cuſtom upon cuſtom: as we find it come to paſs in matter of food, aſwel in choice of quantity as kind, where cuſtom manytimes ſo prevails upon appetite, through frequency of admittance, that from thence, more then from ſenſe it ſelf, now decayed, it covets ſtill to act as formerly, to the great prejudice of health: For although the direct profluence and evaporation of the Spirit is its moſt natural way and means of releaſe, and thereupon yields greateſt eaſe and delight: yet is there a delight alſo ariſing from that freedom and exitation in motion which they are put into by means of thoſe vapors that ariſe from the ſtomack, whereupon it will come to paſs, that through cuſtom of being ſo moved, at ſuch time as the ſtomack is ſo filled, they wil be promptinghim to the like degree of feeding through memory & the former pleaſures thence ariſing, until by degrees it paſs into ſuch an habitual affection to delight, that the thought of inſufficiency, or ſubſequent harms come to be unconſidered. No otherwiſe then in Kingdoms, where the benefits ariſing from Peace and Government it ſelf, or the particular indulgences of Princes, are for the time our ſenſe of want is freſh, and our only guide taken with gratitude and true delight, which when uſe and neceſſity are ſatisfied, and coming to be deſired by cuſtom only, do afterwards in our deſires, both exceed uſe, and ungratefully and covetouſly are entertained, as well to our own, as that Kingdoms ruine: Like as rich and great men alſo, who, from the cuſtom of their voluptuouſneſs and freedom of life, are ſtill impetuouſly preſſing to freſh or like enjoyments, even after the loſs of their wealth or honor.

And the like may be alſo affirmed of pain, grown otherwiſe by cuſtom of indurance: Priſoners, Millers, and Muſicians, diſtinguiſh little of diſlike or content, in thoſe ſents and noiſes they are habituated unto. And ſo comes the motion of heart, brain, and bowels to be undiſcerned, and the touch of one finger or limb againſt another, to paſs without notice. And yet is cuſtom the reliſher of new objects; thoſe ſmells and thoſe colours, that have greateſt affinity to ayr and light, do moſt pleaſe, becauſe theſe things are perpetually objected to the ſenſe (when any thing is) and are the conveyers of other objects to the ſenſes; but yet the exceſs and quickneſs of pleaſure and diſpleaſure, ariſing from particular ſmells and colours, encreaſeth or diminiſheth

miniſheth by uſuage and continuance: For children we find at firſt little affected with any particular ſort of them; and Dogs, which are creatures of quickeſt ſent, and can beſt make diſtinction, do not yet chooſe or avoid any object or place for the ſmells ſake only, the ſmels of Roſes, Violets, and other ſweet flowers, pleaſing them no better then the various and more differing ſmells of thoſe ſcarcer plants which we call weeds: And this, for want of cuſtomary uſage ſufficient, whereby to make ſome ſents affect above others: for they ſtand not affected or diſ-affected to any ſmell, as of it ſelf, but as it came into notice, or hath uſually accompanied the prevalent appetites of food, or reſentment of the kind.

Which hath alſo great prevalence in men (and things of longer life) both to provoke to particular like and diſlike of many objects out of no other rule but what ariſeth from theſe or like cuſtoms and inducements; for good ſmells and taſtes in plants, is the reſemblance to what we uſe, and therefore call eſculent: but Wormwood, Rue, &c. cannot otherwiſe affect them, through particular cuſtom as Tobacco doth. In which caſes foreſtalled prejudice prevails no otherwiſe towards like and diſlike, then when by reaſon other intereſt, we are wont to rate or ſet forth the praiſe or diſpraiſe of any perſon, calling him honeſt or vertuous whom we love moſt, and who, by relation or benefit, are neareſt unto us, and rating otherwiſe again, all ſuch as diſoblige us, proceeding therein according to proportions and rules of ſelf-conſideration and charity only; whereby, out of private regard we impoſe upon perſons the names of thoſe vertues, which have their true worth only by generallity of performance.

For ſo we are wont to find out abatements, or denials of vertues themſelves, or to impoſe or inſinuate what odiums or ſcandals we can on our enemies and competitioners againſt the firſt, becauſe we would give reaſon and ſatisfaction why we hate them, againſt the latter, becauſe we would ſatisfie why we ſhould be preferred before them, in each condition ſtriving to make publique good and concern to cover, and be the ſame with ours.

After the ſame manner, may be obſerved, that the rank of ſubjects that is moſt commending and aiming at Democrates, &c. are ſuch as have greateſt hopes and probabilities to be Governors of others therein: In which caſe, our inbred pride and ſtubbornneſs may through the frequent contemplation of benefit therein to ariſe, provoke to action as the ſmell or ſight of food may excite and awaken the ſtomack.

And as thus in perſons, ſo in actions and things, we ſtrive always to have the like commended to what we have or do, and ſo on the contrary. For let a vice be cryed out upon, unto which we are ſubject, and we cannot forbid ſelf-conſideration to ſtep in with ſome excuſes and abatements; making it look like vertue, or let any vertue be extolled, of which we are not in practiſe or ability, we are then as prone with our abatements towards vice.

As for example, when ſelf-conſideration and advantage hath cauſed us in civil factions and diſturbances to chooſe one ſide before another, we are then become prejudiced and ſhut up againſt all arguments to the contrary: for to diſcommend our cauſe, is to diſcommend us, and we can be no more deſirous to be ſatisfied by others whether we do juſtly or no, then to be ſatisfied whether we intend our own benefit or not; for as we are aſhmed to

confeſs to ſeek the latter without regard to the former: So there is no remedy, but to endeavor ſo to clear and ſet forth our practiſe and intentions to publike utility and juſtice, that our private aims and endeavors may be therein excuſed or hidden.

And as ſmells (as aforeſaid) do affect from general agreement with ayr, or reſemblance to food, or the like: ſo alſo do taſtes affect from ſalt, becauſe from ſalt they have entrance upon the pallat, and yet hath particular cuſtom prevalence herein, ſo as to make ſome things more pleaſant then others; and thoſe that are moſt different, are moſt offenſive to ſuch as have been leaſt accuſtomed unto them.

All which is of as great uſe for the avoiding of pain, as the ſatiety of pleaſure (through long cuſtom) is for procuring new pleaſure: For if one thing ſhould have always and alike pleaſed, we ſhould have had no encouragement to variety, but might have ingratefully paſt over thoſe many other things by God and Nature afforded for our uſe: And again, love and hatred, honor and ſhame, pleaſure and diſpleaſure, being ſtated and encreaſed by compariſon of one another, it is neceſſary that ſome things ſhould be occaſionally and for a time hateful, diſhonorable, and unpleaſant; for if all things, as they are alike good in their kinds, were alike lovely and pleaſant to us, there would be, for want of choice, want of will; and for want of will, want of action; and ſuch a thing as a rational or ſenſitive creature there could not be.

Upon which grounds, and from cuſtom of indurance beforementioned, it comes to paſſe that Patience, Humility, and other hardſhips accompanying obedience and perſecutions, have ſuch efficacy and force; both to the ſuſtaining of afflictions, while preſent, and alſo to the reliſhing of all ſuch enjoyments as the party is poſſeſſed of, with higher and more ſteady delight then thoſe perſons can whoſe cuſtom and expectation hath always run a contrary way: divine providence ſo guiding theſe things to general good and content, that ſince no man could be without croſſes, nor the greater part without many of them (through reluctance of the creature, and pride and covetouſneſs of men) therefore it is made come to paſſe, that all, (at leaſt the greater part of men) are by making a vertuous uſe of neceſſity, enabled to raiſe to themſelves pleaſure out of what is in it ſelf otherwiſe, new cuſtom dileting the old.

Now again, to enquire after the pleaſingneſs of Cuſtom and Method, we will make inſtance in muſick. We find the Scale to be reckoned from one to eight, theſe notes of uniſon and diapaſon, including the method of all the other, do come thereupon within moſt notice: No otherwiſe, then the turnings and angles of knots and borders in gardens do, which maintaing order and method, come more readily and delightfully to be looked upon, then the ſtreight intermediate lines, or the flowers that are incloſed amongſt them. Which flowers have uſually greater delight, conſidered apart, then the herbs or other particulars whereof the knot is made; but becauſe they have neither method amongſt themſelves, nor do ſhare in the Common method, they muſt ſo far be defective of beauty: for they can have none but what muſt ariſe from ſeparate conſideration of Method in their own leaves and colours. As in the ſtars of the firmament, in which we can comprehend no order, becauſe their poſtures have no affinity with any method uſual amongſt us: we therefore take in them no delight, but what ariſeth from their excellencies

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in themſelves conſidered: even ſo on the contrary, Muſick being a thing abſtracted, and conſiſting in Juncture and Method only, muſt conſequently have the firſt and eight moſt lovely, as the borders and foundation of this method: for ſo the uniſon and diapaſon falling out to be Terminators, do come to have the ſame or like ſound to one another, as the meeting of two lines make one angle, which no two of the other notes have, and will thereon (according to equal ſucceſſion of notes in the ſame Scale) come to be oftner repeated, and (thereby) win more delight: But the ſecond and ſeventh that are fartheſt from one another, are the worſt in the Scale.

If Muſick had gone to ten, as Arithmetick doth, the tenth would then have been a concord to the firſt, as now the eighth is, and ſo would alſo the ſixth, if it had ended in that number: Even as a Ring of ſix or ſeven bells is as pleaſant as that of five or eight, rung either in Peal or Changes: and are more or leſs delightful, as men are accuſtomed to hear the like Bells or way of Ringing, which is called underſtanding them.

And ſo might Arithmetick have ended in eight, as Muſick doth, or in any other number ſhort, or above ten: ſo that eight times eight, or twelve times twelve might have been called a hundred; and eight or twelve of them again call one thouſand, and ſo on. For ten is but ten units, and one thouſand is but ten times ten unites: ſo that one and ten fall into one another, and are the foundation and termination of all number; and come oftner to be repeated, even ten times to one above any other number. For after you have reckoned from one to ten, you begin from ten again, as you did from one; ſo that twenty is two times ten, as thirty is three times ten, and ſo on: Ten ſtill keeping his denomination, not only in order after nine, but in computing of one and thirty, two and thirty, three and thirty, four and thirty, five and thirty, &c.) the number of ten comes to be reckoned ten times to each one of the digits or ſingle number.

So in the ſcale of muſick, you may ſuppoſe the ſame itteration, although not ſo apparent, becauſe muſick is not ſo far progreſſive as Arithmecal numeration is. For the cipher put to one, makes it ten, although it be ſtil but the ſame figure of one; and we properly call the other a cypher, having no value of it ſelf; but (by its numbers) ſhewing the numbers of tens. So in Muſick (which is but numbers played withal) the diapaſon is an uniſon with a ſuppoſed cypher, and comes in aſcenſion and deſcenſion (according to the uſual method of teaching Schollars) to be eight times repeated to any other note. For all Tones are but meaſures of diſtance, or difference of riſe and fall from the firſt note: as a third is meaſured by one between, the fourth by two, and fifth by three notes between the firſt and him, and ſo on.

In which doing, the firſt note being *Terminus à quo*, and each other note *Terminus ad quem*, and the *Terminus ad quem* being not computable (as to Method) but from the *Terminus à quo*, the firſt or uniſon comes (as aforeſaid) to be reckoned eight times for once of all the other numbers. As for example, in reckoning *Sol*, *la*, *mi*, and then *Sol*, *mi*, and, *Sol*, *la*, *mi*, *fa*, and then *Sol*, *fa*, and ſo on, the firſt note being itterated ſeverally to each other, comes to be as often mentioned as them all: The like may be obſerved, on the part of the eight, when you come to deſcend and go back again.

Now for the pleaſantneſs of the third and fifth above the fourth and ſixth, and for the pleaſantneſs of fourth and ſixth above the ſecond and ſeventh,

we are to conſider that as all things pleaſe by often preſence (where by they become familiar), ſo this preſence and familiarity may be made either by often repetition and ſucceſſion in the fancy, or by length of abode there; as for example, by the iteration of four footed beaſts in my fancy, I come to eſteem thoſe ſorts handſomeſt that come neareſt to the moſt agreeing and uſual form: So again, by oftner and longer ſeeing the ſhape of a man then them all, it may pleaſe better, as more ſeen then their ſhapes altogether: and ſo alſo the barking of Dogs, though a noiſe ſingular to that creature, yet it is tollerable by often hearing it, nay it is Muſick to Huntſmen that hear it very much: but the howling of Dogs, being in all kinds rare, is unpleaſant to all. And ſo farther, although handſomneſs and beauty uſually move affection, becauſe it is the moſt uſual and uniform feature, yet through familiarity and often preſence, I may come to like better of a face or perſon differing from the general rule, and commonly co-habitation proves a match-maker; and frequent notice is the moſt effectual means which lovers can uſe, even as we ſee other Creatures made friendly and loving hereby: For two Pidgeons, although at firſt never ſo diſagreeing, will mate and like one another, being a while encloſed.

So now (to return to Muſick) the ſecond and ſeventh are but uſed as tranſient notes, and have not uſually above the eight part of time allowed them for their prolation in the ear and fancy, which the other notes have: for proceeding; from the uniſon or firſt term, I cannot make a ſtop at the next, it being ſo near the firſt as there wants a note to meaſure the diſtance between them; for all harmony being made up of proportion, there will want a middle term to proportionate the extreams. So in *Sol, la, mi*, *la* is the meaſure between *Sol* and *mi*, and ſerves but to number withal: Nor can I make ſuch a ſtand at *la*, from *Sol*, as to make a muſical tone, until I come to a note of greater diſtance: For ſhould I ſay *Sol, la*, and ſtop at *la*, as I do at *mi*, when I ſay, *Sol, la, mi; Sol, mi*, Muſick would not be harmony or proportion, but numeration only. So, in deſcending the Scale again, the note that was ſeventh to the firſt, is now ſecond to the eight.

But then, although in thus ſcaling of notes, for teaching of young Scholars, we uſe but one ſort of time to all of them, yet when we come to make ſuch Muſick as we call Tunes, we muſt uſe difference of time, and make the greateſt ſtops at the moſt methodical and uſeful notes, which by this means will alſo farther come to be moſt pleaſant. And as a ſecond is the Numerator between the firſt and third, ſo is the fourth between the third and fifth; unto which third, the fifth is a third alſo, and the fourth is a ſecond, but the fourth is as much a better note then the ſecond, as the uniſon or diapaſon are better then the third: for goodneſs being but by compariſon, as the ſecond is more ill then the fourth or ſixth, ſo is the firſt or eight better then the third or fifth. If a ſeventh ſhould be a concord, as being a third to the fifth, then would there want a diſcord to ſet off other notes, and the eighth would be imperfect by wanting his diſcord: For theſe ſeconds are never uſed, but (by time and way of quaver) as ſlides and paſſes to eights. A fifth hath priority of a third, as having more proportions in it, and (being more diſtant) hath leſs debaſement from the uniſon or eight.

All which we have ſpoken more largely concerning Muſick, to ſhew how (in reſpect to Method and Harmony) ſome notes muſt be oftner uſed then others; and how in regard of this uſuage, and the longer ſtay upon ſuch

notes

notes) they come to be more pleasant: And again, for that Musick (being a thing disputable how its pleasure should arise, might by being thus discoursed upon) serve to illustrate other things. For from hence we may ground the chief reason why we come to be so wedded unto those customs and opinions we have been bred in and used unto, especially in matters of Religion, which (having little proof from sense) relies chiefly on this course of prevalence, namely to affect by inculcation of Doctrines and Tenets, as the experience of Sermons and Preaching makes good: for this God himself being first and last in Religion, is, as the unison and diapason, terminating all things; and as in Musick, the sweetness of those notes above others, ariseth from their longer continuance and oftner repetition: So in Religion, the more we press, and oftner we mention Gods Glory, Gods Worship, Gods Commands, &c. that which we utter besides is the more acceptable, even as those things are in value above others, and that especially, if compared to any thing in our selves; whereby God appearing so much above us, our perfections appear so much worse as his is better.

And this is wel known to undertakers for Church Reformation, first to cast into Gods Service, Gods Glory, &c. all that they would have acted in pursuance of their own designs, then to put such Laws and Customs as oppose them on the score of Humane Inventions, that so by the answerable disproportionin goodness (as between an eight and second) all that they like not may be disliked of others also. But then again, if an eight should be always stricken (without other variety) it would cease to please; So, to say nothing but Gods Service, Gods Glory, &c. would not make a harmony to please above the degree of children; and therefore Faith, Charity, and the like, are taken in, as thirds and fifths, according as their usage and esteem hath made them preferrable in each Country and Sect: For where *Solifidians* are, there Faith is the fifth, or best note, and Love and Charity is made the worser; and on the other side, where Charity is rightly understood, it is made chief as the end of the other.

And as for the other duties of Humility, Prayer, Repentance, Zeal, &c. they are placed in the composure of the harmony of each Religion, as they have different esteem in the Authors thereof: Whereupon, as the tunes of our Country please us beyond others, so that form of expressing our devotion which custom hath wedded us unto: but as we may fancy other tunes by degrees, so other forms that have their differences at first small: Nay, we ordinarily have a natural itch to variety; and it may be observed, that as the the same tune always played, causeth weariness: so, to such as cannot understand the true reason of things that Religion soonest cloyeth, whose exercise or doctrine hath least variety and most confinement, and therefore set forms displease ordinary capacities, as grave set set musick to those that are unskilled in the art, pleaseth not so much as a Jig.

And as Musick being an abstracted Method is not examinable by any thing but the ear it self: So in Religion, the farther you sequester your self from Charity, so much the more you confine its grounds to custom and opinion: for if it be placed all in the ear (as Musick is) then (being only a spiritual method) it will follow, that that method we apprehend best (and consequently that Religion we are most used unto) will without more ado please most; and thereupon each person must be rendred an uncontrollable judge therein: but so far as Love and Charity shall be taken in, this (being operative

tive) will make it fall within notice of other ſenſes, and ſo become examinable by other method: For Charity having its ground in Reaſon and Nature (as it is made to ſtand in harmony with them) it may ſerve to juſtifie or condemn Religions, as the goodneſs of the tree may be judged by its fruits.

To enquire into the reaſon of Comprehenſion and Method a little farther, we are to conceive that the brain in each man being the common ſenſe to diſcover what is of benefit or damage, hath the Nerves as ſo many Scouts and Centinels for information: Now as any thing is by theſe apprehended, ſome impreſſion is made in the ſoft ſubſtance of the brain. This at firſt coming muſt make an unuſal diſlocation and poſture therein, and ſo diſpleaſe within, no otherwiſe then diſtortion of any member doth diſpleaſe without. And knowledge and comprehenſion is nothing elſe but the ready turning and ceſſion of the brain to ſuch figures as are offered: and reaſoning and diſcourſe is ſucceſſion of configuration, according to ſuch Concomitants and Appearances as have accompanied it; which now more or leſs readily appearing and anſwering, as they were formerly oftener ſeen or fancied therewith, come thereupon to be eſteemed more or leſs reaſon.

But all new ojects muſt for a time diſpleaſe, according to their ſtrangeneſs; for that this common ſenſory, being thus wholly imployed, and as it were, impriſoned and confined in apprehending and configuring this new gueſt, hath not time to watch and attend other informations, that might be by ſenſe offered to it at the ſame time. For ſo we find, that in great agitation of mind, and when our fancies are intent on the contrivance of things more eminently preſſing, we are heedleſs of what elſe is preſented unto us: And hence it is that two things at once cannot be ſtudied on, if they be ſo differing as not compriſable in the ſame method.

Pain is more external, and differs from this inward offence; being the ſtoppage of Spirits in their methodical motions in the parts of the body; whereby, being hindred from recourſe to their fountain the brain, the place that obſtructs them will (through their irregular motion therein) find pain; and pleaſure is, when theſe ſpirits are excited in motion or evacuation with their proper humor.

When any violent or unuſal poſture is offered to the Nerves, diffuſed in the ſenſes and exterior parts, the brain is ſenſible through them, no otherwiſe then the Spider is of any thing that toucheth any part of her web; in which, every forraign touch makes her ſenſible, by altering the poſture of thoſe threds unto which ſhe is joyned. For as the Spider ſitting upon the Center and Coition of her work with her body, and having her legs extended to the ſeveral Angles thereof is hereby made preceptible of thoſe touches and impreſſions which forraign bodies do make upon it; even ſo the brain, by thoſe his long legs of nerves, every where diſperſed through the body, may be conceived to be much more ſenſible of thoſe ſeveral forms of twitching and convulſion made in its membranes, by the like impreſſion made upon its nerves by any forraign touch. And as by degrees, and many tryals from our infancy, our ſenſes are enabled to conform themſelves unto outward figures and objects: ſo is the brain alſo by degrees brought to receive and retain thoſe: and doth as eaſily fall into the like poſture or figure, when thoſe objects ſhall be raiſed in the fancy which did uſually accompany them.

If

If there be alteration in the body of the brain it ſelf (without forraign touch of feeling) it is not then called pain, but horror, confuſion, amazement, or the like. For the Spirits (uſed to watch in the ſenſes themſelves without) are now here extraordinarily imployed in putting this new object into method, whereby it may be capable of memory and uſe, and do thereupon for a time make diſturbance, as in a Crowd.

So that Pain and Pleaſure are properly only in touch or ſenſe of feeling: the objects of other ſenſes being by them immediately let into the brain (as having the nerves that ſerve them more contiguous to his ſubſtance) they impart not pleaſure and pain to it, as directly from themſelves, nor are capable thereof, as ſenſes, but as outward parts and organs, to be affected by forraign touch.

Now health is negative to ſickneſs, as pleaſure is (for the moſt part) but abſence of pain; and is when each individual body hath its humours enjoying their wonted proportion, ſeats, and motions, according to the proper conſtitution thereof, ſo as the ſpirits may not be inwardly ſtopped to make us inwardly ſenſible, as pain makes us outwardly. But ſickneſſe affects more generally, becauſe the obſtruction being in common paſſages of all parts of the body, the ſenſe thereof muſt be more univerſal then in pain, where a ſingle nerve it may be, is only affected. But then again, pain is more quick, as more intire and unite. For in ſickneſs (till it be mortal) there is not a total ſtoppage, becauſe the bowels and other paſſages have ſome recourſe left them to the ſtomack, &c. and thereupon thoſe nerves that attend them can be but in part ſtopped. But uſually ſickneſſe hath ſome pain, as having ſome part or paſſage more obſtructed then another.

When I ſee a heavy thing tend downwards, it is a motion ſo conformable to all other, that (as a thing whoſe operation and concernment is already fully known) it is paſſed over with content of ſecurity and maſtery: But the operation of the Loadſtone, ſeeming proper to it ſelf, diſtracts and puzzles us for want of ability to conceive (and conſequently) to apply it to knowledge and uſe. For knowledge refers to uſe, as truth doth to goodneſs; for from the obſervation of the motions and operations of Loadſtones, men apply them to nautical, and ſome other uſes. And *Bonum* differs from *Verum* but in application, things being true as they are real, and good as they are modal: Whereby, that which at firſt had entity and exiſtence by Creation, in reſpect of thoſe affections, and that ſerviceableneſs it carries to other things, comes afterwards in the rule of Providence to be held as good. And my will differs from my underſtanding as knowledge abſtracted doth, from that which hath reference to me and my uſe. And it is as natural for the underſtanding to affect truth and enquiry, as it is for the will to affect good, and the exerciſe thereof. And therefore as I may want perſonal liberty to perform my will, ſo may I want liberty in my underſtanding, when I want Method to conceive, or variety (ſuitable thereunto) for making farther diſcovery, being then ſubject to be lead by the judgement of others, which is indeed the greateſt thraldom of any. But the want of this I cannot know, becauſe the want and the wanter are all one, but experience will inform in the other.

So now we may call Method an Art proper to every fancy, of regiſtring its own particular obſervations in a kind of total. For after that I have, from induction

induction, obſerved, that every ſingle man is more rational then other creatures, I conclude alſo; thereby differencing men from other things. And when again, I come to obſerve that he agrees with them in the ſearch of things pleaſurable, I then conclude this done as out of ſome principle common to them all, wherein they muſt agree as Senſitives. For as knowledge or memory precedes, being the obſervation of things in particular, ſo method ſucceeds in collecting theſe particulars, and placing them in totals with other things of the ſame kind, and agreeing in properties. And when fancy hath an object not ſo placed already, or compriſable in ſome rank or claſſis of our entertained method, it is troubled. For if it be a thing altogether unknown, ſo as I cannot diſcover between the homogenial and heterogenial properties thereof, or if thoſe properties are not reducable into ſome claſſis of comprehenſion of that Method I have already framed, what uſe or pleaſure can I make thereof? and all thoſe Arts and Sciences we have entertained, are but methodical collections of thoſe diſtinguiſhable inclinations, effects and properties of men, creatures and things, which Authors have made and agreed upon, and are true or falſe as they are more or leſs comprehenſive, and exactly diſcuſſive of all thoſe particulars they undertake. In which courſe of proceeding, the ſubject is uſually conſidered as it hath reference to pleaſure and benefit. And thoſe Arts and Sciences that ſeem moſt ſpeculative, have yet (through Method) pleaſure in ſpeculation: but generally knowledge and enquiry look to good, as mony doth to commodity; that is, although it be not pleaſurable in it ſelf, yet is the general ready thing for procuring what is ſo, humane benefit being the end of the Art it ſelf, and private gain or honor of the Artiſt.

Now as all men have aims, and thoſe higher or lower, according to their way of breeding, ſo have they their proper Method and means for accompliſhing them anſwerable to their underſtandings. And although the true aims of great men, in reſpect of honor and generoſity, may not be diſcovered by the vulgar, yet the greatneſs it ſelf, and the advantages thereof being neceſſarily always obſerved by them. Hence it comes to paſs that their conceptions are ſtill running along, to fancy their method and aim to be according to their own. Thus children that for want of engagement and obſervation are not yet able to apprehend the true benefit or value of riches or honor, or to conceive upon what inducements men are led to moſt of their actions, muſt alſo want method and underſtanding in themſelves to approve and like of what they do, for play and liberty being their end, and having fancied other things as they ſtood in order thereunto, they cannot be imagined to bend their ſtudies to the attaining of food or apparel: becauſe they always found theſe things ready; when as being debarred in the other, it cauſed them to uſe contrivance therein. And therefore they are not able to conceive that their Parents ſhould be put to ſuch labour and ſtudy in getting their maintenance; but do think that in theſe acquiſitions, and in their commerce with other men, they are but following their own liberty and paſtimes, as themſelves do with their play-fellows.

And ſo again, the vulgar ſort of men, having only riches and ſome other more ſenſual enjoyments in their aims, and having alſo another and more ſhort way of getting thoſe things amongſt themſelves, muſt needs be as much at a loſs and miſtake in their cenſures, when they come to look into the actings of great men or their Governors. For being themſelves neither able to

fancy

fancy the way and difficulty of getting this greatneſs, or of protecting them therewith; nor the true end and uſe of this power (more then children do apprehend the difficulty and coſt of their breeding and maintenance) they are ready, according to thoſe conceits within themſelves, to think that theſe things came by their good fortune, and were accordingly no otherwiſe uſeful then to enable them to live ſplendidly and deliciouſly, and to exerciſe arbitrary power in extolling or abaſing ſome few as they ſaw good: becauſe, if themſelves were in like condition, their aims ſhould not be other then the reward or puniſhment of friends or enemies. And if at any time they be brought into ſome ſpeculation of the means of entrance, & end of this power; this, as being a thing altogether beyond their own comprehenſion, they muſt be ſuppoſed as well implicitely following thoſe methods which ambitious heads have put upon them herein, as alſo delightfully and eagerly doing it; even for that the method and ſatisfaction which they now find therein, muſt needs fill them with the belief of ſo much knowledge, as to think they have arrived at the top thereof. And therefore being not able, for want of ſufficient obſervation and inſight into Divine or Political matters, to diſcover the true ground and reaſon of things, they preſently judge all thoſe actions which are not agreeable to thoſe rules of ſcripture, of paction, of conſent, or the like, which they find interpreted and ſcholied by their guides, to be ſuperſtitious and unjuſt. The which alſo is much helped on, aſwell out of deſire to avoid the ſhame of being ignorant, as out of vain-glory to appear wiſe and knowing in things of ſuch difficulty.

And this peremptorineſs of opinion and judgement is moſt incident to our firſt inlet into theſe diſcoveries. For then it is to be ſuppoſed that we are moſt ſwayed with delight of theſe new ſpeculations, and do alſo moſt want time to examine whether the particulars we now apprehend are every way agreeable and comprehenſive of thoſe things we undertake to judge, or no: or elſe that we are not carried on by our own partialities and intereſts, ſo as to judge that Perſon a Tyrant, an Uſurper, or the like, whom we have no intereſt in, nor hope of: but by our partial (that is to ſay, our ſhort and weak Methods and Collections) we are ſubject to proceed too haſtily to the liking or condemning of a Government or Governor, upon the like ſudden apprehenſion as the *Barbarians* did of S. *Paul*: who muſt one while be no better then a *Murtherer*, & preſently again concluded for no leſs then *a god*, from ſingle indications and accidents, and ſuch as had no coherence with that which they would apply them unto. Upon which ground it may be obſerved, that Princes and great men are by vulgar judgements never permitted to go under a middle cenſure: they are ſtill extreamly good, or extreamly bad. For being by ſome ſudden accident brought to alter that conceit they had before entertained as ſuddenly and ungroundedly of his vertues or vices, it is no wonder if they hereupon become as haſty and extream in their cenſures of him this way, as they did the other way. For it being to be ſuppoſed natural unto man to affect farther diſcovery and knowledge, it comes therefore to paſs that the delight in contemplation and proſecution of what is now in view, keeps him for the time inconſiderate of what more may be had, and ſo it muſt conſequently leave the weak and empty comprehenſion as full and peremptory (as to its ſelf and its own ſatisfaction) as he that hath more and better ground to go upon.

The which we find verified upon mens firſt undertaking to read and expound the Scripture: the many examples there found of Gods miraculous

atteſtation and reward of ſome ſuch as have been eminent for goodneſs and piety, preſently raiſes in us a conceit of our own deſerts herein alſo; and men are uſually thereupon ready to fancy and expect (even to a degree of temptation) that God ſhould in ſome like manner appear in the honoring and acknowledging of them. And, upon a contrary rule again, finding many examples therein of Gods diſpleaſure and puniſhment of men for oppreſſion, injuſtice, and other notorious wickedneſs, they are as ready, out of the conceit of their own wrong ſuffering and ſubjection at the hand of their own Enemies or Superiors, to make a paralel of the one with the other; and think that neither Patience nor Obedience is on their part due, to theſe ſo apparent enemies to God and goodneſs, as their prejudice and ignorance doth now judge to theſe ſo apparent enemies to God and goodneſs, as their prejudice and ignorance doth now judge them to be.

The which is moſt eſpecially inſtigated from the example and inſinuations of perſons of greater repute for learning or judgement then themſelves; who having many times ambitious or factious aims, are ready (as we ſaid) to caſt before them ſuch forms of examination as ſhall be ſure to leave a diſlike in them towards the actions and commands of their Superiors, and conſequently intice them to ſiding with them: which muſt prevail, becauſe they are ſo far defective of obſervation and experience of their own, and conſequently entice them to ſiding with them, which muſt prevail, becauſe they are ſo far defective of obſervation and experience of their own, as to find and frame juſt Methods to themſelves, and ſo to examine how far theſe and other particulars are, or are not agreeable and comprisable within the true rules and limits of Religion and Polity.

And of theſe kinds of deceits, taken up upon too eaſie examination and credulity, I can ſpeak more confidently, having had ſo great experience of them in my ſelf, and that in both kinds. For I believe that no man was more averſe to Epiſcopacy, and Church Orders and Ceremonies, and ſuch like, then my ſelf in my youth, and while I continued to converſe with ſuch only as had theſe things in deteſtation; and all becauſe the method of examination which was then put into me for to try caſes of this kind by, (as to their approach to evil) was to ſearch whether Papiſts uſed them or no. So that I, not having then knowledge or experience enough to examine how thoſe things ſtood grounded in themſelves, or to underſtand that Papiſts, even as they were Chriſtians, could not chooſe but be in the right in ſomethings, was thereupon in danger to abandon ſome Chriſtian truths and duties, becauſe I found them within my rule of diſlike, as being acted and believed by Papiſts.

Being once prepoſſeſſed with theſe and ſuch like ſhort Rules and Methods of diſtinction and adjudication, I was quickly tainted alſo with the Phariſaical humour of judging for my ſelf, and thoſe of my belief, againſt ſuch as differed, thinking that all that were not as invective againſt the thing called Popery (which truly for a good while I underſtood not) and as converſant in Sermons, and ſome ſelect phraſes and demeanors, were (notwithſtanding their unblamable lives otherwiſe, and that according to Chriſtian faith) to be eſteemed but bare moral men. Their outſtripping me in the real duties of general love and beneficence to men, and in the rendring God more honorable by their publike and more ſolemn adoration and acknowledgement of him before men, were not, as I thought arguments comparable to prove them of the number of the godly and Saints, as were thoſe Rules of diſtinction which I had framed to my ſelf.

And

And so again, in matter of Government and Political speculation, none more pleased and taken then my self, with all those fine Maxims and Rules of Examination, which, in the beginning of our unhappy troubles, were set on foot for tryal and control of the actions of Princes. My thought I was now much elevated in my rank and ability, being enabled to give a just censure of all that was done by one so much above me, and whom I had ignorantly hitherto thought should have guided me. When he acted in Civil matters, the Law of the Land was to be his bound and director; and when in affairs of Religion, the Scripture. If I had staid there it had been well. No, as I was told that it was not fit that Kings should be unlimitted and arbitrary in their rule; So also, that his single judgement or conscience were not to be trusted herein neither, therefore I did next fancy, that the Judges were to determine the meaning of the Law, and the Divines of Scriptures. In which I was not yet so far out of the way, but what a few caveats might set right. But I proceeded farther still in pressing onwards, that I at last thought none to be trusted in these high powers but the people themselves: The Judges and Divines, alas, they might be corrupted, but a community could not wrong it self. And therefore, over all, as the Paramont Power, I conceived there was to be a Parliament, to give final determination, and see execution done.

This at first I thought to import the King in Parliament; afterwards I was lead to believe it was the King and Parliament; afterwards it came to be the two houses of Parliament which were apprehended to be the Supreme Authority. And as the pleasing speculations of paction and derived power from the people did generally take & encrease, so came the lower house to be the upper house, & afterwards the sole house of Parliament, as being thought the peoples only true Representors. So that, at last, a King beset with all these limitations, did look like a Duck in a Garden, brought to eat up the Snailes and Worms, and then tied up by the leg, for fear of trampling over the flowers, or meuting in the Walks. But the examples of inconveniences arising from Kings exorbitant use of Power (by their strong and fresh impression) making me on the sudden heedless, how by bridling his Power to do ill, I did also take away the power of doing good: and then also there having been no president in stories of a perpetual or unlimitted Parliament, and consequently of any evil thence arising, I came to be so taken up with the apprehension of the good they might do, according to that power they had anciently practised, that I did not then consider withal (I mean for a great while I did not) that if one man, that did acknowledge himself subject to Law, could by his power do so much mischief, what then might be feared where a multitude shall joyn in a mischief, who shall say they are above Law.

But it fareth with men in entertaining those narrow Schems for comprehension of any thing, as it doth in making knots and plats for Gardens or Building, which each one at the time of doing, will think done after the best manner, because done according to advisement of workmen or the like, and according to that stock of materials he then knew of, or stood furnished with: But when he shall make observation farther, and find both other materials and other methods more fit and capable of their receit, he will then alter his own method of adjudication also: For it is to be conceived that in this course of methodising, our fancy carrieth the form of a Pyramid,

wherein the particulars obſervable in nature make the Baſis; which leſſens towards the top, as the particulars unite and agree in ſuch generals as we may call notions. But then, as theſe notions come to be imployed and to receive approbation from experience, they are again, for ready eaſe and uſe, collected into other totals called affections; which, having obtained ſettlement from the harmony of experiments, come to guide us in what we do without reference back to particulars, more then he that can now read ſhould be put to make uſe of ſpelling.

For ſo, Beauty, Honor, &c. have place in my deſire, but the particulars out of which I did at firſt come to the general liking of them, are out of my memory; nor indeed could their variety and repetition be remembred, being the obſervation of my whole life, of the common rate and eſteem of theſe things by others; which could never ſerve us for uſe and proficience in knowledge, unleſs we did proceed to this way of abreviation. For particulars, whilſt they are remarkable, are the objects of memory, but after they are made familiar by inſtances of the like kind, they are amaſſed altogether, and paſs into notions and affections. Unto the conſtitution of which notions, as each ſenſe carrieth his part, ſo are they ſoveraigns in their own order; that is, where they are not in particular objects dependent upon one another, there their inductions paſs as peremptorily and uncontroulably into affections one as another.

Even as we formerly noted in Religion, and the Opinions and Doctrines thence derived, which (having not Charity for their object, but depending on the ear only) come (through often repetition and commendation) to prevail and paſs into affections and ſciences, upon the ſame grounds that (by ſight) this or that Figure, Faſhion or Face comes to pleaſe. And ſo it is in the particular ſmells and taſtes we are accuſtomed unto; wherein (former repetitions growing too numerous for memory of particulars) cuſtom is (then) uncontrolable, and begets affections and ſcience in inductions proceeding from them, as obſervations from ſight breed affections in things objected unto it.

In this way of diſcovering cauſes by various coincidence of effects, and of common cauſes to them again, according to their concurrence, until we come to the prime cauſe of all things, Gods glory, we ſeem to reintegrate our knowledge and comprehenſion, as if received from the fountain by intuition. For hereby, if rightly proceeded in, we are able to judge of all things within the verge of humane ſenſe, even as taught by themſelves. And as we learn upwards, ſo we judge and diſcourſe downwards; that is, from general notions to particulars.

We will (for better inſtance and application in theſe things) look more nearly into our learning it ſelf, and the labour therein uſed. We that read now (having forgot the difficulties that attended us in our learning thereof) do wonder at the backwardneſs of others: Firſt, in diſtinguiſhing letters one from another, then in knowing and diſtinguiſhing their ſeveral values and pronounciations: then, having underſtood their agreements and diſagreements amongſt themſelves, how to collect, apply, and place them in ſyllables: Then how (in like manner) to make of theſe ſyllables, words; and of theſe words again, to frame ſentences or notions. And laſtly, how to apply and judge of theſe ſentences, as they ſhall ſeem conſonant and proper to thoſe ſeveral artificial methods by me entertained already, which we call

Affections

Affections; which having good for their object, do accordingly reliſh and tranſmit things to the common affection, the will, to determine how it ſtands in intereſt with other affections, and alſo to have the approbation of the underſtanding whether it be attainable or no, For will diſputes not whether the affections propound what is good (that is to ſay, pleaſant) or no, but whether this pleaſure be ſo continuing and attainable as to make it good.

But it is to be conſidered, that the fancy doth differently imploy it ſelf in the methodiſing of particulars towards the conſtitution of affections and paſſions, over it doth in methodiſing and retaining ſuch other particulars which are to be imployed by way of Diſcourſe and Reaſon. In the firſt way, particulars are amaſſed according to their genus, and ſo, from a broad foot or baſis (as we ſaid) do agree and point in ſtreight lines towards the conſtitution of ſome affection in us. The which affection, being that which provokes us to delight and action, doth, as the end, by degrees inſtigate the fancy, and fit it ſelf therein with a proper method of comprehenſion, how, amongſt all the other obſervations made and collected, things may be ſo choſen and ſo ordered and placed, as to be inſtrumental and ſerviceable to the furtherance of this end. So far as impreſſions are topically, figurately and particularly retained, they have ſtill reference to the objects, and do penetrate the brain only, being uſed but as inſtruments and ſervants to the attaining of that which each affection doth prompt to the enjoyment of: For each affection and appetite hath its proper method of judication and acquiſition, as it had its own method and way of amaſſing from particulars, whilſt it was making its inward impreſſion and reſentment in the heart; which is now its ſeat, from whence the brain is ſet on work as a Miniſter to produce figures conformable when an object of import is preſented. Each affection rangeth particular objects in her method, as the Gardener doth flowers in his knots and borders, even as they are accounted priſable and delightful.

However, we have uſed the terms of fancy and method ſeverally, yet they are the ſame; being the orderly collection and configurations of particulars in the brain, contrived for the uſe of each affection. And ſo again, we may conceive memory and imagination to be the ſame, being the impreſſes and repreſentations of particular objects and figures, whereby the often or ſerious obſervation of them, as preſented to the ſenſe from without, doth cauſe us to imagine we ſtill ſee, hear, &c. them in the ſame manner and form within.

And as affections did at firſt ariſe from particular outward objects, reliſhing them according to experience of the pleaſure accompanying them: ſo alſo do they take encreaſe from the methodical application of objects as a means to this end. And thereupon alſo, as figures were firſt impreſſed from particular and more diſtinct objects, and did thereupon by degrees come to be compriſed in Methods and Configurations amongſt themſelves: ſo likewiſe do they unite and become ſerviceable towards the conſtitution of other, or new Methods: Even as the ſeveral perſons, ranged in a Scene or Antimask, may be comprehended under one figure: or as the ſeveral hounds in hunting may be conſidered as one pack, or their ſeveral barkings taken as one cry. Whereby alſo, through uſe, that which was at firſt caſt into this method for the uſe of other affections, may become an affection by it ſelf. For it is to be ſuppoſed that the ſame figures & impreſſions of the brain may ſtand diverſely conſiderable and affecting us, as they have already paſſed into

affections

affections by their uſe, or elſe are no farther pleaſurable, then what the now uſe and application of them in ſome methodical courſe muſt afford, towards the ſervice of ſome affection. In one ſort they are conſidered as true; in the other as good. The figure of a letter is a different thing from its value, the which continues the ſame as to its uſe in making of words, although the letter it ſelf may be figured in a diverſe character, and thoſe words and ſentences made of them, are differently conſidered in the ſpelling and pronounciation, over they are in their ſignification and import.

As affections do come to be thus bred in us from outward objects, and alſo by degrees to encreaſe in ſtrength, ſo there is more reaſon for will to follow the guidance of affections, ſo bred in eſtimating good and bad, then is for it to follow authority; for the inductions framed by my ſelf are the obſervations of mine own ſenſe; but my grounding on the diſcourſes of others, is grounding on their ſenſes, which is not farther prevalent, then correſponding with mine own. And inductions from Authority, move as other inductions by uniformity and conſent, and that according to ſuch paterns of truth as are fore-conceived; elſe a ſingle Authority, by joynture of my former affections and inductions may prevail in my acceptance, as over-numbring the contradictors. Like as we may find in particular it fareth with the weaker and more credulous ſort in matters of belief; unto whom (as not able to contradict from contrary collection and experience in themſelves, or to apprehend their Reaſons and Arguments) thoſe few Authorities they imbrace, come to be followed as of unqueſtionable power and force. For theſe ſort of people being not able to apprehend many things of Divinity in general, or indeed any principle on its true ground and foundation, have their hopes and fears (for the moſt part) terminated in certain ſelect phraſes and expreſſions of Scripture, which (themſelves not well underſtanding) they are (through their ambiguity) brought to fancy them in all uſes, as carrying the ſenſe of the whole Scriptures themſelves; and thereupon to make uſe of them in judging of what is fit and lawful for themſelves or others, in all kinds of actions and deportments, as though they had been the very particular directions which were proper thereunto. Inſomuch, as where the tranſlator is at a loſs for rendring the genuine and true ſenſe of an Hebraiſm, or the like; they are wont to take up thoſe phraſes and expreſſions ſo affectedly, as to frame, in a manner, a new Religion to themſelves out of their cuſtomary uſe and approbation of them.

In which caſe it fareth with them, as it doth with children who are by way of ſport, turning themſelves often round, not only for pride and affectation ſake, to ſee who can turn ofteneſt, but on purpoſe alſo, that they may then ſtand delighted with thoſe tranſient and giddy figures and apprehenſions which are then made in their brain. Even ſo it befalleth thoſe ſorts of men in theſe vertigoes and intoxications made in them by their affected uſe of unintelligible and inſignificant forms and phraſes. When as, out of pride to excel others in degree of ſpeculation, whom they ſee already ſo much before them in the ordinary and intelligible courſe, they are thereupon lead to fancy this courſe. Which having in it no correſpondence or ground-work in Nature or Reaſon,

both

both becauſe the terms themſelves are deſtitute of Figure and Comprehenſion, and becauſe they cannot be configurated by other real bodies and figures neither, they muſt conſequently remain like men in a Maze, without a clew of Method to direct them. But they become hereupon ſo wedded, that whoſoever, in offering to convert or farther inſtruct theſe people, ſhall not, for admiſſion into their conceits, hide his meaning under theſe their familiar expreſſions, ſhall loſe his labour, and that not only as being unconceived by them for want of ſufficient prenotion, but as contradicting, as they conceive, ſuch plain truths, as (by the cuſtomary uſe of theſe phraſes) they conceive their opinions to be.

And as obſervation and practiſe of particulars become at laſt affections in ſuch things as are performed and fancied in our ſelves, ſo alſo the the often ſight and notice of the ſigns and figures of theſe affections in others come by degrees to affect alſo ſo far as to promote and induce the ſame in us; even as yawning affects to imitation both of that action and of the drowſineſs it denotes, and the ſigns and attendants of the luſt and fear of others affects thereunto alſo. No otherwiſe then the examples of ſucceſs and impunity of perſons in their courſes of ſtubborneſs, or the converſation and diſcourſes of them, are ſtrong motives for other children and ſubjects to do the like.

But then this works not in children and creatures very yong, until practiſe and contemplation, hath ſo rooted and conformed theſe affections in our ſelves as they have ſtrength to take rebound from others, which in them cannot be, as alſo they muſt want obſervation of the ſigns themſelves, and motives unto them; both for want of time, and for want of that affection that ſhould ſpur thereunto. Nor can theſe ſigns be of much force again on men or creatures very ancient; where want of ſpirits in the brain muſt leave the appetite and affection to theſe very dull and almoſt delete, and leave alſo the nerves and organs of the body ſo empty and hollow, that they repreſent not with any ſteadineſs or ſtrength, as alſo the experience of danger to ariſe, muſt make them ſlow in new undertakings.

But to return to enquiry, after the riſe of knowledge and reaſon, from inſtance in reading and learning. At firſt every letter muſt, by its often admiſſion through the viſſual nerve, receive an anſwerable impreſsion and figure in the brain, before any difference can be eſtimated and valued between it and another letter by compariſon, for elſe could there be no difference put between any thing but what the eye could ſee at once. And this comprehenſion cannot be well made at firſt ſight, but according to appliableneſs of the organ, and intention of mind in the learner; and therefore in teaching of Birds and Beaſts, we uſe watchings, corrections and rewards to make them attend. In children, that have their brain of a more tender ſubſtance, and leſs diſtorted by former figures, and have alſo (according to their bigneſs) more ſtore of it then men, we find how eaſie its to teach them to read over older folks; notwithſtanding they have not uſually the like deſire and intention of mind. So that the firſt ſtep to knowledge is to feel and ſee well, and to have good ſenſes; the next is to compare and make differences.

Young-

Younglings coming first to see, look upon every thing with like amazement: but, because the light is the most usual thing they behold (for the various fashion thereof makes colours) they therefore, after they have by custom past over its first dislike (caused through strangeness) first like the brightest, and such colours as shew it most lively. And hence they come to be pleased with glasses, candles, &c. before shapes and figures; and Babies come to be but after-plays to toys of shew, for they see nothing without light, but many shapes and figures besides those of men and women; which shape again, as being oftenest notified in comparison of all others, comes to be most familiar & pleasing. And upon like reason, come younglings to like of that particular party that is most present to their sense, it being much encreased by experience of indemnity: So Ducks will follow the Hen that hatched them; and so children that Nurse, or other body that is most conversant, familiar, and kind unto them: and they like and dislike others of the same kind, as they resemble or differ most from these.

The pleasure of motion which young ones have in being rocked, or in playing one with another, seems to affect from that accustomed tumbling they had in the womb; for feeling is the first of senses, coming with life it self, if not the same. But then, as the brain and animal spirit of each creature stands chiefly imployed in the womb in the motion and sense of feeling of the limbs and outward parts, and doth thereupon prompt to exercise and delight in like agitation and motion afterwards, yet, when objects from the senses do afterwards come to imploy the brain and spirits inwardly, and when sense from the inward parts do draw the fancy and intention that way, then by degrees doth the exercise and delight in the motion of the limbs cease, and men become not only sedentary and studious, as in relation to figures entertained in the brain, but also to be strongly affected with the pleasures of eating and drinking, and such other enjoyments as may be performed with least shaking and dislocation of the stomack and other inward parts.

Those loud and harsher noises that prevail in quieting of children, that cannot please from custom, do take their effect from diversion; that is, by recalling their imagination from the sense of some other suffering, to attend this strange noise now in their ears, and not from pleasure of the noise it self; which can please but by comparison of a less affliction to a greater. But all our delights, while very young, are most corporal, and have, like to other Sensitives, reference to our own sensible Customs: But when we come to observe what rate the sense and custom of others put upon things, persons or actions, we then, according to our own particular sense of the ability of the persons so rating them, judge and conclude of their worth, or otherwise, which we call honour and dishonor.

And hence it comes that bigger Childrens most eager sports are usually made in imitation of what they see men do; and the end of them to aim at victory and pre-excellence one above another. And as we come to be in liking of persons, and then of actions, so children, at first, are imitating the actions of such they most converse with, and take notice of: so that sometimes they are washing, sweeping, making fires, or the like (from their converse and familiarity amongst servants: but, when they come abroad into the world, persons of greatest honor, come, through the observation of the respect by others given

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that way, to be most observed by them, and consequently, those actions that are performed by and to them, to please above other actions: For these having uniformity, as being regulated by Law and Custom, must affect above the lose, incoherent, and disorderly actions of others, as handsome faces and good hands do above those that are common: For it is not the persons, but the dignity we affect. And all actions and things, that refer not to sensible good, refer to honor, and things come to have esteem as attendants and causes of honor: For as honorable actions draw on our observation and esteem, so self-respect leads us to affect and pursue the causes of them: But, unto the observation of the causes of honor children seldom reach, for the effect must first so highly please as to provoke to ambition.

And therefore with them, and the more ordinary sort of people, flattery is apprehended to be the same with honor: And, for want of observatoin and intelligence wherein true honor doth consist, they take all kind of praises and commendations to be the same with it. And, upon this score, they may well indeed conclude that honor is in the honoring first, and not in the honored: for that there being no true cause or reason in the party this way honored, why this praise or honor should be given, but the cause and design of it taking issue from the flatterer, it must thence follow, that as honor is in the honored first, so flattery in the flattered first.

From the custom of feeling (before spoken of) it is that very young infants or creatures, finding nothing under them for support as they had in the womb, do, when we would make shew of letting them fall, put their bodies and parts into posture of resistance and aversion: not against falling it self, as knowing the danger or damage to follow thereupon; but because they find their present posture strange and uneasie: And therefore for want of the like sustentation to be left under them, they are ready to catch at new hold and support. For to a childe new born, that hath not apprehended the difference of sights, the fright of falling from a precipice will be but equal to that of falling out of its Nourses lap: And children receive displeasure at first from lying on any thing that makes them not sensible of a like general and equal sopport they had in the womb. And therefore we find them laid on beds and laps made even, and yet hardly enduring the unequal application of arms or legs under them, until they are so swadled up that these partial supports seem thereby to be equal and even. For the motion of gravity or propriety of place, being a necessary property of all bodies and their parts, it will follow to be sooneſt, and so consequently, most universally known: Therefore this strugling of children is caused through sense of feeling to avoid a present injury it now feels through uneasiness, and not out of innate conception of danger, as some do think. For if such instincts and knowledge were, then would children be afraid of drowning, or burning, or the like?

This instance hath been prosecuted, to give occasion to discover how we may come to be habituated and affected to certain postures in the exercise and enjoyment of our minde and will, as well as of our bodies; and how that thereupon, those restraints which Government imposeth upon

our liberties in the one, must cause reluctance and desire of release, as well as in the other, and that sense and experience of alteration and discomposure is the cause of dislike in our wills aswel as our bodies. When therefore these things are ascribed to nature, it must be understood of secondary or acquired nature. For children or creatures new born, for want of experience and observation, stand affected from no sense but that of feeling. Nor do the objects of other senses please or displease at first, unless they imprint and move so violently as to induce feeling, by affecting the heart and other parts and habits of the body, by means of those inward pares of nerves. Whereupon the humors and parts within do heighten (as it were, by their proper experience) the relish of that figure or object in the brain, to like or dislike, after the rate they stood themselves formerly made sensible thereof from it.

And therefore time and experience being required to make fear or other passions strong, we find that mankind till they come to ripeness and tryal, stand not apprehensive or averse to Government. After which, sense and knowledge of its use and benefit, and also of his own suffering thereunder, makes him (proportionably) contented or reluctant. Proportionably (I say) for that as Reason and Religion do out of sense of duty more or less bear sway over the more natural and bodily sense of suffering, and restraint of will, so will Government be to each one more or less offensive: there being but these two great motives for children and subjects obedience, sense of benefit and interest, and sense of conscience and duty. For want of true experience and knowledge whereof, the family as well as the Kingdom comes to be troubled with mutinies and insurrections, even for that ignorance and incogitancy of the benefit or harm to arise to themselves by obedience, or the contrary, leaves them to be lead by the present sense of trouble in being guided by the direction of another, which must thereupon come to be by them that are not able to apprehend their own advantages by peace and submission, nor that their benefits are reciprocal, interpreted as done out of private interest and design of their Prince and father only.

Nor need we wonder, that, in the course of our lives, Custom should bear such sway, since life it self is but custom; that is, a Methodical and Customary motion of an active spirit, which by means of his circular and regular course, is diverted from eager pursuit of penitration and ascension. For the heat of the Sun or parental body, by degrees turning into spirit or ayr, such portion of seed or first matter as is apt to sublime, this spirit (according to its higher nature) grows presently motive and restless, as seeking a more high and open habitation: but partly out of similitude of the matter whereof it was bred, and the similitude and constancy of the same degree of heat it now hath to that which begot it; and partly through the present succession of skinny enclosure, arising from the slymy nature of the matter it self: and partly through those other inclosures of skins and shels, in Wombs, Eggs, &c. it is invited and contented, at length to satisfie its proneness to direct upward motion, with this circular passage: as being from habit cozened to take and choose this easier way, rather then to press earnestly any more to that direct course, in which it had been so often diverted by such high difficulties. And as this Spirit is by reason of its tenuity made motive and naturally desirous of enlargement and aire, so

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again, by reason of its smaller and more indifferent degree of sublimation, as being generated by that moderate heat of the body, of a substance which is neither suffered to addle through cold, nor harden through heat; and is therefore kept so well allayed, as to be retarded both in fluidity and facility of penetration. Which is also holpen on by the closeness of those vessels and cells where it is contained, and by the likeness and proximity of that matter whereof it is generated, and wherewith it is accompanied; which is not only the same with that whereof it was begotten, but also is but one degree beneath it in thinness.

For it is to be supposed, that the Chyle being turned into blood, as it doth attain some degree towards sublimation it self: So also that most attenuated and concocted spirit which is in the cells of the brain, doth likewise still retain a good degree towards condensation: even so, as, according to course and vicissitude, to be again apt to be turned back into steam, and so into blood. Like as also the blood, on the contrary, stands ready and affected to turn into steam, and so into spirit, in their circulation and passage up and down the body. In which course of Version and Transmutation they are holpen by the mediation of the humour remaining in the arteries, being as it were a mixture of spirit and blood, caused through the refinement of the blood in its passage through the heart. Whereupon we find that nature hath provided a thicker coat for them then for that thicker blood which is contained in the veins, even as the finer animal spirit in the brain, hath its whole substance, besides its two coats, for inclosure. And therefore it is to be considered, that as the first spirit generated of the eggs or the like, was homogenious unto it; so, by degrees, as bodies, and the humours in them do receive mixture and alteration, the spirit thereof generated doth suffer change also, until, in age, the one do become as heavy and indigested as the other: and the spirit to be wholly suffocated and lost in the humours.

But the first quickning spirit being by the means aforesaid raised up and invited unto a regular motion, doth then, through habit of so moving, make it self the organical continents and enclosures of heart, arteries, brain, nerves, &c. serving as well for methodical motion, as for places of rest and *Rendez vous* to the spirits and humours, being then called life.

And it is to be supposed that this confinement and imprisonment of spirits in bodies, is in it self unnatural, and at first a causer of pain: and living Creatures are by degrees only released of the sense thereof, through custom of indurance and diversion; by the means of maintenance of this methodical inward motion: So that so long as this is kept orderly and free pain is avoided: but if it be excited through too great and unusual proportion of spirits, as we find after drinking, where the strength of the liquor doth excessively turn into spirit, then the membranes of the brain being extraordinarily pressed, the party grows, from their restlesness, to be restless also, and prone to ways of evacuation, as to venery and motion; the one causing greater delight, because it affords a more free and methodical delivery, the other less and more insensible, because more slow and difficult: as forcing through the substance and pores of the nerves themselves.

In like manner as a Commonwealth is enlivened and preserved, by having the natural vigour and spirit of the people kept in a regular and methodical motion, by the due observation of such regular Customes and Laws as shall be by the Prince thereof established, when as the Intemperate use of things, accordding to their own several and occasional likings, would be subject to bring on change and alteration, to the destruction of the Body Politique, as well as the Natural.

And, in the Kingdom, we may account the Nobility and Gentry as answering the humour in the Arteries; and, by their middle temper and condition, carrying great force to unite the other extreams; that is, that more sublime spirit remaining in the head thereof, the Prince, (which is chiefly swayed by sense of honor) and those more gross humors of the ordinary sort, swayed by more earthly and sensual delights. When as they, being participant of both, may attemperate the Prince against so great sublination in attempts of ambition and vain glory, whereby to put his people into too violent heat and feverish motion; And also raise up and quicken the more slow sense of the people, from their aguish dulness in matters of obedience, to be more apprehensive and respectful of their Princes commands, even as the natural members are to the directions of their head. Like as also doth the degree of Yeomanry unite the Gentry with the Peasant, and thereby impart some influence of courage and civility into those of the lowest rank, who else become heartless and unserviceable, as experience tells us of those Countreys where they are not.

Through custom of Walking we make it so familiar, that the fancy need not alwayes intend that action by expresse direction, as in the extraordinary running it must: But custome of so doing, having made a fit collocation in the brain, it is able, while it continues that posture which is unto this motion requisite, to intend other objects also.

But in this faculty of going, we may, from the daily observation of the practise of children herein, be put in minde with what trouble we are at first reduced from our natural proneness to be leaping with both feet at once, and from thence to be taught to set down one foot after another, after the manner of going. The which whilst it was in doing as a matter of great difficulty, did (although we have now quite forgot it) take up the whole imployment of our fancy; the trouble thereof abating by degreees, as custom and practice made it easie, and secured us against fear of falling, incident to that first trust to a new support, as well as fear generally is to all new objects: But these things now over, the custom of walking keepeth my brain from trouble, as it doth my limbs from wearines. For it is not any naturalness in this motion of walking, that makes it thus easily indured.

Nay, it seems that only Birds, that have indeed but two legs, are inartificial and upright walkers; and that this posture in mankinde is at first forced. For the infant comes from the womb with the knees up;

and

and what pains with swadling do we take to stretch his body in length, and kept it so? With what aversion doth every one of them submit to this inforcement, and how pleased are they when released, so as the knees may be gotten up again? When we come afterwards to teach them to go, how ready are they to lean forward, and set their hands to the ground? What strange footing do they at last make in this uncoth motion?

And after we are men we may finde the naturalness of four-footed goings still pointed at. Inasmuch as the Arms, when they are at liberty and not otherwise imployed, do in our several gates keep pace with our legs, especially in fast walking; wherein, greater strength being required, we may observe men moving their Arms answerable to their Legs, and that cross ways, after the fashion of a trot. And so again, when they are to run, the arms are gathered up close, as ready to move in an exilient or leaping manner: which is the usual way of procession of such things as have their hinde legs long. In swiming also man imploys all four, like other things: especially like such as have broad forefeet and the hindparts long; as Frogs and such like.

And as for any difference that is in the joynts, between men and Apes, *&c.* they may well proceed but from custom, as crookedness doth: in which case, experience tells us how that continuance and usage of any posture, whilst the bones and gristles are yet tender, will cause the same so to fix afterwards, that unto that party, it will be as it were natural, and so encrease by traduction also. And we may further observe, that the legs and thighs of infants are so bent, as not to be too long for the Armes: the trunks of their bodies being then also proportionably much longer, and the plants of the feet so turned, as to be accommodated to a four-footed motion well enough, especially after a leaping fashion. And therefore mankinde seems only incident to crookedness, in the distortion of the joynts of the back-bone: for although shortness of the trunk follow this peculier erected posture, yet for further ease of the weight thereof (wanting support like other Creatures that use four feet), some way of leaning and standing comes to be affected, bringing on crookedness; and so farther shortning the trunk also. Upon which consideration we may suppose mens Limbs fitted for upright going even as Parats have one claw turned backward: that is, because the whole race of them, feeding out of their feet, and not being able to hold their meat to their mouths without turning their claws, it came at last so to settle: although the distortion be still apparent.

And yet why may not men naturally enough go on their hinde feet onely, as we see some horses born amblers? for as in them custom and habit do often pass by traduction, so, all men being goers, why should not children be naturally walkers? and since it may be presumed that *Adam* and *Eve* were set upright, why not their posterity, insomuch as there should be no sort of people without this posture? It may be so, if we could have spoken without teaching; but as *Adam* was to have his knowledge infused, and not acquired from childhood, so the faculty of upright going also if he had it, otherwise it is like he would not have so gone, more then spoken.

But this gate (no doubt) is of great advantage to mans use in some things: and that even in the exercise of the faculties of his minde and judgement, because he is hereby able to carry his head and neck more steadily then when they should be prominent, and hang out fore-right; whereupon the senses

Nerves,

Nerves, and parts of the body may have a more direct and steady entercourse with the brain, so as to hold on, and keep fresh such objects and figures as shall be entertained therein; that so, by summoning all its concomitant impressions, after each parties artificial way of topical method and adjudication, a full discovery may be made to serve for instruction or use, against another time, before that figure be parted with.

And therefore we may observe that while we are in great inquiry and study concerning any thing, we hold our heads very steady: whereas those that have a loose carriage of their necks, are proportionably weak in their intellectuals: And truly, to be a good Peripatetick is a great step to be a good Philosopher: because, in this erect gate, the bones being in a straight line, do bear the weight of the body, so as the brain may not be diverted from its inward work and agitation, to any great supply of the Nerves and Muscles without. And besides this, we have some advantage to knowledge by keeping our hands by this means more tender, whereby to imprint more exactly by feeling with them.

But then again, there is no doubt but in many bodily exercises, the other motion and gate would be advantageous; as in leaping, running, climbing, and all sorts of nimbleness. And for tryal sake hereof it were not amiss that some children were so brought up and nourished, as to be without sight of company, that they might take their natural course herein, until some degree of years; at least those that come to them, to feed or teach them to speak, should come upon all four, and then sit, after the eastern fashion; but the greatest and best advantage would be, if men could conveniently be brought to use both ways of gate upon occasion, but this by the way.

Now as there is an erection of body, so is there an erection of minde: wherein (indeed) the pourtrait and image of God is to be sought. And unto this estate of upright walking and looking towards heaven, we are by more slow and difficult degrees reduced, in our souls, then we are in our bodies: even because of those natural and inbred affections of Pride, Covetousness, Sensuality, Stubbornness, and the like, whereby we are carryed with a perpetual delight to lye groveling on the things of this world.

The first great help to this straightness of minde are those swathings of Precepts and discipline, wherewith and whereby, from our infancy, and from the same time we begin to go, we have the Rebellion and irregularities of our nature rectifyed by the Laws and Rules of our Parents, by the due application and exercise whereof, while our affections (as well as our limbs) are yet pliant and tender, we come to be well fitted and prepared to undergo and act, as Christians and subjects in our political relation, that measure of duty and submission which, in our Oeconomical relation, we had been habituated unto as children; when either our heavenly Father, or the Father of our Country shall have further occasion to make tryal of our growth and steadiness in perfection, by those afflictions and hardships which through humility and obedience to them, we shall be put unto.

So that there will be these differences between the erection of the body, and that of the soul. All the difficulty of upright going, in the first sort, rests in our infancy, even in keeping the limbs of our body straight; whereas the difficulty of upright walking, in the other sort, is chiefly afterwards; when, by reason of obdurate natural stubbornness and crookedness of disposition, we stand in more need of the ligaments and tyes of Laws and Discipline then before.

After

After we come to growth, the elevation of our minde is helping to the body, in continuance of this his elevation, even through pride and affectation, as striving to excel in that which we see to be so generally practised; whereas to the true elevation and upright walking of the inward man, the pride and haughtiness of the outward man is altogether averse, and there is no surer way to the true raising and dignifying of our mindes, then by the depressing and keeping under of our bodies: when as by due applycation and use of afflictions and Patience, we may make those true Christian graces of humility and lowliness of minde, in our own and worldly esteem, to become our true glory and exaltation in the sight of God. For it is to be considered that there are ghostly and gracious habits, as well as bodily and natural ones: and that these, as the more worthy, ought to take up our chief endeavour.

To proceed farther into search of the degrees of knowledge and comprehension, we may observe, that those that can perfectly read are past the trouble of spelling: and those that can do that well, do it so without disturbance to their fancy, that they can intend the matter treated of, without distraction, (through notice of the words) more then the action of walking doth distarb the party, from entertaining other objects and thoughts.

As for the usual tryal and difficulty of rubbing with one hand, and patting with another both at once, it proceeds from want of custom, whereby the brain cannot accommodate it self to both actions at the same instant: but through practice and custom both may be done, and yet the fancy have ability and leisure to intend something else; even as Turners and Spinsters can use hands and feet in different motions, and yet think on other things at the same time. For those different motions come at last to be but one, because the Brain (by little and little) findes a posture accommodated equally to supply those Nerves that serve the Muscles in both motions, and that at once, as he that hath been sufficiently entred to the shapes of *a*, and *b*, can be brought to make one syllable of them, and as well say *ab*, as *a* first, and then *b*; so, another syllable may be added to that; and yet (making but one word) the Brayn may joyntly intend them as one work. And farther, if it have more to do, that, or more words, may, through habit in reading, be so kept from disturbing the fancy, that the sense of them, and not the particular words, shall occupy the minde. Even as in Arithmetick, which is learned for things sake, and not for pleasure of seeing the figures of 3, 4, 5, 6, &c. the things thereby wrought, and not the Instrument comes to exercise our fancy.

No otherwise then the tools of Carpenters, &c. please but in relation to the work. Yet men seek to have their tools fitting: which handsomness accompanies, as the most usual form: but, to have a good work done by ill favoured tools, or an ill work by handsom ones; can hold no comparison in the Artificers choice.

So the skill in Arithmetick may be a thing pleasing in it self: as also the Arts of good Printing or Writing, and the well forming and placing of figures and letters, may be pleasing in themselves, considered apart; but come they once to be brought to use, then, not they, but the things which they signifie and import, take up our fancy.

So in Musick also, the Tune and harmony is attended, and not every eighth or fifth: nay there may be (and usually is) progression: and that Tune may

may prompt us to some Song made thereafter; and that song again minde us of some mirth, company, or other accidents that accompanied it in the times of our hearing. For the ends and utmost discoveries of things are always covered; and where knowledge and the figure is already sufficiently comprehended, nature is progressive in her enquiry, and cannot, out of common duty, be idle. And things are kept in memory as they were let in; that is with their most usual, or which is all one, with their strongest concomitants.

As we see it come to pass in dreams; what strange progression will they make? So as fancy, in her method of transition from one thing to another, will make as it were an history; if the affections move not to such height and passion as to awake the party. And the object that begins therein is commonly that which we last went to sleep with, if it be of much concern; but then, that quickly runs into things and objects of strongest impression: and therefore the Stage and Company is usually what our youth was accustomed unto, because then, as things came with greatest notice, so they have greatest settlement. For although many times, in the morning, we remember not the series and coherence of our dreams, because these (it may be) made little impression, yet a method of transition they must needs have had.

All which will inform us that affections arise not from present objects as now in themselves, but as in relation to our collections, and memory of their former abearance towards us, which is not grounded on one, but many observations; except that one were equivalent to many in strength: for it is all one to have a dead or absent party in remembrance because of long acquaintance, as it is to remember another for some extraordinary favour and obligation. For he that brings one stone a day for one hundred days, make the like heap to him that lays down one hundred all at once. And, so also, a repitition of stroaks upon the forehead, with an Egg or the like, will at last make as great a swelling as one greater blow with a stronger thing; even for that the blood and humors, by little and little arrested in their passage by the small stroak, do by degrees amass equally to that more total stoppage made by the great contusion.

As the outward parts stand affected and sensible by the recourse of the humors and mediation of the Nerves and annimal spirit, so much more the Brain. And as he that hath had the Gout doth again remember and know the precise pain thereof upon the recourse of the same humors, even so is the Brain put in minde and made sensible of its impressions, as well from the motion and recourse of the humors therein, as from outward objects. So that in sleep our dreams take often rise from hence also: and from those vapours arising from the Stomack; which do commonly minde us of the same thoughts then, as did accompany the like food or disgestion in the day time.

From these strong concomitant impressions accompanying objects, it comes that the weaker sort of men are so impetuous in Religion. For they, relying on Authority of particular persons, their zeal and devotion is heightened according to the passion and fervency accompanying the preacher in his delivery, and not from the reason of what he propounded. Whereupon Impression and Custom moves in Religion as it doth in other things; that is by constancy and asseveration: for looser men, though more,

more, are not so remarkable, for want of sedulity and asseveration in what they do.

And as that side hath most sectators that hath most zealous patrons, so also State alterations are swayed by the numbers of such as are most uniformly active: and although such as dislike the order of things established and done by them, may be of far greater number, yet if they be not unanimous in their number, so as to agree to choose another before it, and to agree in fervency of opposition, they are as like to hinder one another, as them.

Now as to know is little more then to remember, so Conscience is but the memory of things, actions, &c. as they relate to morality. For the Brayn (from sense) taking objects entire, Conscience picks thereout, what future hope or fear may make of concern, and puts them into his own method, as other affections do. For Conscience hath not onely her rule, as other affections, but arising from all things that have morality, (which accompanyeth every thing in one kinde or other) is an affection upon other affections. And therefore Conscience comes not until yeers of discretion, that other affections have some growth: all which she masters, according as hope and fear master her. And so Conscience, in her jurisdiction, is a Will or general affection by her self, Having Reasons proper. For Reason is when memory holds forth two things at once, that by comparison of them, according to their usual effects and consequents observed formerly, conclusion may be made of the like to happen again.

And, as Conscience is memory of things, as to Religious fear, so Honor is memory of things, actions, persons, &c. as to Civil hope. Conscience hath not his correlate (as shame which is opposite to Honor,) unless the passion of Hope be taken in. Honor and shame respect reward and punishment present, or rather carry it with them; Conscience, that which is hereafter. And thereupon, one regards the Sentence and Judgemen of such as have present power, the other the commands and power of such as shall judge for the future. So that one sort of good Conscience may be want of memory or unaccusing, but Honor must be active. Absence of guilt contents the one, but the other must be possessive. And as Conscience is an affection upon affections, as they relate to guilt and punishment hereafter, so Honor governs affections as they have judgement of things, &c here: and as the known Will of that God I fear, can onely oblige me in the one, so the Will of those men I esteem, in the other.

And indeed, all our affections are (as instigated so) Governed by hope and fear. For under these two, as under the desire of attaining good or avoiding bad in the general, all things are included: and all other affections in the choice of objects have respect towards them, that is, (from observation) to judge what expectations of good or harm, that is, pleasure of sense or honor, or pain of sense or shame, here or hereafter, is like to proceed from them, or their different managery and application.

But then, as more go to Heaven by the way of Hell, and we had rather have our commendable actions suppressed then the contrary much divulged, so fear is stronger then hope, for although pleasure be the object of the one, and pain of the other, yet because pleasure is never so perfect as pain, nor can be so fixed and continuing, nor again without fear of loss, it must therefore be looked upon as the most general and steady guide of our actions. Upon

Upon which ground we need not wonder at the commonness of superstition; nor why, as children are scared with Hobgoblins, *&c.* so some men (little differing from them) should be so obnoxious to the terrors and affrights of such as they credit. In which case it may happen to these that are negatively superstitious, as being scandalized at some Ceremonies which they understand not themselves, but which their guides are pleased to blast, as under the notion of humane inventions, or the like, as it doth with that way of affrightment of children also, by telling them of *Raw head and bloody bones:* for as to them that for the present understand not that all living things should be so, those things are apprehended as really dangerous and terrible because terribly delivered; even so, under the odium of humane invention, Popery or the like, are we many times brought to be superstitiously flying those things that are in themselves good: and are also by so much the better, as being by Christian Authority approved, & as having the more ancient and Catholike President of the Christian Churches usage. For (doubtless) they cannot be so weak as seriously to believe that those that do refuse communion with the Papists, even for that very difference sake which is in many things between them, should at the same time they account them erroneous in the service of God and in matters of Ceremonies also, implicitely follow them in some other things, and upon no other score but because they do so. But by these and such like arts it is usual with seditious persons to steal away peoples hearts from their own Church guides and Rulers. For upon the same reason that a second dis-affects (so far as to spoil the whole harmony) so one crossing and unexpected fear raceth that whole method of belief and perswasion we stood before possessed of, as to the goodness of our Religion, or of our practice therein.

And that fear is more pressing and prevalent then hope, appears in that our hope to attain good *can never* want our fear of missing it; nor can the possession of pleasure want the fear of deprivation. We may also observe that deaf men do ever suspect things are spoken to their ill or prejudice, even when they may as likely speak to their good. The like jealousie is entertained when any whisper in our Company, or speak to one another in a language we understand not.

Nay pleasure is but absence of pain, especially that of sense: and then we need not wonder why a positive thing should affect more then a negative. For pain being (as before noted) when the spirits are stopped in their wonted motions, and it must still happen but they should be more or less so, pleasure can neither be high nor lasting, but (at best) mixed; and be but by comparison of a less pain to a greater.

Upon knowledge and due consideration of the prevalence of this passion of fear towards the guidance of men as in a state of subjection, it seemed good in the eye of divine wisdom, to rank his service, and all our returns of duty and obedience, as under that notion. Nay we may observe that he doth not onely set down the commendations of such as have been dutiful and obedient unto him under the oppression of such as feared him, but also, for the encrease of this return of duty and service towards himself, he is wont to promise a new increase and implantation of fear into the hearts of those parties and people from whom he expects it, as being the only steady grace that is effectual herein.

If we look into Creatures below us, we shall finde that onely such of them

are diſciplinable, and to be made tame and cohabitable as can be brought to be made ſenſible and ſubject to our corrections, and alſo kept in ſuch a continual fear of us, as not to reſiſt, or riſe againſt us to our prejudice: Whereas Lions, Wolves, Foxes, and the like, which cannot be conſtantly awed, are called Salvage, amongſt which ſort we come to reckon mankinde it ſelf, when it ſhall once arive at that degree of temerity as to be incorrigible and diſreſpective to Law and Government, being then become indiſciplinable and impolitical. For as to be informidable, is to be indomitable, ſo to be indomitable is to be unſociable. Becauſe if it were not for this mutual fear, every man would be daily affronted and injured by every man. Nay, the boys and youths as we paſſed the ſtreets might be inclined even for ſport ſake, to abuſe us with dirt or ſtones or the like, did not the terror of puniſhment to come from us or their Maſter keep them in aw. In which caſe, as it is to be conſidered, that as they are moſt ready to offer theſe abuſes to other boys or thoſe of their own rank, becauſe leſs to be feared either for perſonal revenge or complaints, ſo, were it not for fear ſake, eſpecially for that fear which muſt come from Authority, no ſociety could be maintained, eſpecially in caſes of great import, where revenge is ready to work more high.

And therefore thoſe that ſay a Prince ought to rule by love onely, underſtand not what they ſay, but, out of an haſty affectation to be eminent in a popular expreſſion, forget that abſurdity that attends it. Amongſt equals, it is in vain for any man to expect that another ſhould be ſerviceable unto him, who ſtands not by natural relation, or is not by ſome antecedent obligation, brought to a degree of loving him: in which caſe it may be called, a return of gratitude and not of ſubjection. That Prince alſo that is to attain a Principality or new Empire it will be neceſſary that he ſhould in like manner demean himſelf towards thoſe he intends afterwards to rule as Subjects. But as there is a manifeſt difference, both in material and faſhion, between the ſtirrup by which we get up, and the ſaddle by which we ride, ſo is there between that relation he had to them before they were Subjects, and that which he hath to them afterwards, being then their equal, and now their ruler: and therefore it cannot but be thought that a different managery belongs to him that is to command, over it doth to him that is to entreat.

When any one is actually ſeiſed and eſtated in an office of rightful power, he can then be no otherwiſe loving as a ſuperior, then as the other had firſt merited of him by his ſubmiſſion and obedience. In which caſe, its power and command muſt precede the return of duty and obedience, ſo muſt that approbation which muſt come from the ſuperior in the acknowledgement of the deſert of one more then another, be eſteemed a reward in requital of ſome work done by the perſon, and not an affection to the perſon, without any ſuch conſideration. So that although Princes may have their peculiar friends or favorites, (like other men), yet, in reference to the act of Government and obedience, the tye thereof cannot be firm without Law, nor Law without fear, until ſuch a golden age ſhall be light upon, wherein the Edicts and commands of ſuperiors ſhall be to the will of every one, at all times, ſo pleaſing and conformable, as that the Commander ſhall not be diſtinguiſhable from the obeyer.

So that this paſſion of Fear being ſo neceſſary, both for making of us ſociable, and for keeping us fitted and prepared for a due return of obedience according to our relation of ſubjection, we are not onely to conceive the total

privation thereof to be a total defeat to Government and its force, but that proportionably, as there is a course taken for substracting or lessening of this fear, from that person that can onely immediately claim and make present use of it, so is there a proportionable stop given to the efficacy of that Government which he is to execute.

As for example, in the divisions and distinctions of obedience into Religious and Civil, and active and passive, formerly spoken of: whereby men are brought from reckoning the breach of their Prince his Commands to be a thing of such terror as was formerly thought: and in the latter of these cases, to wit, in the distinction of obedience into active and passive, their haste to be reputed famous in so popular a speculation, hath made them become frivolous or unintelligible. For I would fain know, if he that did sit still, or keep at home, according to his Prince his command, were not to be called actively obedient unto him, as well as he that was put to the greatest labour and toyl in the performance of what he was enjoyned? Or (on the contrary) whether he were not as well passive that did suffer punishment for being active, when he was enjoyned to be quiet, as he was that endured punishment for being quiet and forbearing, when he should have been active and stirring.

And the truth is, to say actively obedient, is none other then a contradiction: for Government being it self to be looked upon as a work aiming at an end, as then the Prince must be looked upon as directer and Agent, so can the subject in all Offices of imployment he is put to herein, as well for action as station, be considered but as instrumental and passive onely: and so far as he suffers for neglect or contumacy, he cannot be called passive as in relation to his obedience, but as to his stubbornesse or disobedience. And therefore they should consider that since the benefits of Government and Polity are not to be had, unless some as instruments shall submit to have their wills guided by the wills of those that are to direct, so is there no ready way but that of Conscience and Fear to make voluntary and sensitive Agents continually ready to be directed by the judgements of such as are above them, after the same manner as other instruments do depend on the hand of the Artificer.

These passions of hope and fear, although most prevalent, yet are not innate: but arise from experience of objects pleasurable and painful. For children, till some collection of knowledge, hope not, nor fear not, as before noted.

As remembrance of pain, at first, causeth fear (for pain is the thing feared) so men that have thin skins, and are thereupon more sensible, have more fear then sober Creatures, and those creatures that are most docible, are as we see most fearful and attentive, as Dogs, Parrats, &c. And as wise men have censured fools of feeling then fools, so, more sense, more fear, and consequently, more wisdom, for fear causeth enquiry to be rid thereof.

But as thus, fear makes men generally come to be more wise, (insomuch as all wise men may be observed fearful,) yet this being in more things then fools, whose ignorance and inexperience will not let them know the danger of many things, this their generality of fearing of more things according to truth, keeps the fear of fewer things from being so superstitious and incessive. For as all superstition comes of ignorance, so real that should be according to knowledge, should not put a man besides his senses: and if men had more wis-

dom,

dom, God might be more rationally served then usually heis. And if the real and exercise of Religion be *according to knowledge*, (so as to be called *the reasonable service of God*) we cannot rightly be said to serve God as men and reasonable Creatures. For after the ground-work is laid, and we have transcended sense in apprehending Christ (with his mysteries) in our hearts by Faith, our outward service and worship is so much the better, as the more knowing, that is, in employing of our abilities in discovering of what the true sense of Scripture, or the light of Reason will afford: as the next and best direction to attain what we desire to know or practise, as truth or good.

Nay, as we are in search of the Scriptures to imploy our own mindes abilities, so are we not wholly to relye upon them, but, having in the first place freed our selves of all prejudice and prepossession, and in humility imploted divine illumination and assistance in all things, we are then to proceed according to the rules of Christian Faith and love in all deportments and actions, not otherwise directed by our superiors: who also are in this case to be looked upon as the authorized interpreters of the Scriptures, as heretofore noted. Else it will fall out, that each one undertaking to examine and interpret them according to his own wilde fancy, and weak and ungrounded method of comprehension, and being also strongly, through education or interest forestalled in his judgement, there will arise to be as many Religions and Opinions, as men and interests. And that which is yet worse, mens natural pride and vainglory will prompt to such presumption of extraordinary revelation, that even things blasphemous and destructive of humane society, shall, in despite of the Church, Reason, or Authority, be set on foot. Whereas, in truth in things of most private and separate concern, the sense of the Church, and the Analogy of Faith is to be venerably regarded, even as the supreme Christian Magistrate is also in all things of publike concern.

For in this case we are again fallen within the limits of moral care and consideration. And therefore, as each mans reason is in him the best guide of what to do in the course of his own affairs, so publike Reason in that which hath publike respect to the end, that from the knowledge of what is there done, there may be a fit and a constant way left for attaining moral prudence and obedience: and that according to a well grounded experience and observation of moral and political directions and Edicts. Whereby each Subject may, from the constancy of the measure and manner of application used by his Prince in rewards and punishments, come to frame to himself political methods and schemes of comprehension and knowledge of his duty and benefit in civil deportments, as well as he may learn Philosophy by observation of that constancy which is kept up in the course of Nature. For she being preserved and governed by uniform rules and laws, the same Causes must ever produce the same effects, if the Agent and Patient be in themselves and circumstances alike vertuous and the same, the which wisdom must discover, from a well grounded observation of constancy in her observations: for should not natures course be constant, species and individual things could not have any steady provision for existence and benefit, but causes being indeterminable, effects would be so also. For it was from the constant observation of one thing following another, in all respects alike considered, that I come to know any thing; even as by continually observing heat to accompany fire, I know fire to be the cause of heat.

And from this constancy in Nature it comes also to pass, that what is most

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naturally done is most uniformly done, and so most handsomly and delightfully done. Which coming to be imitated by us, will be also most vertuously and vitely done: but what is not done in natural imitation, (as following no rule) is vitious and ill favoured. For folly being a short and false observation in the course of things, it concludes to act upon half premises: Whereupon the irregular processions and effects thereof, come through inequality to be inequiry. For as truth can be but one, but errors divers: even so (as we noted formerly of beauty and handsom faces) vertuous actions have more likeness to one another then vitious. For all virtuous actions are done by certain rules and copies, and as they agree to these measures, their goodness is known: and as they differ therefrom, they do differ from themselves also, and approach to vice.

Things being thus stated, it will follow, that more reason, knowledge and understanding, is but more observation, and that an uncontradicted observation is taken for a supreme reason in it self. For so (for example) the motion of gravity, because it is observed to accompany all things, none or few search the reason of it, for there is not a more general or uniform rule in nature to examine it by; all proof going from things more generally observed and known to such as are less. Whereas to believe the Antipodes, and that men, upon the same reason of motion of gravity, should tend in the same line towards us, as we do towards them; this seems as difficult for belief, as it is different from the usual tendency of things, as to our appearance, which we call upwards and downwards. Nor can it be conceivable to any that will not take pains to get it comprehended from observation elsewhere.

In which case, if men have made and methodized observations aright, it may appear that the sun and superiour bodies move in spheres, even because the time they are absent and unseen is equal to that they compleat in compassing that half of the sphere which is seen, from whence, and the observation of eclipses, the earth must be supposed to be spherical also.

And if this be farther enquired into, we shall find that this motion of heavy things downwards, is but part of a more general motion, and to be so concluded from that more general observation of union: And is but the appetite thereof made more observable through this more apparent motion toward union after separation. For the common knowledge and observance of boldness as they are unite, and keeping close together, as by so much more general then the motion of gravity, as rest it self is more general then local motion, for indeed what is usually called motion and rest, are but these two: but it is not so observable as the other, because rest, or union already made, hath no variety to cause intent observance, as variety of motion doth in the other. And therefore it is onely discoverable to such as can un-ravel nature in their contemplation, until they come to the bottom and first ground-work thereof. For then they shall find both this constant practise of union or adhesion of bodies, and also the cause thereof to be (the general cause of all causes) that is, the will and law of God in order to his providence.

And although inanimates have a kind of specification amongst themselves, whereby desire of proper union hath some force, (as may be seen in that active part of earth, the Loadstone, in his variation,) yet they follow in their whole mass) the general law of matter, in the common and general thirst

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of union. For should there not be a common centre of gravity, whereby all earthly things, as they stood differenced in weight by dense and rare, might have and keep the proper places assigned them, Chaos and confusion would follow.

And therefore, this motion of heavy things to the earth being both necessary and natural, both for affording a place of receipt and production of creatures, and for leaving all without, so rare and transparent, that the influences of superiour bodies might approach them, we must conclude, that as the whole earth is more then a part, so hath it this attractive force of union, greater also in the whole then apart. And therefore for a stone (or the like) to tend that way, and not to be diverted by the desire of union through proximity of a like less body, is no wonder. And, as it is to the whole, so it is to the centre or middle part of the whole, that this desire of approach is annexed. And hence it may easily be conceived, that with our Antipodes this motion of bodies to the centre, in their hemisphere, is but the same with us, in our hemisphere. For the desire of union is equal in proportion to all parts of the whole mass, as well in the greater body attracting, as the lesser (which we may call passive and) attracted, and is from centre to centre in both.

And as the centre of attraction governs thus in all natural motions, so doth the centre of resistance in all violent motions. But as there, they imploy their force to Union and Agreement, so here, to repulse and victory. For the ballance, the leaver, the wheel, and other mechanical instruments have their force, and are appliable to use, from the just computation of distance from the centre, in the parts where the strife lies in each of the opponents; whereby that part of the ballance, leaver, &c. that is, shortest, and so neareſt the centre of the whole opposition, will consequently, as most oppressed with its burthen, have least force in resistance; and the other, upon contrary reasons, will have most force: and this both of them proportionable to their distances in things of like weight and resistance: even as in fencing, he that is to put by the sword of another, will find proportionable ease, as there is difference of length between so much of the sword which the party incloseth in his hand, and of that part beyond and without it. For the upper part of the hand (where the defendants forefinger joynt is) being the centre of opposition, it will follow that the assailant will have difference of force, as he hath difference of distance from it; that is, answerably, as the length of the sword without his hand, is longer, from the place touched by the assailant to the handle, then the defendants hand is broad.

We before said the Brain to be the common sensory, and the Senses the scouts and intelligencers for information and knowledge: For colours, figures, &c. may be said to be by the brain felt, through the windows of eyes; and savours and sounds through the nose and ears. But, of the forraign intelligencers, the eye hath most advantage to knowledge, being capable of more variety of objects, and that at once; and of apprehending them at greatest distance. Now since, between men and beasts, there appears little, and but occasional difference in the number or excellence of the senses, and that all knowledge is acquired in us, and acquired by help of these senses, it would be known how this ability is attained.

In which discourse we will begin with sight, whose object is luminous

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or an opacous body, and that by means of beams of light directly issuing from the one, or reflected from the other. After the first way I see the Sun a candle, &c. after the other way, all opacous bodies that return their beams; in both cases the beam of light being the object of sight, colour, figure, &c. are but its concomitants.

There may be thought another way of discovery, that is, by Eclypse, where the body is discerned, not by reflecting or discovering the beam, but by impeaching and hiding it. So the Moon, in the Suns Eclypse, discovers her own body, not by sending, but by preventing the light: and indeed, colours so far as they are in degree distant from white or light, unto black or dark, in which last the beam is wholly entred and lost. So far, and all that while doth the beam suffer degree of Eclypse, in the different penetration and return it finds in the superficies of that body.

But although light beams be the only proper objects of sight, yet hereby is the opacous body differenced in the manner of perception six ways. By Figure, by Motion, by Colour, by Magnitude, by Number, and by Scite or Posture. All which properties are so inseparably adjoyned unto every material body, that neither in themselves, nor (consequently in our contemplation, a body can be without them, nor they without a body, except it be motion, For we may see and imagine a body endued with Colour, Proportion, or Figure without motion, but a body with, or without motion, wanting Colour, Figure, Dimension, &c. we cannot apprehend, because there can be nothing in the fancy, but what was first in the sense; and therefore since no body was ever seen wanting these properties, it cannot enter into the imagination without them, nor they without it. True it is, that I may conceive a body of a different Figure, Proportion, &c. unto any that I ever saw, as to the whole fabrick, yet must it be made up and have analogy unto some Figures formerly represented. For so let a Travellet tell of some strange Beast, he must (to make it conceiveable) give it some resemblance of head, feet, back, belly, or other shape, to the likeness of Lyon, Dog, Horse, or such like, whereupon having finished his discourse by such similitude, you have a body figured in your fancy of such a shape as entire you had not before, but not so of the several parts. But now, to imagine a body void of colour, or a body of such a colour as I never saw, is impossible, because this property is descernable by sight only, and must have come from thence, or not at all, even from the divers observance of colorate objects. And although, I seldom can remember the instance or shape of the body that gave me this colour, because the variety of Figures is more then that of colours (and thereupon not so easily retained in memory) even so Colours may remain after the Figures are abolished.

And for a little better discussion and satisfaction herein, we will examine and instance in the miracle Christ wrought on the man born blind, who (upon his eyes opening) said he saw men *Walking as trees*. To satisfie which, we are to know, that Figure, Motion, Proportion, &c. are not the proper objects of sight, but of feeling: For although I cannot remember the particulars, yet I did at first feel the different Shapes and Figures of things, before I could distinguish them by sight; and if we observe children, while they are very little, all their learning is but a conference betweeth their hands and eyes; that is, to instruct their eyes to make true estimation of Figure, Proportion, &c. For after that by feeling they have observed the different sha-

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dows were made in rounds, flats, corners, and all other shapes and dimensions whatsoever, they are consequently ready to make observation for all Figures following. So now this blind man having (it is likely) upon some occasion been left to rest himself under, or against a tree, he could not but (thereupon) be knowing of the shape thereof: And therefore the erect stature and size of men, in his new illumination, seemed most to resemble that of trees, of any other which he could know; For it is to be conceived he could not reach beyond the trunks of them.

And therefore Feeling being the next informer of the understanding (or rather understanding it self) is to be looked upon as the original and most exact sense; sight and other senses being only necessary for the quaintity and extent of its information: whose reports, having but respect to the appearances of things, are not farther capable of evidence and certainty, then as consenting with, and controulable by feeling. Which sense, as it began to be with our selves, and shall last leave us (as being the assurance of that life by which *we* are *we*) So is to us the assurance of the realities of things in nature; even by making us perceptible of that which is the foundation and original; to wit of that their principle of existence or being. For hereby onely we come to gather our assurance that any thing at all really is: whereas by the other we do but discover farther of the manner how; which must proportionably have dependance on the truth of the existence or being of thing it self.

And therefore is the eye is of largest contribution to the intellect (not from generality of object and receipt at distance only, but) because it can take in more of the Figure and Appearance of the object, then the others; by means of those several colorate rays emitted from the several corners and object parts of opacous bodies, into the expanded end of the optick nerve spread round the puple of the eye. Even so, to the encrease and extent of mans knowledge above beasts, in the sense of feeling, we are advantaged by our hands, which serve to inform the brain by the spinal marow, as other senses do by their inward pares of nerves. And then this paradox may be brought in, that mens hands are greatest outward advantages to their knowlege. For in them men having excellence above other things, do not only excel them as Mechanicks, but by them they are able also to understand more. And even as Cats that play most catch best, so also, because we are by them, and the speading of the fingers, made perceptible of divers parts of the object body at once, and thereby able to make more full figure thereof, as the *retina tunica* doth to the visual nerve. Whereas in the touchings that are apprehended by other parts, so small a circuit of the object body is placed upon so small an extension and portion of the nerves of my body, that no such perception of difference can arise between touch and touch, as to beget knowledge and affection to one thing much above another. And therefore we may observe that men cannot let their hats remain on their heads in the same posture they are put on by others, but must again place themselves to that kind of settlement they were accustomed unto. For the hat covering and pressing the head round and in divers parts at once, must render it in a higher degree perceptible and affected with differences, then where, in that and other parts of the body, forraign touches are in so small measure received.

But because each sense can but inform in its own proper sphere and object,

we will see a little how they lead to error, when brought from the controul of feeling. The Sun and Moon, &c. have neither, to sight, their true Dimensions nor Figures, and this because nothing could be felt at distance. An oar in the water, hath such a different Posture or Scite, that mine eyes alone can never inform me, that that part which is within, and that part which is without the water, do make but one streight piece. And multiplying glasses deceive us by numbers, as travelling by water doth deceive us in motion; and this upon no other reason, but because the same direction and crossing of lines is made by my passing by the trees and land, as would be if they passed by me, or one another.

And the like is for hearing and other senses, which (having their single proper objects) must refer to feeling, for science and assurance in other things not proper unto them. For although a perfect sight, hearing, smelling, or tasting, can never fail (with due mediums) in differencing of colours, noises and savours without and beyond controul of feeling (which hath nothing to do with these things, but by these his proper organs) yet can they not know farther then as from and for him. And the more remote any thing is from feeling, the more uncertain its discovery.

Which happens to sight chiefly because it undertakes at greatest distance from it. Whereupon we find, that colours come to be lost afar off, and pictures, land-scapes, &c. do make things that are plain and even, to seem such risings, as by sight alone (having reference to like shadows in faces, and things that had such risings) we might be deceived. For difference of light or colour making Figure conceivable in our sense, and not any real quality in the object, as the Painters Art (which is able to express all Figures by colours only) doth clearly demonstrate; it must follow that Figure and all the rest are (as we said) truly demonstrable from feeling only; which also deceives the brain in crossing of nerves, as it is deceived by sight in crossing of lines: for from hence it comes to pass that one bullet felt by two fingers a cross seems to be two.

But now although motion be not so inseparable a property of bodies (and so ordinarily the object of sense, as some of the rest) yet, because it is of so great variety in it self, it gives the greatest information to the understanding of all others. For that it denotes more of the inward qualities of a body. And again, you cannot conceive any one figure or proportion not capable of divers motions.

But then, though a body is many times seen, and so may be imagined without motion, yet, as it was never seen alone, so motion cannot be conceived without a figurate body; and therefore although again, this property of figure be more directive, as of it self, yet it is more necessary, as to method, by its presence and assistance, because any fancy cannot be comprehensive of any object without a Figure.

And this we cannot forbid our selves in the contemplation of God himself, and all other spiritual substances, namely, to fancy them under one shape or another, wherein we conceive those attributes and operations we ascribe to them should be most fully exercised. Which as it was the main rise to Idolatry, so was it of Heresie, Schism and Superstition also; mistaking Gods attributes under a wrong figure, which always coming far short of expressing his ability to act, must fall short also of rendring his [illegible] of due esteem in our understandings. And again,

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as these our conceived figures do differ from one another, so will there be difference in the opinions of the parties that do frame their conceptions from them.

And although men now grown to some years, can remember names and words without their figures that first imprinted them; yet (as experience tells us) we cannot remember the name of any single or distinct thing or person, but his shape will first come into our fancy; shewing, that as natural notions and the comprehensions of separate things arose and were confirmed in us from frequent or intent admittance through outward sense: So the peremptory conceipt of the fitness of Method and Rules of adjudication framed thereupon, must arise also from divers essays and observations of the analogy and correspondence between them. And in childrens learning to speak, the articulation of words is not so great a hindrance as want of fancy through want of impression of some Figure of that thing which these words should express; for Parrats that can articulat well enough, are for this cause uncapable to speak many things, or indeed any thing, but what must arise from large itteration, which must serve to them, as an affection arising from height and sharpness, or manner of sound and impression, through often hearing of the same tone, and not as an object of memory so distinctly figured by it self, as to mind him of the object whereof he speaks; although indeed their speech is usually brought on by way of memory from Figure, as by the sight of persons or places that did teach or accompany their learning.

As the eye is the sense of largest supply to Feeling and memory, so (through variety of its objects) fancy hath more ability to conceive and distinguish the impressions thereof, then by any other of the senses. For sight hath all varieties of Figure, Number, Proportion, &c. for its observation; whereas the other senses are, for the most part, single in their objects: Nay, Figure alone is of such variety, as there cannot be such exactness between any two things, take them of leaves of the same tree, stones, or what natural thing you will, but some such difference to the eye may still be discovered, as a man may be said to know them by it. But Savours and Sounds, being, like single colours, without such remarkable difference, can seldom so imploy and affect the fancy, as to be remembred distinct from one another, as of themselves; but as accompanied with that figurate body, or some other sensible accident at the time of their admittance. And hence comes another advantage men have to knowledge abeve other creatures, namely, this greater variety of induction, by relying on sight and feeling more then they.

For smelling (which is the sense they most relye upon, and make use of) is capable but of little variety of impression; and their knowledge and instruction gathered from difference herein, serveth seldom to other imployment then to distinguish food by, it being indeed but as one and the same sense with tasting, or being but tasting at distance; even as tasting again is but the proper sense of feeling for one part, namely the stomack. And it will hence follow, that as the variety of the objects of sight exceed those of smell, and as the variety of feeling with the hand exceeds that of feeling with the Pallat; so doth

ment advantage to knowledge exceed, even in this respect also, that of other creatures.

And again, as Beasts (relying and usuage of these more confined enquiries of Taste and Smelling) can produce (thereupon) but little knowledge, so such men or such creatures, as are in their senses most confined (whether in this kind, or in any other) must be also most confined in knowledge; as on the contrary, they that are intent on Figures, have advantage to memory, and so to knowledge. And therefore we can never remember that which happened unto us in our infancy, or very young, because we had not as then throughly learned to distinguish and retain Figures.

But then, although smelling have hereupon least influence upon us, as to our intellectual and moral habits; yet, by reason of its vicinity and entercourse with the spirits themselves, it is most strongly operative for introducing affections in us, as in our natural condition, and thereby to move us more strongly to liking and action then the other senses can. And however we are not, like other Sensitives (that are not capable of making use of figurate objects, and receiving impression from them) lead to fancy, and distinguish particular things and persons from custom and usage hence only arising, but are able from those greater and more observable agreements and disparities which appear to sight and other senses, and from the ofter employment of them thereabouts, many times to put a stop and controul upon what is approved by the other, and to choose and stand affected from them, and not from the other; yet in those things that depend upon more general acquaintance and commerce, and where long conversation hath grown up into habit and custom, without controul or notice of other senses, there the sense of smelling doth with us, as well as them, so far prevail as to pass into that we call Nature: For and towards the liking of such sorts or species of creatures, with whom we are most conversant, by means of those vapours and spirits that flow from them.

And hence it is, that as all creatures do from their more usual association, come to like those of their own kind more then others, so also do they by degrees do it; even as each individual of the same species attains to full growth and perfection, whereby they may be reciprocally enabled both to give and take from each other these more strong impressions. Upon which ground each Sensitive at the time of its ripeness comes to be imbued and possessed with correspondent degree of delight in each others company, and also with that high desire of more near personal union and congression; even so far, until by means thereof, and of that mixture of more spiritous parts therein made, a third creature of their own kind is made up and generated.

That this inclination is but emergent from that *Natura Naturata*, those Laws of matter which the great *Natura Naturans* did at first impose, for and towards the mutual preservation of the Universe and its Species, and not from such discreet instinct and original perception, as that each thing (as by a kind of miracle, or as being a God to its self) should be knowingly led to choice and discrimination herein, will plainly appear in those mixtures which are produced from those meetings of creatures of several sorts at common watering places, or the like. The which we might well think would be much more common and strong, if any thing from its birth should have been kept to herd amongst those of that kind, then can be now, where at the

meetings

meetings at *Nilus*, or the like, there is but a short and occasional acquaintance, and that not till some maturity neither, when we must presume each thing necessarily imbued before with the relish of its own race. But were any creature from the time of its birth brought to herd amongst those of another sort, there is no doubt but that creature, at years of full growth and perfection, would have had its spirits so assimulated to those of that herd, as to choose congression there before any of its own kind, which it did but newly or suddenly meet with. Although therein again, some allay and impediment must be supposed, from that aversion which each one of that herd would bear towards this single creature, from that greater familiarity and converse they have one towards another.

Not but that as there are degrees of likeness of flesh and humors in the several kinds of creatures one to another, and so consequently of that steam or spirit thence generated, and issuing out of the nostrils or pores; even so also are we to conceive that each thing is soonest won to the liking of that which is most near to its own kind: As the Ass (a Creature that is more subject to stray then herd) is to choose a Mare; whereas she again, that is used more to herd with those of her own kind, yields not but upon force or necessity. Upon which score, and also for that all Creatures both in the Nest and Litter, and from Conversation and Nourishment by their Dam, are possessed with an early tincture, they do ordinarily come to receive a greater impression towards the future liking of one another in the same kind, then can be afterwards dileted or taken off, without a very long tract of time.

As for distinction and choice of Sex, it proceeds from precedent discourses or practical experiment, and not from natural instinct or knowledge. For two Dogs or other Creatures will, in their play, while they are mutually more affected by the nearness and heat of each others breath, be ready to ride one another, till experience have told them their mistake: Not but that, as there are times of maturity in Vegitables and Fruits, so in Sensitives also, at which time (no doubt) two individuals in a herd, or the like, will have degree of perception and inclination towards each other (as to knowledge of natural ripeness and perfection) from that degree of quantity and fervor of vapour and spirits reciprocally emitted. In which case, a short experience, in so plain a difference, may teach the male (who is commonly the assailant and chooser) easily to distinguish that female from the rest which is fittest for him, even by his sense of smelling. Nay, as nature hath furnished us with a sense of tasting proper for our stomacks; even so may we observe all sorts of Sensitives to be saluting each other with billing, smelling, or the like; whereby, as by a natural way of complement, a farther tryal might be made of that liking and agreement which was already induced by the eye.

Now although mankind stands not so wholly obnoxious to be captivated by these affections which are induced from the sense of smelling only, even because he hath affections stirred up in him from other senses also, which are likewise prevalent in his actions, yet that naturally, and as men and sensitive agents, we come to be hereby also provoked and swayed, is not to be doubted. But true it is, that in us those affecting vapours do make their entrance more imperceptibly, because of that weakness of our smelling faculty, caused through rawness and indigestion in the stomack; whereby the same foul-

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ness and crudity that doth make a stinking breath, is also thereby hindred from the smell of that, or any thing else which is not very strong; which yet doth not hinder the receipt of those insinuating vapours, whereby the humours and habits of the body may come by degrees to be embued and affected.

From what hath been hitherto spoken, we may also know how to put a difference between those two several affections which use to pass under the same notion of Love. For that appetite before spoken of, may more properly be called natural lust or desire, and, being more sensual, is not proper to man as man, but affects him as a Sensitive: Whereas the other, taking its rise and ground from figure and impression in the fancy, as all sorts of knowledge doth, it may be called Noble, as to its beginning, as well as Heroick and Divine, as to its aim and end. And although it be true that they are usually heightned by each other (as to particular application) yet may they be one without another: For I may love like a man, without lustful thought; and lustful thoughts may again sway me beyond personal liking; neither of them being to be known (as to perfection) but when they are alone: for that love is but small that must be enlivened from thought of sex, or continued by youth only; and as great a defect in nature it must also argue, to acquiess but to an eminent beauty.

As both these affections take their rise and growth from generals, so have they general and specifical aim and intention in the eye of providence and nature: but when they come to be reduced into act, they have in us personal inducement and design; at which time those affections that were amassed from many, cannot shew their proficience and full strength but to one at once. And therefore to keep them from being destructive to their first end, they ought in men (especially so far as they are sociable) to be bridled and guided by reason. In which doing, that more rational and noble affection of love is to precede and give direction to the other, as to the person, with respect had to Law and Charity. Which Love again, although (as in it self considered) it cannot be too high to any one, yet for fear least that general duty of Love and Charity which we owe towards all, should by too great intention towards this one come to be diverted or neglected, we are both to take our own reason along with us, and also that of the publike, as heretofore noted.

And farther also, for fear least too great sense of contrariety and difference from those we so entirely love should (besides the espousal of personal quarrels and injuries) contract in us a consequential hatred and dis-affection towards others, we are in this case also, to take to our guidance the rules of Religion also; whereby we are taught to love all alike.

And indeed, more controversies, quarrels, and publike disturbances do arise from too great fondness and indulgence, then any thing else. When as, through too great love and care to provide for those that have relation to us by family or friendship, others come to be neglected or injuriously dealt with; who otherwise would still have been looked upon as friends; there being more hatreds and discontents raised upon second and relative considerations, then from any primary difference, which the parties have to one another, in reference to themselves apart, or to the rules of vertue or goodness.

And

And hence it comes that we not onely stand liking and disliking others as they are friends or enemies to our prime favorite, but because love and hatred do arise and encrease by comparison, it may be also observed, how that in the same family, that greater affection which one brother or servant carrieth towards another above the rest, doth by consequence draw him into as great hatred and dis-esteem of others in the same relation, upon that onely consideration: Insomuch as we shall find anger and revenge no where so implacably prosecuted as by one brother against another.

No otherwise, then as subjects in the same Kingdom, are ready to break into factions and sidings through those diversities of sects and opinions amongst themselves; whereby we see it come to pass, that, by reason of that continual exasperation which must arise from the daily sight and discourse of such things wherein they stand contrary, this repeated difference doth more strongly engage them to mutual discontent and deadly hatred, then it doth against strangers, and such as do more differ from them.

Insomuch as there are more Christians slain by one another, upon the score of Religion, then are by them upon others, or those of all other Religions upon them, upon the like ground: nay, we too truly find it, that, even in the sub-divisions and sects of Christianity, those that have lesser differences, will yet, by reason of vicinity, be drawn into more and more dangerous quarrels against one another, then against that sect which differs most from them both. In which case, if the publike rule and judgement for determination be not regarded, it will fare with them as it doth with men falling out about a mistaken word, gesture, look, or the like, even that (for want of a fit meant of reconciliation) the discontent and hatred will daily encrease, until it come to be determined in the field.

The names of Sympathy and Antipathy are usually given to the affections of both sorts, as well to those strong likings and aversions introduced at the nostrils, as those at the eyes; but if we respect more occult naturalness herein, then those of the first sort may be onely called natural, because they take their impression so inwardly, and by such insensible degrees, as seldom to admit controulment by other senses, or the impressions drawn from them. Whereas the other, that hath its rise from more artificial collections (as loving or liking other things according to their conformity to these Figures or Ideas of perfection, which, in each kind, are raised in mens fancies) may in both respects be brought to be controuled and examined by other Figures and Methods, as they shall be called up and judged by the Spirits and Humors; which in the other case cannot be, because these Spirits themselves do, in the affections that way brought in, become tainted in their own nature and substance.

Those kinds of aversions which proceed from sight, as from difference and abhorrence of figure, may be easily reconciled and made familiar by an ingenious patience; nor is it dangerous to give them of that food to eat. Where as those things that have contrariety to the particular humors or temperament of the stomach, are not in that kinde to be jested with; for that although our ward smell or taste should not be perceptive of difference (which many times it wonderfully is in that case) yet it is not to be questioned but the vitiated stomach of the party will quickly nauseat and disgust it; and therefore we find that these sorts of longings or aversions are incident to the weaker and more sickly conditions.

Here

Here and in other places we have been the more copious for setting down the more concealed causes of those operations which use to pass under the rank of natural instincts, that, by placing every wheel of providence in its due order and motion, the real existence, wisdom and power of God might be more readily seen and acknowledged. The usual ground that leads men to Atheism and doubt whether there be any God at all, being many times scandal taken at the vulgar and ordinary assignation of effects unto God himself, as if they were by him immediately done: when as they, coming to find the same, like other things, to have their own natural cause of production also, they thereby come to think that men are mistaken in the one, as well as the other. When as by help of a through insight and sufficiency of their own, to discover how nothing is by chance done, but that the greatest and most important things being by divine wisdom and order brought to pass by those things which to us do appear most weak and contemptible, they may thereby, and by means of that observable gradation of causes, come to discern it God at the top of all: From whom, as they did at first take their source and original, as being in their whole mass but rays of divine bounty, so do they, in all their variations amongst themselves, still make some expressions and demonstrations of that perfection and simplicity which at first gave them their being.

Thus the natural desire of union (induced through custom) is by providence directed towards variety and multiplication, as before declared. In which again, as the individuals do through their natural pursuit of pleasure attain to their several perfections, they do then again, as in pursuit of the highest of these natural provocations, aim at a new union and coition also. By successive repetitions whereof, as each man, and each sensitive seems to reintegrate it self into that first Parent of their kind, so doth the submission of them, in their several kinds, to the same common Laws of *Adam*, or first matter, bring on a confession also that there is a common Parent and cause of union for them all. In which course, custom and variety are affections semblably made use of for the sustentation of Sensitives, as motion and rest are for preservation of Naturals. Whereby it comes to pass, that as matter doth naturally affect closeness and settlement, which is answerable to union and rest, so doth it, by customary degrees observed in motion, release it self, in, and of that tendency to separation, which its own sublimed part, (by means of heat) had forced upon it: All things cheerfully dancing those rounds which are by Divine Rule and Providence appointed unto them.

As we are thus prevailed upon by custom to cast a different choice and liking towards things and persons, as they are in their naturals, so come we, through custom and constancy in company and conversation, to stand diversly affected towards them also, as in relation to their morals; there being a gracefulness and winning insinuation taken from behaviour, as well as from person. And this especially towards years, when as time sufficient hath passed for making observation of difference herein, and naturalizing our fancies to those garbs and habits which cohabitation brings within our notice; at which time the other affections induced from personal beauty, &c. do also abate of their vigour, so as not to divert in these. Hence it comes, that old folks are ever condemning, not only the present fashions, but the manners and deportments of men also in the present age, even what they were formerly,

formerly, even because, from continued impression, and that taken whilst they were young, they must stand already filled and prepossessed in their fancies against any figure that can now be offered.

The which prejudication is most holpen on by compliance of interest and opinion, as we find by that ready assistance which each one of a sect casteth towards his fellow, as supposing himself holpen in that help which he yields unto them. And so again, in matters of Moral opinion and conversation; we are inclined and won to fancy and practise the like principles in matters of polity and obedience, as do the rest of our familiars and acquaintance. That child, that servant, that hath observed others of his brothers, or fellows, or others in others families, to gain liberty or any thing else, or to pass without punishment or reproof for dis-respect to their Parent or Master, will thereupon come to be inclined to desire and attempt the like.

After the same manner, such subjects and people as are wonted to hear and read Stories of the commendations of such as have been *Tyrannicids*, or have boldly opposed their Princes in their commands; or that have thriven themselves into the fancied liberty of *Free-States*, they do thereupon also come to be addicted more then others to the like degree of boldness and temerity. And indeed, there is nothing more dangerous in a State, then too much toleration of Philosophical Discourses and Books of this kind, it being one sure step to disloyalty and Civil disturbance. For as no man can come to any great height of evil on a sudden, so, in matters of obedience, we are brought to be Rebels upon these first grounds of dis-respect and irreverence cast towards Superiours, when, by too ordinary and familiar discourses, subjects shall be informed of their Princes faults or weakness, and that he is not otherwise to be respected then as prosecuting the good of his people, whose servant he is, or the like. By which means the judgements and affections of people come to be forestalled and prejudiced against their present Government and Governors, no otherwise then a vitiated stomick, as before noted, doth through its own inward corrupt humors contract an antipathy and loathing against wholsom food. In respect of the danger of such like company, and such like Doctrine, is that Divine saying to be understood, *Can a man touch pitch, and not be defiled therewith.*

To make us the better apprehensive of the rise and derivation of our knowledge from Figure, we may take another instance in our learning to number also, when as those Characters of Arithmetick, which we call Figures, are used in an artificial way, as outward helps to enable the fancy and memory to make comprehension and numeration inwardly of such natural things as were themselves the original objects, whereby, as well as wherefore, the number themselves were framed. For as we finde children, one with another, making it one of the first tryals of their abilities to pose each other in mental addition of numbers, so is it to be conceived, that as they did at first learn from sight and experience that any thing single was called *One* (because none can be presumed to know what *One* is, that was never by sense made perceptive of any one thing) so come they by degrees to comprehend, from the posture and form of two, three, or four *Ones* placed together, that these are the numbers which do answer the artificial computation of two, three, four, &c. And therefore having the question asked them how many two and three do make, or the like, they do at first help themselves herein by real natural figures, as by calling into memory the figure of any three and two things

so and so joined; and so, by comparing them do know what they amount unto. Or else they help themselves in their numeration by an outward figure, as by counting on their fingers, or the like. And hence it is that other sensitives are very little apprehensive of numbers, because they are so little apprehensive and intent on Figures. For although from sight they are loosly able to configurate and remember the forms and shapes of such particular things as they account of concern, yet want they both time and inducement to remember what kind of figure three, four, or five of these did make when they were placed together, which is the prime way whereby fancy doth measure diverse quantities. From whence we may conclude, that Algebra is more natural and solid then Arithmetick.

Some persons can remember great numbers of strange words that have no import or figure, but they do onely, as Parrats, remember them as impressed from syllables and tone of delivery. If this be done by children, they must repeat them in the same order they were heard: In which case, the brain succeeding in its motion according as it received impression from the articulation of the several words, doth then perform that office which is called Memory. But some can also repeat them out of that order, as backward, or the like, and can also remember and give an account of multitudes of different things seen presently one after another, in a different order also to what they saw them in; the which cannot be done, but by such as have attained years of ripeness; who, by that time have framed artificial common places and Receptories in their brain, whereby to help themselves in the art of memory. Which art we find may be holpen and attained by the use of outward Figures, directing men to fancy common places of this kind, even as Arithmetique and the art of numbring is holpen by its figures: and we now see Books written on this artificial way of recognition, by proposing Schemes to that purpose.

But usually boys, in repetition of a lesson, or something without Book, or any thing which they understand not, are holpen by memory of the different forms of some of the letters, lines, and part of the leaf, where the same is set down. Insomuch, as the remembrance hereof, all along, directs them in repetition of what is therein contained; Even so, that they can tell you what page, and part thereof they are now saying; and when the memory of this figure fails, the other fails also. And so in all other things whilst a Figure can be held, it serveth the understanding as an index for discourse, and further discovery of things accompanying it. But all discourse and arguments upon subjects not figurable, produce nothing but mazes and intanglements, as it fareth in some metaphysical notions and speculations.

By what hath passed we may know what things and arts are the objects of Science, and what of probability onely. For as they depart from controlment of sense, they depart from Science, and if they come to be entertained as affections, upon repetition and authority only, they must take their hazards to be more or less true and reasonable, as these figures were more or less fit for them which the party makes use of in his fancy to conceive them by; for the difference of abilities in apprehension of abstracted things wil be in choice of fittest Figures. For example, as we have helped our selves in the conceipt of superior

periour bodies and their postures and Motions, by representing them in globes and spheres (by remembrance of whose shape and linements, we can remember and conceive the others; for so, if we would examine the question of diurnal motion (between Copernicus and others) we are then fancying the Earth and Heavens turning round, as we have seen these Globes do.

And so, to make us mindful and observant of matters of high and special import as Coronations, Ordinations, witnessing of Deeds between party and party, or the like there are certain remarkable tokens exhibited unto the eyes; by whose order and sensible method of performance, the thing by them expressed comes to have proportionable esteem in our fancy, above other things that have not such ceremony used about them.

Nay, of such force are these sensible expressions, that Religion it self would soon vanish without their use in many things. For although all our outward worship and expression of devotion and obedience, as Sacraments, Prayer, Alms, &c. may be called Ceremonial (as they are but expressions of that inward root of charity and love of God, we have in our hearts) yet must they be all acknowledged as necessary, to the quickning & supportation thereof. And so again, to the supportation and enlivening of these, must such Ceremonies as are unto them proper, be allowed also; our minds and devotion being not otherwise able to conceive and attend what they are or do import.

And as for those that do so bitterly inveigh against Ceremonies as humane inventions (for such they must be, as heretofore noted (if any be) they are not themselves able to keep up their own devotions without them; and although they make not so much use of expressions to the eye, they requite it in sedulity and constancy of what is performed by the ear, and the numbring Sermons and other select phrases of theirs, as Papists do their prayers upon beads, serves with them to the like end, namely, to keep their devotion in exercise.

Besides, all men, to secure themselves against this strong and importunate affection of fear, must always be ready, according to the pressure thereof in their consciences, to encrease the other affection of hope, by all such actions as they conceive to be their duties; which prevailing upon, and passing into affections, by itteration and custom (and so much the sooner and more firmly doing it, as they are more sensible and methodical in themselves) we need not wonder why those that most decline and cry out against Ceremonies, and Set-forms of Worship, as superstitious, are themselves most superstitious; that is, most fearful and scrupulous of having (in general, or in any particular) served God, so, or otherwise then they ought: for as there is no comparison (in assurance of a work done) betwixt those evidences that flow from sight, and those that come from hearing, so (the performance of holy duties consisting in actions) there must remain greater security and satisfaction of conscience, to him that hath performed in most sensible, solemn and orderly manner, those duties he conceived were enjoyned him, then to him that imployeth not himself in practise of his devotions, in such serious and deliberate form.

To search a little more nearly into the cause why affections should be so strongly raised in us from reiteration of Tenents, and inculcation of Doctrines received from others only, of which we never had experience in our selves, nor are impressible from proper Figures; we are to consider, that although those collections can be only properly called Science, which do arise from

real figurate and perceptible objects, and were thereupon gathered into notions, and thence into affections, even because in this case onely the affections (in their disputes amongst themselves, and also for the satisfaction of others by tradition, and giving a reason or demonstration of things) may have recourse to the brain, to receive a judicious and deliberate determination, according to such evidences as the senses have there laid up, yet, as to the introducing of an affection, the often repetition of any thing to us under the Classis of hope or fear, prevails towards the belief of what is thereupon offered and presented, in as high manner, as if it had been impressed by a figurate object of its own; nay more, in all likelihood, because the ground and reason which it takes for its support, to wit, these passions of hope and fear are there strongly placed and proved already: Whereupon, being set so much onward on his way, as towards affirmation and proof, there is nothing can hinder its progress towards assurance, but plain sensible contradictions, or strong preoccupations.

As we formerly instanced how a repetition of strokes, made by an Egg or other like thing on the forehead, would by degrees make as great a tumor as one greater blow given by a stronger or harder thing: so may we conceive onward, that by successive continuance of these strokes, the same may be still more raised, untill it exceed, by far, that other swelling taken from the one only stroke: especially when it is to work upon a tumor and impression already made, like as Tenets and Doctrines usually doe; insinuating themselves as under the consent and command of prenotion and demonstration already conceived and assented unto, by the help of Similitudes, Types and Figures.

That blow which Logick gives with its conclusion from premises newly represented, however it may, for the sudden, strongly affect, by its more pointing and entire stroke; yet can it not raise an impression or swelling, answerable to those repeated blows made upon the affections and passions themselves; whereby, as building upon a groundwork already made and laid, it may well be supposed to proceed more thrivingly and assuredly for setting up a compleat Fabrick, then can be expected from a Figure and Idea impressed by it self; which must, on the other side, be supposed to be continually declining in its presence and force in the fancy, for want of progression or repair. For a Syllogism can give but one blow, and so depending on figurate induction, cannot produce higher assent then they can yield; which in wise men may be by observation contradicted, and by fools, for want thereof, unapprehended. Whereas relying and grounding upon the strength of affections already made, a discreet pressure can never fail of receipt and encrease.

Logick must clear his way to the will by the understanding, and must appeal to the Indicative mood before it can make use of the Imparative; when as those things that enter as Rhetorical impressions, by their insinuation and mixture with those affections and passions that do already rule and command us, cannot fail of a constant power to govern & guide us also: and thereupon they, depending not so wholly on sense, but being usually above its controul, are not in like danger of a defeat by a negative from thence. For Logick must assertain us by the rule of *all* or *none*; whereas the other needs but look like truth, and, by joyning with that which hath been so fully assented unto already, stands always generally proved, where it is not totally contradicted.

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To prove that there is a God, a Resurrection, and future judgement, and the like, faith is enabled, by absence of negatives from sense, by degrees to silence doubtings, and to contract a positive assurance. In which case when that which, from authority or report of others, or conceit raised in my self, is at first apprehended as a thing that may be: it will afterwards, through absense of dissent or denial, shake off its first stare of doubting, and become as a certaine conclusion of that which most assuredly is: when neither experience in my self, nor sufficient aurhority elsewhere, doth or can demonstratively contradict. Demonstratively, and highly demonstratively it must be also, after such time that this opinion hath once fastened it self upon these prevailing affections. Even as we find that children will be so far scared by formidable tales, and the apprehensions of such objects & things as they could never from sense have notice of, as to avoid being in the dark, lying alone, or the like: And although these conceits were first entertained from the ungrounded reports of such persons as are of much less credit with them for ability and learning, then those that do contradict it, yet can it not take off the prevalence of that which hath so steady a support within, and hath not strong experiments to contradict it from without.

This steady and effectual way of prevalence, it pleased the All-seeing providence to make use of in the propagation of the Gospel it self, divine wisdom never overthrowing nature, but by his grace steering and directing her. For although, at the first, for the remove of pre-occupation, and making an impression in the hearts and affections of men, he did extraordinarily appeal to sense by miracle, yet had the encrease of the Christian faith its ordinary and next dependance on this effectual way of preaching, even as that had again on the efficacy of the holy Ghost. Towards the furtherance whereof, as well in the first receipt, as growth afterwards, it pleased God Almighty also to make that natural thirst to be always living, and that imbred sense of Morality, (accompanied with that continual humor of each mans adjudication for his own merit, and for the demerit of others) to serve as steps and degrees whereby to enter, as well as preside in the belief of mankind, and that in a more high and steady degree of energy and effectual operation, then could be done by any doctrine brought in, and made dependant on such philosophical disputes as were then raised in the Grecian Schools. For although it be not hard to prove both a Deity, and the excellency of the Christian faith by such like disputations as S. *Paul* once used in the School of *Tyrannus* (which may also be sometimes necessary for conviction of such as are capable of impressions that way soonest) yet considering that even the wise and best learned are swayed by natural affections as well as others, it is not to be doubted, but that the reliance on these two mastering passions of hope and fear, would render the instructer to be most generally and steadily prevalent, even by proposal and pressing upon them rewards and punishments of so great height, as were above the degree of any former comprehension.

In which case of exaltation of, and pressure upon these affections (especially that of fear) we shall be often drawn to seek or avoid benefits or dangers which are neither present, nor can have other sensible assurance that they will be, and in the mean time, stand neglectful of those which sense it self demonstrates both to be, and to be formidable. For there is none that can have equal assurance of the reality of Purgatory or Hell fire, as of that which

which is in his kitchin, yet, by reason of this so often and pressing presentations thereof to the fancy; and so to the affections by fear, he will, through the instigation thereof, have his will inclined to take notice of that which he believes is most to be feared; and so consequently will prosecute or avoid all those courses which he is made believe will acquit him of the danger hereof.

These things well considered, there will be good cause found, even in reason also, for that prevalency and spreading ability which attended the Professors of the Protestant Religion, over those of the Church of *Rome*. For those more nice and retired speculations of the Schoolmen could not, with all their fine subtilties, so accurately delivered in their Books and Disputations, be reasonably presumed half so efficatious for conviction in those things where reason was but subservient, as was those more familiar insinuations which the Protestant Preachers applied themselves unto in their sermons, made suitable to the affections of their present Auditors. For first, there are more that hear Sermons; then read Books; and again, the Preacher can better know and distinguish the temper and inclination of his Auditory, then the writer can of those that shall read him: And besides, there is a great efficacy to be attributed to elocution and gracefulness of delivery.

And in the sub-divisions of Protestants again, we find that side still most prevalent and encreasing, that is most sedulous in this course of Preaching also: and that also in the plainest manner. For that language and exact method that would become a Sermon made at S. *Maries*, would be unfit and ineffectual to be used in a Country Auditory: In the first it is expected he should be exact in his observation of Order and Scholastick Rules and Expressions; whereas he that makes a Sermon, or writes a Book of a vulgar address, it behoves him to be more copious and plain in his delivery, even so far as he conceives his hearers or readers not fitted with pre-notion enough to conceive and understand him in a more compendious and exact method; and in case he find them possessed with strong aversions and pre-occupations he is then to enlarge himself, and to make use of repetition and inculcation of Doctrine; whereby he may be able to convict at several times, and by degrees, such as could not or would not be won at once, and on a sudden; the which I hope may serve as an apology for my self in those itterations and ways of pressure I have used all along this present Treatise; by which or by *transferring and reflection on my self*, if I have become *a fool* for truths sake, and for conviction of such *as are puffed up against one another*, and against *Christs Ministers* too, I am not wanting of good Authority and president therein.

1 Cor. 4, 1, 6, 10, &c.

But to return to the discourse of Figure, although particular words did arise from, and were made conceivable by particular figurate things and their accidents, yet when we can make notions and sentences, by joyning particular words, it is because many figures may be by use so brought into one, as to be conceived all at once; even as the whole story of any thing, wherein are several figures painted, may (by often sight) be brought into one figure in our fancy, in such sort as if it were but one figure, as it is now but one whole piece.

And as again, in this whole piece or figure we are able to distinguish, upon occasion, the several figures therein one from another, according to their several postures and scituations; so, in each figurate body, these adjuncts

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of Number, Scite, Habit, Proportion, &c. are but parts of figure it self, as constituting his whole form. Nay motion it self is not otherwise conceivable, then as altering the Figure of a body from what it was while, it was resting and quiessent: And therefore as any of them are changed, the whole figure must be changed also, in regard the lines from thence issuing to our sight, will not be the same they were before. Whereupon it will also follow, that as that party shall never so little alter his standing, or divers other persons, shall be beholding the same object, it must: by means of those several lines issuing from the diversly scituated parts thereof unto the eyes of the several beholders, put on a differing representation of shape and figure, except it be in pictures, or the like, which have such real levels and smoothness, as not to make an alteration in the return of the beam through inequality of the object.

As words and figures, so Sciences collect into totals in our fancies, under the general notion of good and bad, and useful or not. For we can no more seriously consider any thing without respect to our selves, then we can see with other mens eyes, or judge of them by their reason, for particulars had their admission through hope and fear, like or dislike. And from hence it is we find that subjects (especially such as look not to have share in the mannagery of them) are ever finding fault with the execution and rigour of the Laws, and will ever like those Laws best that themselves may interpret and mannage. And hence it is also that Merchants, and such as propound to raise themselves by trade and action, will not be brought to attend the discourses and speculations of schollers and contemplative persons: nor they again descend to the imployment of the others, each of them having long fancied their honor and benefits to arise their own way soonest: which they now apprehending themselves skilful in, are not to be expected so far to remit their intention of benefit their own way, as to divert to an imployment that can but betray their ignorance.

Although, as we said, knowledge flow from sense, and beasts have them in equal number with us, it will not follow that therefore they should be as wise. For first they ordinarily come short of us in quickness of feeling: and although they have equal acuteness of sight, yet they usual trust to smelling as aforesaid, which can yield little observation or variety, but chiefly they want time to learn: for they are at their perfection before children (of like years) have learnt any thing. But most of all, they want so much quickness of sense, by reason of their hard breeding and thick fenced skins, as to make them sensible of want. And again, their appetites are so few and cold, that they want spur to enquiry, and so to knowledge. Which last consideration appears in Innocents, who are always laughing, and so far pleased with what they get or see, that they put not themselves forth to any enquiry after the possession or removal of any thing, whereby to encrease their understanding.

Though this stupidity have its original cause from numbness of feeling, as beasts have (for we find that they will endure pain or smart better then wise folk, who are commonly thinnest skinned) yet the nearest reason is ease content and satisfaction. And as we see beasts of prey to be the wildest, of such as live not with us, because their food is of hardest acquisition, so of those that are domestique, those that through necessity of getting food from us, do

do observe us most, are consequently most crafty. For craft is but particular wisdom, as theirs is: which reacheth only at getting food, or avoiding of blows. But wisdom beasts cannot have: for it must be a general knowand compleatness of comprehension, in some measure proportioned to humane ability. For as all things in nature are dependant upon one another, so no one can be throughly known without something be known of all: in such sort as nothing may be left to stand so far wanting or negative, as to the spoiling of our Method.

And therefore as in the Mathematicks, he is to be held for the ablest Architect or Engineer, that, through natural sufficiency and foregoing observation, is endued with a capacity to retain, and most exactly to comprehend in his brain the entire and precise models and methods of several buildings and engines, whereby, upon occasion of erection of house or engine, he may be able out of those frames and plots conceived in his fancy, by way of theory, and out of knowledge of the true nature and use of materials, to contrive afterwards such a house or engine as may correspond with his end and desire, or to know whether it be feasiable or no: Even so, in matters of polity also, they are to be held as the most sufficient artists that, being most knowing of all those several parts whereof the political body is framed, and of their true nature and use, can frame to themselves the largest and most comprehensive methods and schemes of government; even such as by an entire configuration may include each several rank and order of men, so disposed of and set on work, as that the whole political frame or building may be held up unto that way of work and rule which is fittest for it. Whereas he that will go about to contrive an engine for motion, or the like, without precedent knowledge of the Trochlick and Statick principles, and of the true natures of those materials whereof it is to be framed, and without full and exact comprehension of every part useful and necessary to his work: or he that will undertake to reform or set up a Government without fore-consideration of the true differences and properties of command and obedience, and of the natural tempers and inclinations of men in their several orders, and how they may be made appliable and useful therein; and who is not also entirely comprehensive hereof, so as in his Scheme or Model, to place every one in such a proper station, as by union and application of endeavour, the whole frame may be preserved and kept in motion, without neglect or leaving out of any, or suffering them to croud one upon another, even he shall find himself as much mistaken in his Politicks, as the other in his Mathematicks.

And the danger of falling short, and running into mistake, is by so much the more to be feared in making schemes and methods of this sort, then of the other, by how much we are less capable of autoptical figures and means of conection and juncture here then there. For he that is to frame an engine, cannot but from sight and experience be informed how one board or piece of wood is ordinarily joyned to another, by taking part from one and part from another, and so making them even, and as it were one intire piece; and also how that is holpen on, and upon occasion further secured in faitness and strength, by pins, nails, plates of iron, or the like. Whereas, to the framing of Polity and Society, it is not so easie to conceive how the natural implantation of love, is by Precepts of Religion, enjoyning to bear one another burthens, made efficacious for faitening of one man to another; and

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how again the application of divine and poſitive Rules and Laws, like pins and bolts, for the farther and more orderly ſecuring of this political fabrick and ſtructure, are neceſſary to be applyed alſo: for accompliſhment of the entire frame, according as he that hath charge and overſight of the whole work ſhall think fit.

Vulgar capacities can eaſily make to themſelves a repreſentation of a King riding abroad, and occaſionaly righting or relieving of a ſingle perſon, becauſe theſe and ſuch like ſtories uſe to be figured and repreſented in Tales and Ballads; and they can alſo, becauſe of inſtance in themſelves, and their own prompting deſires and hopes, be able to raiſe a figure of two perſons appealing before him in his judgement ſeat, to give ſentence between them, in like manner as the two harlots are painted before *Solomon* in his majeſtical Throne; when as yet, it will be very hard for ſuch as have not been converſant in Hiſtories, and often ruminated on the cauſes of Civil diſturbance, to fancy how the whole people may be divided into two parties and factions, even as it were two perſons; and how in that caſe there is no way to peace, and to prevent the danger of the whole by their quarrel, but by their joynt ſubmiſſion to the ſame Soveraign power alſo.

But moſt of all they want prenotion enough to conceive, & warineſs enough to conſider, that the moſt common and uſual way for men to be lead into theſe ſidings and diviſions amongſt themſelves, and into aſſociations and inſurrections againſt Authority, is from the doctrines of diſ-affected perſons vented in private Meetings and Congregations. In which caſe, to hope that the ſeeds of ſeparation and diſcontent ſhall not be farther ſowed by ſuch as from diſlike of what is already publikely taught and allowed, have already begun and ſet up this diviſion, is as if one ſhould permit thoſe fires that uſed to burn publickly on the hearth of his houſe, to be now carried into ſeveral corners thereof, on belief that, in requital of this liberty, it will now be neglectful of its own nature, and amidſt variety of combuſtible matter, obey him, ſaying, *Good Fire, burn ſo diſcreetly*, as not to endanger that Fabrick wherein thou art maintained.

So that as men, from the rime they begin to be apprehenſive and knowing of morality, do ſtand affected with a different ſenſe of honor and conſcience, ſo do they accordingly proceed to make methods and collections towards the ſatisfaction of thoſe ſtrong affections of hope and fear, and that in their ſeveral kinds. In which doing, as we come to attain knowledge and diſcovery in the nature and courſe of things from the inſtigation of appetites to attain ſatisfaction, ſo do we differently attain wiſdom and knowledge, as theſe appetites and affections do differently, engage in diſcovery, and in ploting of means and methods for attaining them, and do more hardly or eaſily arrive at ſatisfaction. So, for example, a fool can neither be much or ſtadily covetous or ambitious (eſpecially the letter) or indeed have much of any virtue or vice, which grow chiefly from ſociety, becauſe things of Society are by him little regarded and underſtood, farther then to the outſide and pride thereof: and ſo alſo muſt want virtue or vice, becauſe ſo far as he wants underſtanding, he wants will.

So then it ſhould ſeem neceſſary that the concupiſcible and iraſcible appetites ſhould precede knowledge, and that I muſt have ſenſe of want before I can have inſtigation to attain the means of content. For he that is content, and cannot give a reaſon of his content, is a fool, and the more content, the more folly, and the leſs hope of wiſdom: and the more ſenſe

of want, the more enquiry; and the more enquiry, the more wisdom: And therefore as the proverb is true, that of an unknown thing there can be no desire, because (as before shewed) observation and knowledge of particulars do grow into affections and appetites, so is it true again, that of undesired things, there can be no knowledge, because none will contrive or invent any means to attain any thing which they have not first a liking unto. But as Wisdom is generally *found of such as seek her*; so, in every particular, men are more or less knowing and crafty, as their desire to the thing hath made their diligence and attention to exceed.

And towards our instigation to knowledge and discovery, we are much holpen on by the humour of choller; for by its irritation, we are kept, as it were, awake and intent on objects, and provoked also towards action. But then again, for wisdom and moderation in our actions, we are beholding to the humor of melancholly; for by its dulness and fearfulness, we are brought to hesitation and advisement.

Hence we may learn what insinuations are best for youth, towards their proficience in wisdom; namely, things of hardest acquisition, and that have their benefit arising through engagements to largest enquiry: And these are chiefly sense of Religion, and sense of honor, for these oblige us to diligent attention and search in all things, and all the circumstances of them also; insomuch as nothing can be looked upon but as through these considerations, both generally, and differently concerning us in our benefit or harm. And these two may well go hand in hand, fixing them upon right objects, that is, works of Beneficence and Charity; for as Conscience directs us to love, and to do good to our neighbour, in obedience to God; so doth honor prompt us to do the like, by encouragement and direction of the Laws and Rules of our Prince and Country. By these means all engagements will be taken in, because intervening, with their concerns, in all we do, we shall in those secret things and occasions where honor cannot reach, be tyed by conscience to hearty performance also.

But then we are to consider, that conscience is of far more advantage to knowledge then honor; and that, not only, as more strongly terrifying and engaging, but also as more universally doing it. For there are more things which in conscience I stand bound to perform, then those which honor takes notice of: whereas there is nothing truly honorable, but what conscience doth encourage and accompany, even as its best guide and surveyor. And this especially in matters of society, and our moral deportments therein, because men, out of interest or prejudicate custom or education, may make things honorable which are not, and may also make that honorable at one time which was not so at another, the which may prove thereby also dangerous to mislead us in matters of duty and obedience. Whereas, by a due regard had unto conscience, we shall be always kept both upright and steady.

Yet then again, by that which some call Conscience, men may be both kept and led into error; for if Religion be made to consist on a few slothful observances, or if, by dividing mens duties, you separate some of them from the religious tye of conscience, and so make their concern less: Or if lastly (through flattery) men be made proud of what they have already, by too soon assuming to themselves the title of Saints, or believing they cannot sin or fall away, or the like; then, I say, knowledge must want of its extent, by how much each one is more easily satisfied then otherwise he would be.

And

And from hence, we seldom find great heirs, notwithstanding the advantage education might afford them, become so eminent for wisdom or ability, as those whose harder breeding and greater wants, engage them to invent and study means of supply and encrease; for the first, thinking only of enjoying what they have already, grow proud, without search of more honor.

So for Religion, too strict relyance on set tasks may well induce slothfulness; nor it is not zeal alone that can attain wisdom, because it may be too implicit and negligent; that is, it may be placed in the observance of a few private directions and precepts, and not in the general observation of all devout and charitable actions, according to the Laws and Rules of his Country. And therefore when many men, appearing of great tenderness and scrupelousity, are yet known to be fools, it ariseth for that they (as all fools else) are slothfully implicite, and want such general scrupelousness or enquiry of their own as they seem to have. For when, they with most ardency, enveigh against the opinion and practices of some other person or order, it is but out of implicite belief of others, and not out of precedent enquiry and satisfaction of their own; no, not in these very things they practise or condemn: And their devotion being still fixed but upon a few observations, and the rest carelesly rejected as abominable, they must so far want wisdom, as they want general zeal and enquiry; and can (at most) be but religious craft. And therefore as in covetousness, and appetites of less general engagement, their discovery can amount to no more then a state of craftiness; even so, when these greater engagers are not closely followed, they produce neither wisdom nor craft in any perfection.

We see then, that to resist affections and passions altogether, is to dilete out natural and individual beings. For if the diffused observations of things should not at last collect themselves into affections, it would not be possible to have any promptness towards pursuit & desire, for want of present appearance of former particulars therein concerned, or to have any steady rule for discourse within, for want of union and agreement amongst the notified observations towards determination: but they being now transmitted into affections, carry so general and ready a sway in judging and willing of all things else, that it is not to be supposed that the doing or not doing, having or not having of any thing, can be equally sought or avoided, and not differently, according to the degrees of instigation from them proceeding.

And from this ground do passions proceed, which as they rise from affections, as being heightned from extraordinary concern in objects, so is one passion generative of an other. And therefore the wisest men (although it be part of their wisdom to conceal them) have the most and most eager passions; which may be easily proved by their breaking out upon pressure or sudden occasions, wherein discretion cannot, or is not warned of concealing them.

Affections work more inward, passions more outward, because I must like or dislike first, before I can act accordingly; and therefore mens affections are seldom truly to be discovered, but by their passions; even as those again are best by their actions.

Actions without passion, differ from passionate ones but in measure, for all proceed from affections; the first only proceed from affections counterpoised by comparison of one to another, which we call discourse and reason, these from one violent affection alone.

When the affections move toward the enjoying any thing, called desire, the prosecution outward is accompanied with the passions of joy, love, jealousie,

envy, ambition, covetousness, &c. and when they are averse to any thing, called hatred, they are (in their outward means of avoiding it) accompanied with grief, anger, scorn, malice, revenge, &c. Amongst all which Government finds so few steady supporters, as she is forced to make use of those including and commanding passions of hope and fear, under whose force she is able, by means of rewards and punishments, to keep the other within rule.

We cannot forbid our selves affections by reason, for they and reason are all one: for as they did first proceed from the same root of induction and experiment; so when they come to provoke to action, they point at the same end, my particular good. But this consideration of my particular good may, from new observation, forbid the prosecution of an affection in some present thing. And affections, if they be violent, do turn into passions, and so sometimes awake a contrary affection to stand up against execution, if his enjoyment be more then proportionable to the others, and this may be then called an inward reason for so doing, as a new argument or induction may be called an outward: For the many passed inconveniencies sustained through violent prosecutions, create in us a ready fear, to make stoppage till farther enquiry; but if against this pressing affection, no other affection appear then what have heretofore been remitted as unvaluable to stop the other, then this affection passeth uncontrolled afterwards, as to that affection, these two affections uniting and becoming one as experimented inductions do.

And so affections become satiate upon use, when particular objects have not proficiency, so as to persist in pleasing by variety; even as observation grows satiate and weak, upon iteration of the same inductions and experiments also.

So then, will differs from other affections as a double to a single, and is the issue of two reasons or affections aiming at precedence. For although the greater affection hath always mastery, yet is it not so entire as to the others total defeat, having no more pressure or prevalence for execution, then he was exceeding of the less affection in the promise of good or pleasure, or in the threats of avoidance. And as a greater affection may over power a less, so many less affections or reasons may do one that is greater, or a greater affection may over power many lesser; the will enforcing execution but ratable to the excess in difference. For though appetite (as appetite) covet infinitely, yet, upon conference with another reason or affection, the will assents and acts but so far and much of them as is attainable, and that, as it is conceived undestructive to other appetites.

But then although each object and thing have its peculiar method and affection for comprehension and estimation, yet because these lesser affections, for readier use and guidance of the will, do, through usage and custom, unite and place themselves in and under those general affections called Hope and Fear, it therefore falls out, that these two are the most general and express appearers in all we do: Appetite or hope of pleasure usually leading and provoking to to act, and fear of pain and prejudice to forbear, except where a sudden temptation, or a sudden affright doth violently move to present enjoyment or avoidance, without all kind of deliberation; in which case a man may be truly said to be guided by passion, and not by will; that is, by the violence of a single affection. But generally, fear is the affection that keeps us in rules of wisdom and moderation, for else hope would lead us to do all and every thing presented under the apprehension of good or pleasure. And without it, Religion and Loyalty would quickly be at a loss as heretofore noted.

And

And thus comes wiſeſt men, that have moſt preſſing affections and paſſions to have them ordinarily beſt regulated, becauſe through knowledge and experience the one is ſtill uſed and made a ſtop to the others extravagancy, unleſs when the preſſure to ſudden execution, as we ſaid, gives not time to conſider them. But towards years, moſt affections loſe their height, becauſe the experience of their hindrance (through other affections) makes them preſs us but rateable to that abatement. And therefore cannot aged perſons be ſo ſtrongly in love, both becauſe the object cannot print ſo deeply as before; and alſo becauſe the affection it ſelf is now grown leſs that ſhould entertain it. And the reaſon why young folks are not wiſer at their ſtrength of years and affections, then afterwards, is becauſe their affections provoke in their full ſtrength, without any allay from fear and experiment of inconvenience: onely in age the affection to that particular covetouſneſs of riches, doth encreaſe upon a contrary reaſon, namely, experiment of convenience and uſe of them, having ſeldom any abatement to the contrary.

By what hath been hitherto ſaid concerning the riſe and beginning of knowledge and perception, we may be informed what to judge of that peremptorineſs which the Peripateticks and Galeniſts do take againſt eachother. For if the enquiry ſhould be, in what part of us this diſcovery is firſt made, and by which part the knowledge of each thing is firſt attained, the anſwer muſt be, in the brain: becauſe in that, as the firſt ſentient, the figures of things are firſt impreſſed, and a diſcrimination made by compariſon, before any of the more inward parts can be made conſentient and ſtand affected therewith. But if the queſtion ſhould be, from whence that act of adjudication and determination towards action doth proceed which in us is the guide of all our eſſays: it muſt be anſwered, from the heart and affections; for from theſe the brain is inſtigated to raiſe figures, and to continue and purſue them as as they ſhall be judged to be of concern by the other. For the brain may be ſaid to apprehend and regard objects, as they are in themſelves ſeparate and abſolute, but the heart, as they are modal and reſpective to our ſelves; it is a different knowledge to know and diſtinguiſh a man as a man, and as he is a friend or enemy, or the like.

Whereupon we may make the brain the ſeat of underſtanding and diſcourſe, and the heart of the will; we may place natural Philoſophy and the Mathematicks in the one, and moral Philoſophy in the other; becauſe this points to good as the other doth to truth. But then again, as the deſire to know is for honor or other benefit ſake, and my deſire of acquaintance and knowledge of things is for ſome ends of mine own; ſo theſe ends having place in ſome affection in the heart, it may, in that reſpect, be called the original of knowledge alſo, eſpecially of all that points to action. Again, as we inſtanced how outward ſenſes might be deceived, ſo muſt we ſay that feeling it ſelf cannot be called full and ſteady, as in the brain; but ſo far as the heart is conſentient therewith. So that as the heart is the firſt and chief of life, ſo of feeling; for upon his reſentment of any thing, as from experience, we have the higheſt aſſurance of the realities of things which our nature can afford.

But if we reſpect the contemplative part only, then is it true that the brain is the ſeat even of moral knowledge alſo, becauſe when any is to deliver any thing on that ſubject, that method by which he proceeds muſt be firſt conceived in his own brain. To which, notwithſtanding the affections muſt give trial and judgement; even by comparing and eſtimating how his own appetites and affections ſtand inclinable in the caſe. *For as in water face anſwereth to face*, even *ſo doth the heart of man to the heart of man.*

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The which is as necessary to direct him in making his method for the tradition of Moral Philosophy, as a due consideration of the ability and capacity of the present hearers or Readers, is pre-required to be rendred intelligible and effectual in both. For as he that is not advertized and respectful of the prenotions and comprehensions of those he would instruct, may, by too great attention in his discourses above their sense, be rendred but as if he had spoken non-sense, (by appealing unto and relying upon principles and premises which were never by them apprehended and granted (an error ere-while noted in preaching); even so, success, cannot be in moral discourses, much hoped for, where the Instructer or Preacher hath not due knowledge and regard of the present affections and inclinations of his hearers. It being (indeed) the highest help and proof of ability, to excogitate and examine at home, by what steps and degrees he came himself to attain to the knowledge of things; and by what inducements he hath been brought to the liking or aversion of them; and also upon what grounds and considerations he hath been again brought to entertain contrary thoughts, towards those things which he liked or disliked before; that so, upon a due comparison of his condition to that of others, he may make a true estimate and judgement of a method, and way of discourse and delivery, most fit for the others instruction therein.

From all which we may discover that some of late have been too inconsiderately hasty in their censures put upon those ancient assignments of wisdom and knowledge to the heart. There is no doubt but when God calls for, and claims mens hearts to be exercised his service and worship, and when *Solomon* prays for an *understanding heart to know good and evil*, but that both of them did very well know whence our actions and indeavours took their source and original, that is, from the affections and as our moral abearances, as well one towards another, as in carrying our selves in a right and steady course of subjection towards God, was the thing chiefly aimed at, and not Philosophical speculation, so may we finde reason why we should be so often minded of searching and examining our hearts; because from them, and the affections therein abiding, the issues of life and death did proceed. And certainly, had *Solomon* been endued with a little more melancholy hesitation, and suffered the passion of fear to have been more often made use of as a stop and temperament to those jolities and enjoyments which in his greatness were so frequently presented unto him as the objects of hope and desire, and had not so inconsiderately *trusted to his own heart*, he would have proved himself more wise, then by that book *written of all things from the Cedar in Lebanon to the Moss on the Wall*. If he had I say but suffered the reverential fear of offending God to have come in with an arrest of judgement, and so, by its counterpoise, call him to a deliberate examination before execution, he would then no doubt have been as happy and famous for the wise guidance of himself, and for giving a right sentence between his Passions and Affections within and at home, as he was in that sentence he gave between the *Harlots*.

In which case of advisement and deliberation, we may look upon the Brain as the Judgement-seat, where the Affections in competition, being by the heart summoned to plead, each one calls up and assists it self with such figurate Presidents and Examples as it thinks fit to imploy as evidences on its own side; the heart, as from a majestick Throne or Tribunal, may be

supposed

ſuppoſed to give that determination which is called Will.

But it is by the way to be conceived, that when the Ancients attributed Wiſdom to the Heart, as the ſeat of affections, and the ſource from whence appetites and actions did proceed, they then reputed it as the nobleſt and chief of the inward parts; and did not thereby intend to deny that ſerviceableneſs, both for raiſing and reſenting of objects, which come from the ſtomack, the Diaphragm, and other membranous and highly ſenſible parts; nor how other Affections, by long contract, may be induced upon other parts of the body; even as that more natural reſentment of the kinde before ſpoken of, may be by this means well thought ſeated in the Liver.

But now to make farther application of ſome of theſe Diſcourſes; ſince Affections have ariſen (for the moſt part) from ſociety, and the example and imitation of others, it ſeems moſt requiſite that (in ſociety) ſuch means of prevention ſhould be uſed, that their exorbitance be not the deſtruction thereof. Our general cuſtom of living is that which pleaſeth us, even upon no other reaſon but becauſe it is ſo, and is the ground of what in each Nation called Fundamental and Common-Law, that is to ſay, common cuſtom.

Now although a man may love his own home or manner of living better then another, yet to be confined to the ſame houſe, food, *&c.* would be but impriſonment, ſo that deſire of Liberty (in ſociable living) is the ſame with that of variety in private uſages; and Liberty in Government is nothing elſe but freedom of choice to follow mine own will in the various proſecution of mine own cuſtoms. And publike Law is nothing elſe but the reſtraint of this liberty in ſome particular uſages. For the Laws of no Government preſcribe to men all they ſhall do or forbear; but onely direct and ſtint them in ſuch and ſuch practiſes, wherein cuſtom and affection to ſome things above others, were otherwiſe like to prevail upon them to publike prejudice.

And ſo again, ſince underſtanding is (as beforeſhewed) ſo fallible, and muſt be ſo differing in its grounds, it will appear neceſſary, for avoiding contention and diſturbance, that each one in things of common concern, do ſubmit to a common underſtanding. For in this caſe we may regard the appetites and affections as they are conceived in the ſubjects, in their ſeparate orders and factions, to be unto the Prince, as thoſe ſingle figurate objects or inductions conceived in each ones brain; which are not to carry any peremptorineſs of concluſion, as in themſelves, but to ſerve as evidences and inſtances of choice unto him how to proceed in the execution of them, as they ſhall be found agreeable and approved by his experimented method and rule of publike good.

So that in all differences which ſhall ariſe between one order and another, or between party and party in the Kingdom, the King is, in the body politick, to reſemble the heart in the body natural, in bearing ſway and determination between the diſagreeing affections and intereſts of his ſubjects; after the ſame manner as *Solomon* did between the Harlots, as before ſet down: By which means ſubjects enuring themſelves to a conſtant way of deciſion and reconciling of differences, and thereby alſo being reduced into a conſtant courſe in the obſervation of uniform and fixed Laws; Cuſtom of obſervation

servation and practise will make the same generally pleasant, upon the like reason that (through use) each mans particular customs were to him pleasant before: insomuch as it may be a doubt, whether all customs were not from positive Laws at first: so that men having, from the usual practise of their superiors commands, throughly habituated themselves therein, they may (at last) be thought to perform them with delight, the Law it self becoming exolete and forgotten, as to its letter, and affection and custom serving to the upholding thereof. And this may seem the reason also why not onely one kingdom differs from another in Customs and Fundamentals, but divers places of the same kingdom do differ amongst themselves: namely, from divers Authorities which have therein born sway.

And as in nature we may observe, that such Creatures as have dread of others, are (notwithstanding) by cohabitation brought to liking of each others company: so when the first terrors of oppression and severity (which all Government is accompanied with) are by indurance made familiar, (as commonly coming under the rate they were feared,) it comes then to be so pleasant also, that all governable people will be found averse from change. Whereas else, if the publike and general way for decision of common Justice and good should be interrupted, it would procure sickness and disease in the body politick, no otherwise then obstructions do in our natural bodies. For as each body hath its proper constitution and habit, for measure and motion of its humors, so hath each kingdom its proper method and proportion of Laws and politick executions, the which, when accordingly followed, doth not onely keep that kingdom in health, but also, by their free passage according to custom, administer content and delight to all the members.

And this is made most apparent in those two great objects of Government, Liberty and Property. It being evident that the happy and contented estate in either of them, is not in greatness of extent and proportion, but in that pleasure which custom bringeth. For since the greatest possessors in these kindes have desire of addition, and since in the lowest possession natural necessity is supplied, all the rest will be but as coveted for Credit or Honor sake: which honor and estimation, being more sought by great and rich persons, (thereunto used) then by the low and poor, it will follow, that the condition of the servant and poorer sort of men hath generally more steady and equal content; and that therefore, the stating and measuring the publike Liberty must be referred to publike judgement and care; and that the grants herein must regard the real benefit of all, and not importunity of demanders onely.

In which respect of judging and estimating of the reality and value of publike benefits, the Prince, as the heart in the body politick, is again to be looked upon as doing that other office, as in the body natural before set down: that is, by vertue that life and soul-ship whereby he animates the whole kingdom, to be ready to give true evidence and demonstration whether the things disputed and stroven for, are things that have real beings and entities, or are not fictions and apparitions, entertained by weak and credulous persons: and how far also they are practicable and conducent to publike benefit.

Else it may happen, with easie Princes, as with indulgent Parents, who, to still their children, leave them knives or the like, which instead of use turn to their dammage: no otherwise then uncontrolable priviledges of subjects

turn

turn to their ruine through civil diſſention, as heretofore obſerved. And therefore we ſee by experience that thoſe very children, that have their private Wills and Affections leaſt ſatisfied, are, in the general, beſt pleaſed and contented, as being leaſt croſſed through leaſt coveting: whereas thoſe that have them moſt, are moſt reſtleſs and clamorous for more.

For as that courſe and manner of life muſt be much more uniform and conſtant, that is, directed by Law or one univerſal method or order, then that which (having no certain and determinate reſtraint, but being at liberty to and choſe as it thinks good, in objects that concern others as well as himſelf) is left irregular; and muſt conſequently have more croſſes, by how much he deals with more objects and aims to hinder him: by which means, his liberty proving his reſtraint, it were much better and happier for him, to have his preſent liberty ſubjected by one, to his momentany diſcontent, then, by taking it upon him, to have it croſſed by many, to his continual torment. For as an unuſual poſture will at firſt diſpleaſe, which yet, through cuſtom of enduring, may become as pleaſant as walking it ſelf: ſo when I, uſing liberty in many things, am thereby put to many poſtures of reſtraint, this muſt continually diſpleaſe, no otherwiſe then when the parts of our natural bodies are put into any other method or poſture, then hath been hitherto familiar.

And as a natural body is not an individual longer then it is guided by a ſingle Will, no more is the body politick this or that kingdom, that is guided in publick actions by more wills then one. And as again, the parts ſeparated in a natural body do not by their abſence demoliſh the eſſence of the whole; while thoſe that remain continue ſubject to uniform direction, whenas, by being ſeperate, they fal, like as natural divided parts do, into the general accidents of corruption: even ſo politick parts fall into Anarchy, after their ſeparation from the common Affection and Will: But while they remain conformable thereto, they will, like bodily members, gain to themſelves joint content, and the reputation of ſymetry and comelineſs.

For if ſubjects do at at any time finde fault with their government, it is either occaſioned through ſome new and extraordinary injunctions, in not keeping a way of Government conſtant enough, (which makes arbitrary Government ſo much cryed out upon), or elſe, becauſe ſome other particular intereſt or pleaſure draws their appetite ſo ſtrongly another way, that it grows weary and inſenſible of this. No otherwiſe then dogs and other creatures, who having the acquiſition of food and generation only in purſuit and contemplation, ſtand affected with thoſe ſmells onely that tend thereunto: through eagerneſs herein, being made unapprehenſive of the danger of runing into new paſtures, not delighted with the content and ſecurity they enjoy already.

And the like as is ſaid of liberty, may be ſaid of property; wherein covetouſneſs provokes to the ſame inconvenience which too much liberty doth; for as one is covetouſneſs of riches, ſo is the other covetouſneſs of Will, and then as ſenſe of want muſt precede deſire, ſo all covetouſneſs is poverty: and in theſe two caſes men muſt be looked upon, as ſo ſtrongly reſpective to their own intereſts and concerns, as haſtily to fall upon ſchemes and methods of adjudication and contrivance, without any equal regard to comprehend or take in the intereſts of others. For if the partial deſires of any party, order, or faction of the people ſhould be ſuffered to paſs and act for it ſelf, in relation to liberty or property, or the like, it would ſoon be found that all others

would be thereby dis-impropriate and made slaves. And this upon the same ground that, in the course of Nature and Providence, the good of Succession and Posterity would be defeated, if that natural desire not to die, might be fulfilled to such as are for the time alive. For men that can, from the pressure of their own affections, well enough fancy themselves possessing of such a part of the earth, and of being thereon, as on a Stage, acting their parts amongst amongst divers others; cannot yet be (ordinarily) ingenuous and comprehensive enough to consider onward, (by enlarging of their figure) that divers other persons are thereon to act their successive parts also; and that thereupon it must necessarily follow, (as well for order sake as to make room for others) that each person must withdraw when that part is acted which was assigned him; for as himself is now possessing of his fathers stock and possession, upon occasion of his death, so must he, by his death, make room for the possession of others, else the whole plot must take end and fall into confusion. Even so, in a state, we may easily conceive how soon the constitution and welfare thereof would perish by disorder, if the Statute and determinate rule of the Soveraign were not inviolably observed: for subjects would forget to do as they would be done unto, in regard of those liberties they would leave to posterity and their fellows; as men, in nature, are usually inconsiderate, that since their Fathers and Progenitors death made way for them, so ought they to do the like for their children.

In which case of restraining the general actions of men to be guided by the same uniform Rules and politick Laws, as natural Agents are in their courses, although the number of those that would be thereby offended, would exceed any number of men offended by particular crosses arising from prosecutions of their own devisings, because a far greater number were this way ruled then the other, yet let the discontented passions of the whole Kingdom, governed by no other restraint then what they occasionally make one upon another, be compared to those in any Kingdom of the same number, where an uniform constraint is imposed, and the persons in the first sort restrained will be more, and also (because of unexpectedness and want of order) their restraints will be more unpleasant in the kinde then the other: which hath now through custom of induration, lost the sense thereof, even as Millers and Jaylors, of those noises and sents they are used unto.

For as we finde by experience, that the onely reason of the discontent of the subjects of one Kingdom above those of another, is for that there is difference in their Governments and Customs, it must be much more likely to happen between Subjects and the same Kingdom, where the different usages and customs must be in the continual notice of one another. And thus it fareth not onely in case of licentiousness (or where no Government is) but upon the like reason (when Authority doth make restraint in any thing) it will follow, that as this restraint is more or less, (that is, as the subjected parties have more or less possibility of breaking it,) so will the continuance of obedience be more or less also. For although appetite affect pleasure and custom of each sort, yet, when such high difficulty or inconveniency shall appear, the reasonable will doth soon decline it, and being thereupon turned to the choice of an object or action for the present less affected in it self, doth through custom therein bring it (as aforesaid) into pleasure, and make our Obedience prove our Liberty.

And the very reason why men living under one Government are many

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times affected with another, is not from unpleasantness of that uniformity they are under, but (on the contrary) supposing a greater uniformity of actions set by law in that Government they commend then indeed there is. For in this case, usually considering their own contrivances onely, which must be regular; and that without just estimation, how the contrivances of others might, or do cross them, they mistake pleasure, by plotting an uniformity in the fancy which can never be in act; and so come to pursue pain and trouble instead thereof. For it is not variety, as variety, that affects, but it is custom varied, which will imply custom and not variety: because to affect variety of customs, is to affect Custom.

And therefore when men through the often contemplation and contrivance of an Idea or platform of Government in their fancy, come thereby to attain an affection and Will thereunto; this comes no otherwise to pass, then if a remarkable object should, through often presentation in the fancy, come to pass in the extream of love or hatred, according to that relish it was at first entertained with, and thereupon be called sympathy or antipathy; even so also, this apprehension takes sometimes with men, as if by sensible practice and induction their likings had been won, and they may (thereupon) be as well said to be guided by custom to like and approve that unexperienced form, as that they live under: and it may be more, as having oftener and more attentively considered it and its benefits; when (on the contrary) the inconveniences and the pressures of the Government under which he lives, work so strongly towards the abatement of his affections, through the allay of fear, that he becomes not so intent in his relishes that way: and peradventure, out of that general love every man carries to his own contrivance, the inconveniences of the Government he now fancies, are as far removed from his conceit, as sense.

And it fares (in this case) with Government upon tryal, as with any other beloved and much desired object, namely that they never answer (in possession) that measure of delight they were coveted with, because the Idea in our fancy was the thing which we were in love with: which, as it was oftener seen in our fancy then the original in our sense, so was it pleasanter, and it was perfecter also, as being contemplated without those inconveniences, which are now found in the others enjoyment.

And besides this, our senses themselves are cozened with the inconveniences of things, for as each person (in their natural affectation of glory and reputation) is willing to appear publikely without faults, even so each Government, (and the people therein) do their utmost to set forth their power, riches, freedom, peace, honor, &c. but their sufferings they so strive to conceal, that we may be, and are as often deceived in judging a good Government, or a happy and peaceable State or Kingdom, as of a vertuous, rich, or honest person: or in discovering the many discords any marryed couple may have, by those outward kinde appearances that may pass betwixt them.

The like reason holds for regulating and stinting men in the exercise of Religion: which, as it is taken of much more concern, must be made equally acceptable and pleasing to all by set and positive rules, or else, through necessary exasperation, (which difference will beget amongst subjects) their discontents will be higher then in other things; encreasing, as it were, by accidental Antiperistasis, until it break forth into the thunder and lightning of civil

vil war and commotion. For to be divided in sect and opinion, must by degrees turn into a division in Love and Charity: even because, as there is a coincidence between Faith and Charity; so is it, as well the beginner of quarrels, as the highest proof of uncharitableness, upon unauthorized grounds and suspitions, to censure or condemn any one in respect of his judgement or belief: and if done by any towards that Church whereof they are members, it is undutiful also.

And this discord we shall finde arising, even from natural and necessary grounds also. For since the Will must follow the light of the Understanding, how shall any be thought willing to associate and accompany those that do amiss? And since the reason why those of any Church do order their discipline and practise different from that of another, is but because they do proportionably differ in their belief and judgements in matters of Doctrine and Discipline, must it not then be presumed, that so far as the members of each Christian Church shall decline in their reverential regard towards their Churches soundness and veracity, even so far will they consequently judge it fit to divide themselves by seperate Congregations, or the like; whereupon, since a Christian Church and State are but the same (as heretofore proved), it will soon be found that this schism in the Church will be the same with a revolt in the State; and wants but strength and opportunity to actuate its dislike into a rebellion. For although they may at first, for a countenance to their actions, and to draw in associates, make use of that deceivable distinction of Religious and Civil affairs, and so pretend that they intend not at all to trench on the Civil jurisdiction, yet when by strength of Allies and Confederates they shall once have arrived at their desired degree of power, it will then appear that they which at first did intreat to be independent in relation to the Church, will now practise to be so in reference to the State too; and so by degrees to be super-eminent and command in both. For must it not be expected, that that thirst of ambition and rule (by them called Zeal and Charity) which first caused them to draw in sectators, as the objects and trophies of their glory and power, should ever stoop to any stint or moderation afterwards; whenas, in order to spiritual things and religious cognizance, it is so easie a matter to draw in State affairs also; and then, as Christs immediate Ministers, to preside in them without controle.

And must it not then be expected, that that greater and higher tye of terror and fear by which men are kept in obedience, as in a religious subjection, must also make them, in case of difference with their civil head, to seem regardless of terror from him, as having but power over the body onely; and so consequently, stick fast to the obedience of the other against him. For if the separation was not at first made upon such grounds as were hazardous of salvation, why was it made? and being made and continued, how can it be expected they should be thought less? so that when opportunity shall leave men at liberty which side to follow, they will certainly choose that which they acknowledge for right in the main.

Although some have in these cases stept in with an Apology, and thought tolleration of dissent from the Church allowable where a breach of Charity was not presently made by schism, but the points in question were meerly speculative, yet will the example of the *Arrians* and others of old, and the *Remonstrants* and others of late, truely satisfie us of the danger hereof, and how by degrees it will also arise to Civil faction and commotion. For

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in this case as formerly noted, the discontented preacher is to be looked upon as fire, and the people in their natural thirst to dislike and insubjection, to be looked upon as fewel. And therefore although instance may be made, and hope may be gathered, that these Tolerations have not arisen to a Civil war; yet can none make instance, nor reasonably presume that publike discontents should not be hereby exasperated and encreased, even to a due height and fitness to break forth into open insurrection upon any fit opportunity. For as in our bodies natural, there is an amassment of corrupt humors and ferments from intemperance and irregularity of diet, exercise, &c. before some extraordinary cold or the like discover any thing in a Feaver, or other formal disease. Even so, they should do well to consider that Civil war and Rebellion in States and Kingdoms, are never to be feared to work to any strength or continuance, where there is not a precedent amassment of discontents, by which there may be a juncture made to obstruct the ordinary course of Regiment upon a revolt, and it is in this case to be highly observable, that the discontents of Religion, are ever chief and ringleaders. For as it is natural for mankinde to know, so also to be known to know, in such sort, that we many times covet to know but through pride to appear knowing; it must therefore be presumed that the Authors and Abetters of each Sect and Congregation, seeking to make themselves famous by the number and quality of those proselites they shall gain from one another, that therefore, in order to this encrease, and that of their own reputation, they must vilifie and deprave the Judgement and Practise of their opposites, and thereby, of necessary consequence, draw on exasperation and breach of Charity, and if the separation be made from the whole Church it must introduce disobedience also. For Faith, Love, and Obedience, as they have a natural Coincidence, where there is some equal respect carryed towards them, so have they as necessary a separation and loss, where any of them is slighted or omitted.

For as that Love and Obedience we are to give to God, doth depend on that belief we have of his Power, Goodness, and Truth; so also doth that respect and obedience which we are to give to the Church his representative power on earth, depend on our perswasion of its veracity and Authority. So that if men can be once brought to to dis-believe her soundness or insufficiency, (even so far as her communion may be hazardous and damnable), Obedience to her in any sort is not to be long expected.

And therefore although God have reserved to himself the Prerogative of *trying the heart and reins*, and Princes can have no Cognizance and jurisdiction over the thoughts and belief of men, yet so far as these their thoughts and perswasions do by words or actions make open tendency to the seduction of others in a course of sedition, contrary to the rules of Charity, so far are they censurable by the present *Higher Power*. And in this case Saint *Pauls* Admonition will be proper unto them, *hast thou Faith, have it to thy self before God*: that is, let not the desire of eminence and practise in thy different judgement make thee neglectful *of Charity and those things that make for Peace*, as is largely in that chapter set down: but rather know that for this very end Rom. 14.22.

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that are, or pretend themselves to be subject to the higher power, as is also largely commanded in the Chapter foregoing.

And although it be true again, that in many matters of Religion, Princes cannot command as Law-makers, and in their own names, as in more civil matters they do; yet as the supreme Magistrate entrusted from above with the protection and execution of these Laws and Rules, he may command under God, with the same authority which a High Constable, Lieutenant, or other Supreme State Officer, doth in the absence of himself. And upon the same reason that Civil Laws would be fond and useless things, if subjects might be thereby only told their duties, and not to have Magistrates to see them done, and direct them in cases of doubt; the same would also happen in the Laws of God likewise: which, considering the blindness of our understandings, and perversion of our wills and affections to obey at all, as well as difference in doing it, have much more need of such direction and constraint. The Prince being always to be regarded as the living Law, that is to say, the life thereof; because Law without an Interpreter to give it understanding, and an inforcer to give it will, is but a dead Letter, and (for the most part) useless.

So that, since Laws cannot live or go without the two supports of reward and punishment, if there be not a present powerful judge to see these kept up, the performance of Law will be but arbitrary, for why should any fear a punishment, or hope for a reward from a present authority that is uncertain or unable? Nay, into the very Laws which by God himself are sent for our obedience, what from incredulity, and what from natural reluctance, little observance can be expected, while his *minister* shall be thought to *bear the sword* in vain. For men finding these means to avoid his coercion therein, they are then left to the partialities of their own interpretations, to make them signifie but what they please. And then considering the general infection of Atheism, and the wrong and partial conceits of divine retribution, what likelihood of terror or hopes of prevailing, when *the last day*, or day of judgement shall be put off from them? since experience tells us, present terrors cannot many times do it.

Upon no other consideration then this, namely want of present appearance in Acts of Terror and Government, it doth fall out (as before noted) that the divisions and differences between child and child, and between subject and subject, ado by degrees amount unto such deadly heights, they being nothing else but the mutual encroachments of censure and controul exercised upon one another, after an extemporary and occasional way of rule and authority, for want of a common and present superior Government for restraint of this liberty in them all. For as it is most true, that each one stands strongly persuaded towards the goodness of his own actions and enterprises (or else he would not do them) so must he of consequence dissent from those of others, and make his authority for reducing them to conformity with himself, which being nothing else but the execution of Power and Government, it must follow that both families and kingdoms which are under such indulgent Parents, or milde and fearful Princes, must be perpetually in danger of civil animosities and quarrels; because, for want of those bands of reverential fear and respect towards him, that mutual eye of love towards each other comes to be dissolved. For it being the nature of love (as all things else) to grow in strength and steadi-

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nefs by that confederacy and union which is made against it by an outward and common fear of disturbance, so must it fall out, that there being now no such binding dread of Authority kept up, for the uniting and associating of them to one another, through consent and fellow feeling of equal condition, that thereupon there will be time and opportunity left to those natural appetites of Censure and Rule to break forth to publike disturbance. For as the Prince or Parent shall desist, or neglect to make use of fear and power, (those his proper instruments to rule by) so consequently must subjects and children be supposed ready to take them up; and, in contention thereabouts, to forget and neglect their own equal ties of Love and Charity.

And to speak directly, if Gods and Natures Laws have not a living coercive force for obedience (even as positive constitutions of the Supreme Magistrate) they will be of much less avail to guide us in outward deportments, then the Civil Constitutions of the Prince (without subordinate Magistrates) to determine their civil suites, inasmuch as the Prince (being more personally present with us) might decide many of his subjects differences himself. And therefore as God would have all obedience to him go by the name of fear, and threatens even such large temporal punishments to the breakers of his Law, (as well knowing that we should be more certainly guided, by an affection of such universal and near concern, then by any other more private affection, which would be but of doubtful concern) so must it follow, that as this fear will be more or less, as it is more or less present, there must therefore be some present *Minister for our good, or for wrath,* to execute rewards and punishments here accordingly. For since, in this life, (in respect of reward or punishment executed by God himself) none is *able to distinguish of good or evil of all that is before him*; so that we may observe (with the wise man) *that all things come alike to all, there is one event to the righteous, and to the wicked, to the good, and to the clean and unclean, to him that sacrificeth, and to him that sacrificeth not: As is the good, so is the sinner, and he that sweareth, as he that feareth an oath.* It must therefore be granted, that since these Laws were made for our guidance here, they must have their living Magistrate here also, to reinforce them as to execution, in respect of those rewards and punishments which, in regard of his present Power, he is enabled to make use of.

And therefore, in reference to this essential support and relation which fear carrieth towards the establishment of subjection and obedience, we may call *obedience a correspondence of action, and deportment of the inferior, according to the command of the superior, through the sense of duty and fear:* For as sense of duty or conscience must keep up obedience, so sence of fear must keep up conscience. By which definition, as we may know how to distinguish between that subjection and obedience which other creatures give, who obey out of fear only, and not of sense of duty, as wanting understanding to apprehend it; so may we also perceive, that since sense of duty must bring on a submission of will, that therefore hope can be very seldom, and love never made the proper cause of obedience, as heretofore noted. For hope of benefit or advantage to arise by any thing commanded to be done, being the proper end and motive by which the superior was led to make this his command and direction, it must therefore follow, that hope of benefit cannot be also directly assigned as an end to him that obeys.

But here again, degrees are to be admitted and considered of, and that according as the Commander is more or less All-sufficient and powerful in himself;

ſelf, or defective and obnoxious. When God commands any thing, as he cannot in himſelf be any ways reſpected as indigent, or neceſſitated for aſſiſtance to the atchieving his deſigns (as to thoſe very inſtruments and agents which are now commanded and ſet on work) even ſo the benefit thence ariſing, being intentionally theirs, voluntary creatures may in the performance of his Edicts be well ſaid to be ſometimes guided by hope alſo; and that, not only becauſe hope cannot be then ſo much eſteemed the Commanders end, as the commandeds; but alſo in reference to that greater power and readineſs of reward and retribution which is in God above others.

Next unto whom, Princes, as moſt repreſenting him on earth in Office and Power, and as having honor their end (whereby in their commands to be kept from juſtling with their ſubjects in the end of their obedience) may be alſo ſaid to have obedience given them with more willingneſs, for thoſe very hopes ſakes; or rather, becauſe of hope, to be given with leſs reluctance; for there may be degrees of averſion in diſlike of one Government more then another, but none of willingneſs towards the choice of any Government, as Government, which, as we ſaid, muſt make his ſteady reliance on fear. And it is obſervable, that in theſe very Laws and Edicts that do make their enforcement through hope and promiſe of reward (which are but very few in compariſon of what build upon terror and puniſhment) they may be reckoned as grounded on fear alſo; as being but negative to that, and ſeldom other then promiſes of exemption or limition in the execution of Government and Power, ſo as not to proceed to ſubſtraction of ſome benefit, as well as to the impoſition of ſome evil; as by thoſe examples of promiſes of obedience made in the Old Teſtament under the Theocraty, and that made by *Saul, of making his fathers houſe free in Iſrael, that ſhould ſlay Goliah*, and by obſervation of the uſual conſtitution of other Nation may appear. For as hope, as we formerly ſaid, cannot be without fear of loſs and miſſing, ſo in things already poſſeſſed, fear to to loſe is antecedent to hope to enjoy, and is thereupon its ground alſo.

And as for that mixture and influence which love carrieth towards obedience, it is to be conſidered, that when, like other irrational agents, we do by natural propenſion and inſtinct only, purſue in any thing thoſe general rules of providence, whereby particular and mutual preſervation is aymed at; in thoſe caſes men being looked upon (like other Senſitives) as involuntary, or in ſmall degree ſo; the name of obedience is not to them aſſignable in a proper and ſtrict conſtruction; becauſe, for want of a known explicite precept, and ſufficiency of underſtanding to apprehend ſenſe of duty and direction in relation to a ſuperior power, and for want of underſtanding to diſcover that oeconomy and relation creatures bear towards God, as well as one towards another, they may thereupon be ſaid to want, as well the tye of fear, as of love alſo.

When again, or ſo far at leaſt, as we do attain to angelical perfection of comprehenſion and underſtanding, ſo as throughly to know, as well all the ſeveral relations which creatures do mutually bear one towards another, as alſo that relation and reſpect they all of them joyntly bear towards God their fountain and original; in that reſpect again, as no external precept and direction ſeems needful to provoke to do or avoid that which its own underſtanding hath cleared unto it already, ſo may that performance of duty which was practiſed and given in that condition, be called love indeed; which cannot be in the other.

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So that to man alone, as ſeated in a middle rank, between creatures irrational and throughly intelligent, this notion of obedience is moſt due, even becauſe he, in thoſe multitude of appetites raiſed from obſervation and converſe with other things, and want of true knowledge of his reciprocal relation to other things, together with his and their joynt ſubordination and dependance on God, is in both reſpects to have his love and obedience led on and directed by expreſs Law and ſenſe of duty: In which his middle ſtation, as having here that more perfect comprehenſion which Angels now have, and himſelf ſhall hereafter have, but in part communicated unto him, he may alſo in ſome degree be ſaid to be guided by love in thoſe commands which he performes; and that, not only as led by natural and charitable propenſion, but knowingly and gratefully led by ſenſe of obligation to God; even as alſo ſenſible creatures below us, and whom we have occaſion to imploy, may in our diſcipline over them be ſtiled obedient, when brought to the performance of our wills by awe and terror. There being nothing but ſenſe of duty and gratitude that can reconcile love and fear; becauſe elſe, obedience and fear do (as in their own nature) draw on hatred. And in heaven alone, they ſhall be throughly coincident, when our inlightned underſtandings ſhall be able truly to apprehend Gods favour and our own ſteady condition of perſeverance and continuance therein; and then only can it be truly ſaid of us in our obedience, that *perfect love caſteth out fear*.

But here it is to be conſidered, as was formerly noted, that all things at firſt, and while they are ſtrange, do move to fear, and alſo to hatred and diſlike; and that they do by ſo much the ſooner and more ſtrongly do ſo, as each ſenſitive doth conceive that firſt ſeen or known thing to have more or leſs power to hurt him, and alſo apprehends it ſelf more or leſs within the danger thereof. As therefore experience of indemnity, and ſenſe and experience of acceptance and reward for yielding of obedience to this object of fear and power, doth by degrees abate of that, and make it looked upon as an object of love and goodneſs, ſo doth it therewith teſtifie, that love was but the conſequent of former obedience, even as obedience was of former fear; and ſo farther alſo, that the love of the commanded is ſubſequent and dependant on the love of the commanding, and that, not for obedience and impoſition of the command it ſelf, but for his kind reſentment and acceptance of the obeyers duty.

So that then, to make a difference between that grateful return of kindneſs which paſſeth between equals, and friend and friend, upon the ſcore and ſenſe of good nature only, and that return of reſpect and ſervice which any, as in the ſtate of ſubjection, doth yield at the appointment of a ſuperior, and as fearing puniſhment for defailance: We may farther ſay, that obedience is begun in fear, continued by ſenſe of duty, and perfected in love; and alſo, that the terror for performance and obſervation of Laws, ought to be, and is ſtill proportionable to the greatneſs of the Law-maker. And therefore, in the conſtitution and promulgation of the Moral Law, or ten Commandments, we find thoſe terrible apparitions made, *that Gods fear might be ſo before their faces, that they ſin not*. As for promiſes, not a word then, as being but tokens of his love to ſuch as had been regardful of this his fear. And ſo it muſt ſtill follow, that thoſe that are by office of command moſt powerful and terrible, are alſo ſooneſt, and in the higheſt degree rendred moſt lovely in their ſervice, as having (by reaſon of this power) their own ends

soonest satisfied. Thus God, that hath no direct service to be done him here as to himself, is the best Master; and neither he nor others having need of our service hereafter, love and thankfgiving shall make up our obedience. In all which respects Princes are most resembling him of any any terrene Power; and so can most truly (of any) said to be served by love; which indeed they ought always to seek, but never to trust to.

And therefore since our observations (as before noted) come at last to be collected into affections, and that when these affections come to interfere one upon another, they are guided by the general affection called will: So it is also necessary for ceasing of strife in the publike body, that the affections of particular orders and persons, should be guideded by the publike will of the *King*, *against whom there is no rising up*. For he can only be supposed competent judg, which, and what affections ought to take place, and how far the granting to the desires of some, may stand with the desire and good of others. And none but he can be the common and entire sensory or centre of attraction and preservation; but subjects affections, being guided by several interests (even as they are severally collected in several persons) must make (in their dealings with others) several centres, which must thereupon be centres of opposition, that is of division and civil war.

And as the will, so the exercise of passions (the necessary attendants of will) must be in him onely; for if anger and hatred be at private dispose in punishments, they will proceed too destructively; and (as having no regard beyond self-consideration) turn to malice and revenge. And so again (whilst these affections are in prosecution) how may covetousness, ambition, jealousie, envy, &c. make us (through partial respect only) to be common disturbers? whereas he that hath whole and equal concern, can no more proceed distructively to his subjects (in that relation of subjects) then to himself. For when publike good is crossed by any, his anger and hatred of the Author will be terminated in justice, as to any punishment; because no man can be too severe to himself; where he hath whole interest.

And since (as we noted) observation and knowledge must arise from concern; so publique good and peace being of neareſt concern to him, his understanding must be supposed ordinarily more able to judge and determine what it is, then such as have private concern only to looke after, who therefore, in publike things, can only have craft. When as he, having his honor and benefit intermixed and emergent from all things rightly and duly done towards publike benefit, must be supposed always intent thereon, even for his own interest and advantage sake. Whereby it is to be supposed, that he shall be not only rendred the most able in understanding and judging how publike expedients may be best attained and managed, but also, by reason of often observation of the consequents and events of things, and which of them in possession hath proved most beneficial and pleasurable and which not, he may be justly also esteemed as the centre of political consentation, as being enabled, in regard of his great share and general experience and prefence in all publike dealings, to give the truest report of publique liking and inclination. For it is to be supposed, that political bodies have their proper genius and constitution, as well as natural ones have, and that

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than he, as the life and ſpirit thereof, can beſt judge, and ſooneſt diſcover how the humor of the people ſtand generally tainted and affected. So that when the inclinations and deſires of ſubjects, in their dealing one with another, ſhall obtain his conſent, it will then prove a motion towards the encreaſe of publike good: But ſo far as they ſhall undertake to act on one another without his liking or aſſent, ſo far will they be rendred not only barren of any good iſſue, but ready alſo to be productive of thoſe monſters of civil war and rebellion.

And as thus to the reſentment of the general affections of the people, ſo to the differencing and diſcovering of the perfections and beauties of ſeparate perſons in regard of excellency and fitneſs towards publique imployment, he is to be looked upon as the moſt proper and able judge of what is in that kind lovely alſo. For as external feature and decorum hath its excellency meaſured by conformity to the moſt uſual figures and ſhapes of the kind, the which they muſt be acknowed the moſt able to judge of that have made the moſt exact and general obſervations, even ſo the perfection and fitneſs of publike miniſters being to be eſtimated by that conformity which is between their breeding and ability, and thoſe imployments they are to manage; it muſt thence follow that the Prince being moſt converſant and intereſſed, and having again moſt general acquaintance and knowledge of both publike perſons and imployments (as being in himſelf both the perfection and epitome of ſuch Officers, as well as the centre of ſuch offices) he muſt be conſequently thought the beſt judge of what perſons are in this kind beautiful, and fit to be entruſted or rewarded with offices and badges of honor; the which we may call political or publike love.

By conformity unto the Prince his commands and directions, as to a ſtanding exemplar and copy, it will alſo come to paſs, that there ſhall be ſuch things ſtated as vertue and vice in morality, and righteouſneſs and unrighteouſneſs in Religion. For when there is a certain and determinate rule ſet down in both, according to Divine and Natural Precept, it will follow that that which comes neareſt to it will be moſt vertuous or righteous, and that which moſt differs will be moſt vitious and ſinful. And then, by reaſon of this uniformity, not only peace and agreement will be ſecured, but our fancies being for a while accuſtomed thereunto, content and delight will follow alſo. Even as (on the contrary) we ſee diſcontent, diſtraction and civil war, moſt frequently to follow thoſe places, where leaſt conſtraints to uniformity is kept up. For there is a beauty and handſomneſs ariſing in actions and deportments, in keeping a method and order in them according to their rule and copy, as there is a fairneſs and comlineſs in writing according to copy alſo.

We ſhall therefore, for concluſion of this quere, whether Government and Peace may be preſerved without force or no, ſay, that ſince obedience, as obedience, will always diſpleaſe, and ſince power and authority will be always affected and ſought after, it will be evident that ſuperiors ſhall be more or leſs ſuch, as they are more or leſs endued with power and irreſiſtability; and that, as power is neceſſary for the Governor, ſo is fear for the governed, as heretofore noted, even for the neceſſary preſervation of thoſe relations, according to that ſaying, *If I be a father, where is mine honor, if I be a Maſter where is my fear.* For although a willing and hearty ſervice

be moſt acceptable, and onely rewardable (as to the doer) yet the benefit of others will many times be gained by the deed it ſelf; Whereas a known impunity will, by example, and as it finds hope to attain the like, procure common detriment, both by neglect of the deed it ſelf, and by common invitation to diſobedience. But if the ſubject, from his own or others experience, once find that his obedience, in reſpect of other damages and inforcements in the Princes power is unavoidable, he muſt be ſuppoſed even through diſcreet willingneſs to ſubmit, and then through cuſtom of ſo doing, to arrive (at laſt) at a ſtate of natural willingneſs in obedience it ſelf; experience telling us that ſteadieſt loyalty is in ſuch ſubjects as have been uſed to greateſt ſubjection, and moſt diſcontents and rebellions in ſuch Families and Kingdoms, where children and ſubjects have been moſt free. And it will ever be a moſt certain truth, that that obedience which muſt unavoidably be given, will ever (in equal things) be more ready, free, and unreluctant, then that which may have hopes of avoidance.

CONCLUSION:

BUt it is now time to have done, having perhaps as much tyred others as my ſelf in theſe tedious diſcourſes, driven ſo vehemently on to the cure of that evil, which, while men are men, can never enter into a ſteady thought ſhould be wholly done. For when all is ſaid, Government will have its faults; and when in the rule of nature, we ſee it ſometimes come to paſs, that the ſtobborneſs of the matter is ſuch, as will not admit of that form which to her policy in general, or to the production of ſome more perfect creature were in particular ſpecies neceſſary, (but that peſtilence, murrains, mildews, &c.) to the deſtruction of men, beaſts and vegitables, as alſo monſtruous and imperfect ſhapes (incident to the generation of each race and kind, do ſometimes happen) why ſhould we wonder at ineffectualneſs herein: when, beſides matter, there is a perpetual averſion of will in the governed; and (alas the while) the workmans skill or care in this, is too often ſo to ſeek, that, through his default alſo, the malady is increaſed. Since therefore nothing in this life can be to us perfect and without its inconveniences, we can only call that Government good which is beſt, and which, upon tryal, hath feweſt and leaſt ſettled miſchiefs; as not ariſing from its form, but contingent accidents in its miniſtration; and this is that which I have propounded as the drift of this whole Treatiſe.

Yet then again, as the many unavoidable diſeaſes of our natural bodies, are not at all to diſcommend or excuſe the Phyſicians care and pains for their mittigation or removal, ſo I hope in this grand diſeaſe of the politique Body (called Civil War) although I cannot attain to a perfect or conſtant cure, yet if the application of thoſe remedies I have propoſed, ſhall ſometimes cauſe diverſion, and ſometimes mittigation, I ſhall have comfort in my labours.

But in this (as all things elſe) we muſt leave the ſucceſs to God, whoſe work alone it is, *to ſtill (as the raging of the Sea, ſo) the madneſs of the people.* Even that mad and raging humor of liberty, which being blown to a rebellious height by the breath of ſeditious Oratory, as ſeas by the wind, it is none other then if (in our natural bodies) the allurement of our pallats ſhould tempt us to that food which ſhould bring us to a feavor. And as theſe ſurfeits ſeldom

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come but from ſuch things as are beſt, and then again loathing of that very thing doth follow; ſo in the politique conſtitution (though nothing more neceſſary and commodious then peace) yet nothing more incident to mans fickle nature, then, in a giddy thirſt for variety, to grow weary thereof; which, as a thing bringing Kingdoms and States to their fatal periods, no otherwiſe then bodily ſurfeits and ſickneſſes do ſingle perſons to their natural deaths, ſhall we ſay that as they are permitted for the puniſhment of our ſins (which we can never want) ſo to this end alſo. And then, ſhall we ſay, that not ſo much in conſideration of ours, or our progenitors ſins, as *that the will of God might be made manifeſt*, are theſe things befallen us? Shall we ſay, that ſince none (of themſelves) can be called righteous or good, that it may therefore be a reaſon that wickedneſs and vice are thus ſuffered, as to the eſtating us good by compariſon, and that even again in Government, as to the adorning loyalty and other civil vertues, diſobedience and rebellion is permitted alſo; and to make us thereby more ſenſible and thankful when peace ſhall again be reſtored.

But be the reaſons what they will (our duties of obedience and ſubmiſſion being plain enough) it is our parts to look to that, and to leave *theſe hidden things to God, whoſe judgements are unſearchable, and his ways paſt finding out.* For ſure I am, that however God for the puniſhing of a ſinful people, permit their Princes, as he did *David* in the fact of numbring, to fall upon ſuch unwarrantable acts as may bring on their puniſhments, yet can this puniſhment never warrant any active reſiſtance of his Authority. Or be the King not good, as *David* was, but ſuch another as *Saul* was, yet ſince he is our King, *and the Lords anointed, who can without ſin lift up their hand againſt him.*

And why ſhould we be more impatient of enduring thoſe puniſhments from God, that come from the hands of evil Kings, then thoſe of peſtilence, famine, or the like, that come more immediately from nature, ſince all come from the ſame hand, and to the ſame end, the puniſhment of our ſins. And ſince God owns the giving of them in his anger, and the having their hearts in his hand, and turning them whereſoever he pleaſeth, why ſhould we think of reſiſting one more then another?

Thus is wicked *Pharoahs* heart hardned, and his ſubjects the *Egyptians* thereby plagued. And thus, as aforeſaid, is good *Davids* heart ſtirred up to number the people, and theſe people thereupon puniſhed with peſtilence. And who would have thought a three years famine ſo long after *Sauls* death, ſhould be the puniſhment of ſurviving ſubjects for a paſt fact of zeal done by a King ſo long dead? Or that the houſe of *Jehu*, and his people by conſequent, ſhould be threatned with Gods puniſhment for the execution of that his juſtice upon the houſe of *Ahab*, three hundred years after the fact done; when as yet the very fact it ſelf was ſo plainly appointed and warranted by divine authority.

In which examples of Kings ſins being made cauſes of puniſhing peoples ſins with plagues, peſtilence, famine, civil war, or the like, I would know if reſiſting of Kings had not been reſiſting of God, or if any ſuch thing could have averted their puniſhment, but rather aggravated their offences, by adding this rebellion againſt their Prince, to their former againſt God, and ſo breaking more of his Laws. For ſuppoſe the people never ſo innocent, as in ſome of the alledged caſes may appear, or ſuppoſe

as all of us are ready to flatter our own hypocrisies, that neither we nor our Fathers have sinned, as to those punishments, but that the Will of God might be made manifest, Oh let us not resist that Will, who owns all the evils that befalls each City, that is to say publike evils; lest while we will not be punished, as he appoints, by a King in his anger, he, by suffering him to be taken away, should, by Anarchy, plague us in his wrath.

In order sense of publick Peace and Charity, and the blessed condition of the Peace makers themselves and those that are promoters and assistants in it, I shall now appeal to the Consciences and Judgements of all such as are wont to gild over their own Covetousness and Ambition with the shews of Justice and Religion, and are so forward to kill all that will not submit and joyn in opinion with them: you that will undertake to controle Heaven in its dispensations, and under colour of Tyranny or Usurpation, of wrong rule or wrong entry, will at your pleasure be withdrawing your own and others obedience from your present Prince, give me leave to summon your thoughts to a serious consideration of all those sad consequents that must attend it, that by calling your self to an accompt before the time of that general accompt come, you may be both eased in your own reckoning then, and have your Conscience here eased of those sins and miseries which your stubbornness must produce. Suppose then that you, with all those fair declamations of Law and Justice, or of Religion and Zeal, which you, in your popular Oratory, are so copious and ready in, shall be able to seduce and draw to your party such a considerable number of your fellow Subjects, as to form the same into a Civil war, wherein thousands must lose their lives as well on one side as the other, suppose I say, these several parties through thy perswasion slain by each other in the height of uncharitableness should now present themselves before thee with their wounded and macerated bodies, and all besmeared with gore and blood, and with grim and ghastly visages stare thee in the face as the horrid spectacles of thy confusion and amazement. But this is not all, seest thou that throng of desolate Widdows and Orphans, and of disconsolate Parents, who, as in sacrifice of thy ambition or avarice, are by the death of each other bereft of comforts, and left to a necessity of dying while they live; and so the never dying monuments of thy cruelty and Rebellion. Let the shrikes and yellings of defloured and ravished Virgins and Matrons, the groans, the tears, the sighs, of such as are in every corner, after the manner of civil war, murthered, plundered, imprisoned, or otherwise dispoyled of life, or livelihood, let all those arise to thy remorse. If not, nor the thought of that Forrest face which thy native country must now put on, in respect of that destruction which must be introduced on its goodly Edifices, Corn, and Cattel, can move thee, as in Honor or Charity, yet let Piety: Piety I say, if thou hast any, the sense of the Honor of that God thou seemest to worship, let this move thee to think how in these Civil wars, those publike Oratories and publike places of worship dedicated to his name, must be alway in danger of ruine and sacriledge also, and how then canst thou persist in a course that must at once destroy all bonds of Love, Loyalty, and Religion, that must at once, and that with so high hand, offer such violence, the utmost violencence in thy power, to thy neighbour, to thy Prince, to thy God.

Doth not thy heart yet feel remorse? Heark, the Trumpet calls thee to the Judgement-seat of that great God himself, whose Honor and Authority on earth thou hast so often slighted and offended. Now for a Mountain,

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now for a Rock, to cover thee from the face of the all-incenced Deity. Doſt thou not now finde that the common Cauſe of condemnation againſt Chriſtians is made for living and dying in hatred and malice? and how many are there now eying thee as the Author of, and ring-leader in thoſe Civil diſturbances where Chriſtian againſt Chriſtian have by thouſands killed each other in the height and heat of uncharitableneſs? And ſeeſt thou not again how the ſentence of *bleſſed* runs to the *meek*, to the *patient*, to the *peace-makers*? & while thou art ſetting forward thy trembling limbs, and ſtepping in, with an Apology for thy Rebellion, how hath new confuſion ſeized thee, at the ſight of that King and Prophet who did ſo often flye from his perſecuting Prince, and had his heart ſmiting him but for cutting off but the hemm of his Garment? what ſeeſt thou now? where are thy Texts of Scripture thy Pretexts of Law? See if thou canſt make thy warrant and call unto publike Authority and Command, in any degree apparent and equal to his, or canſt make thy ſufferings equal to all that other (therefore) glorified company of Martyrs and Confeſſors, who, amids all thoſe diſmal perſecutions, even for the moſt righteous cauſe of all, and plainly ſo, durſt not lift up againſt him that was but a heathenish Prince, but choſe to follow both the Precept and Example of him, who is now in the higheſt Throne of Honor, as a reward of his Patience. Oh horror of horrors, what is thy Judge become a party too, a Mountain, a Mountain, a Mountain.

No ſooner hath thy all-diſpairing ſoul cauſed thine all-confounded eye to ſink and ſettle on objects below, but, oh torment of torments. Who is this that is now to be thy Prince, and under whoſe Dominion thou muſt now for ever live? Thou ſhalt not need here to ſtudy pretenſions of Tyranny and Oppreſſion againſt thy Prince, nor invectives and ſlanders againſt his Officers and Miniſters. What is it which thou truly feeleſt now? Oh ——

If this be the expectation, as (without Repentance) it can be none other, of all that are promoters of civil diſturbance, how neceſſary then is it that we ſhould timouſly thinking of bridling our covetous and unruly appetites, and learn patiently to ſubmit unto that Regiment and condition of life wherein Providence hath places us. When diſcontent of any ſort aſſaults us to impatience, think we then, this is not our reſt. No happineſs to be here expected, all things in this life comes to us mingled, as well to manifeſt and draw down our acknowledgement of Deity and Providence for the receipt of what is good, as to wean and withdraw our affections from this world to a better, in ſuch ſort that thoſe very things wherein our greateſt temporal preſervation and good doth conſiſt, are attended and accompanied with ſuch as are of greateſt miſchief. From the food with which our bodies are nouriſhed, do we contract the moſt of our diſeaſes, nay from thoſe ſorts of it which are beſt too, do we by intemperance, draw on thoſe maladies which are moſt deſperate and deadly.

From that very root of Love, and deſire of beneficence and thirſt of Honor, ingraffed for mutual comfort and aſſiſtance, do we daily finde contrary effects to be produced, when by too ſtrict and irregular fixation and uſe thereof, according to the particular intereſt and guidance of our private appetite and diſcretions, we are led into Faction and Civil war.

And ſo laſtly, from that courſe of prevention and reſtraint which by divine appointment was ſetled amongſt us as the onely Soveraign remedy and cure of theſe exorbitances, namely the conſtitution and power of Monar-

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chical government, even this doth, together with the cure, make us lyable and obnoxious to thoſe fatal miſchiefs of Tyranny and Oppreſſion alſo. Againſt which, as we have neither reaſonable or lawful remedy but that of Patience, ſo ſhall we finde it a true remedy indeed, and to uſher us into an habitation and Kingdom where neither a natural diſtemper, nor a civil diſtraction ſhall any more afflict us.

No, no, all cauſe of fear, either of loſs or puniſhment is now baniſhed; our obedience is become all love here, for a full comprehenſion of the pleaſure of our preſent Soveraign, together with a full aſſurance of his continual ready acceptance, as well as of our own continual ready ability of performance ſhall make all apprehenſion of power ſtand as it were forgotten in that of goodneſs. And whereas we now *know* neither our own duties, nor Gods love and acceptance *but in part, ſeeing them as through a glaſs darkly, then ſhall we know him*, as to his Will and good pleaſure, *even as we are known of him*, as to our hearty deſire of ſerving and honoring him; and this, *face to face.* We ſhall not longer wait on tedious Inductions and Obſervations for ſome ſlender and fallible comprehenſion of theſe things, but at ſuch time as Charity ſhall make up our Obedience, our knowledge ſhall be inherent, ariſing from preſence and intuition. There is no ſuch opacity here as to neceſſitate us to rays of light to diſcover, (at moſt) but skin-deep into the qualities of things; no, then the true Nature of things ſhall be as ſoon known as their names; and their inward, as their outward form. And therefore what cauſe then of fear that any thing *ſhould ſeparate us from the love of God* our preſent Soveraign? Where there ſhall not be ſo much as a falſe accuſer left to appear in that Kingdom; whereby to diſturb us in our civil life, more then a diſeaſe to diſturb us in our natural.

The life and health of our then refined bodies ſhall no more run the hazard of either famine or ſurfeit, by relying on ſuch food as could not nouriſh us until dead, nor but bring death by nouriſhment. Our then no longer ſickly nor mortal bodies, ſhall now have their more ſpiritual life and perfection ſecured and encreaſed from a food far more ſpiritual and perfect then our ſelves. In this true Paradiſe ſhall we finde the true tree of life it ſelf; that *bread of life that once came down from Heaven* cloathed with our nature, that we might be made capable and Participant of his. With this food ſhall we be always delightfully fed, never full, always ſatisfied, never ſatiate.

As thus to our ſelves, ſo to our preſent ſociety: inſtead of thoſe thwartings and injuries which uſed to come from the hands of competitors or enemies, we ſhall, on all hands, be ſaluted with the ready Offices of complacency and love, for how can envy or malice have either Author or Object, where encreaſe of eminence or property cannot be ſo much as wiſht for? Our enjoyments then ſhall not be purchaſed or endeared at the price of want and difficulty; for fruition ſhall here antecede appetite, even ſo, as there ſhall not be ſo much as time or room left for a wiſh.

And whilſt thou ſhalt be thus ſteadily compleat with happineſs in thy ſelf, ſo as neither to have cauſe to hope more, nor fear worſe, and that through the gift and participation of divine love, ſo ſhalt thou finde this love ſo much refined alſo, as to be univerſally and reciprocally efficacious, not onely to procure the poſſeſſion againſt fear of intruſion through others wants, but to encreaſe it through conſenſation of like benefit in them. Each one that could

not

not as one, contain more content, ſhall, by this union, contain all. We ſhall not then know one another by our old dividing relations of conſanguinity or friendſhip, whereby petty unions were made deſtructive of the common, and introductive of general diſagreement: No, every one is looke upon with the heightened affection of a brother, by means of that more cloſe tye and relation to be derived from that *Our father which is in Heaven.* Hath any one been ſo heroick, as but to taſte what it is to be truely in love with any perſon here? Let him then think, that every one now ſhall be that *he*, or that *ſhe*, but without thought of a he or a ſhe. Not ſo hazardously now beloved as to relye on the courteſie of a Idea, from the intent obſervation of whoſe perfection in our conceit, the imperfections of the original might come to be clouded. No, as we ſhall no longer depend on the help of deceiveable notions, nor Affections or Paſſions for our comprehenſion and underſtanding, ſo ſhall we not be in danger to be captivated with the glance of a ſingle ſenſe; and that from an outward periſhing and deceiveable figure. Our Underſtanding and intuitive knowledge ſhall now make way for our will; it ſhall not ſtand to the iſſue of two contending paſſions here. Where nothing is farther to be hoped for or feared, all ſuch compoſition muſt ceaſe. We ſhall not in this place love at the hazard of our diſcretions, nor endanger the loſs of our ſelves by the love of another: for in this ſociety every other ſhall be truely known to be an other ſelf, even ſo much thy ſelf, that thou ſhalt not be to thy ſelf, but in that ſelf: for we ſhall be ſo like and ſo much one another, as not to know diſtinction or ſeparation but what number muſt make.

Oh that happy practice of love below that prepared thee for this bleſſed enjoyment of love above! Oh that happy performance of Obedience to thy former *Fathers in the fleſh*, although unto death, that hath now redeemed thee from death, and fitted thee for this *ſubjection unto the Father of Spirits* unto life! Oh happy participation in a Croſs that makes thee now a ſharer with thy Saviour in his Crown! Thy former bread of affliction and tears of ſorrow ſhall be by thy bleſſed Savior here turned into wine of comfort and food of life; not to be now taſted in a Sacramental ſip or broken piece, and then onely in a topick Communion; but, in this true and real Communion with thy Redeemer himſelf, thou ſhalt totally and eternally enjoy that Catholike and bliſsful *Communion of Saints.* Truely bliſsful now indeed, and that in act and poſſeſſion; free from the reſentment and fear of all thoſe perſecutions and afflictions which formerly gave abatement to that fulneſs of joy which in the militant Communion could be expected. For here thou ſhalt, in and with them, in a continual and triumphant manner, be made a more neer and firm participant of all the gracious influences of deity: whoſe bleſſings and bounty can now be no more denyed or hid from thee, then thy moſt bleſſed meditator can be again ſeparate from that nature of thine, which was by him for thy ſake aſſumed.

But thou, thou raviſhed and exulting ſoul, what canſt thou now finde to do, when thou haſt found thy ſelf thus full and haſt found others thus full alſo, even to ſuch a mutual encreaſe of joy and fulneſs? Why then thou and they muſt run over. Yes, yes, that thou ſhalt yet finde a new joy, nay thy greateſt joy, in acknowledging thy joy. Thy grateful ſpirit ſhall now run and croud into the Chorus of the heavenly hoſt, and there cheerfully accompany thy fellow Saints and Angels in ſymphony of Alleluiahs to that inexhauſtible fountain of goodneſs. When thou heareſt the Cherubin and Seraphim crying

out

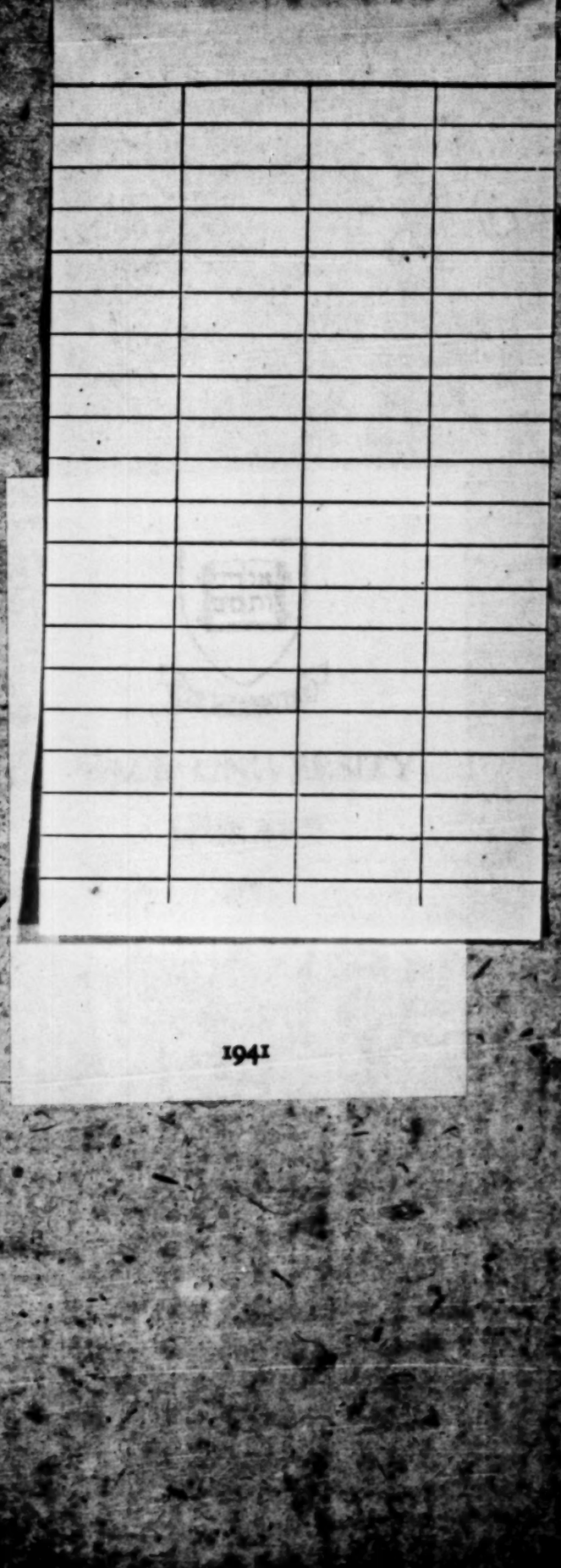
out *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth*, how will thy heart leap? how readily wilt thou throw thyself in to the glorious company of the Apostles into the goodly fellowship of the Prophets, and into the noble Army of Martyrs, and there joyn with that triumphant Church, in a *Gregorian* or *Te Deum*, or other such like forms of Doxology, and therein acknowledge him the God of thy glory rest and rejoycing too? for our Bibles themselves shall now shrink into Psalteries, and our Prayers into Praises; and, as our greatest delight, so our greatest strife shall now be to be foremost in the Quire, and to be standing up and as eminent as we can in those graceful and uniform acclamations, of *glory, glory, glory*; and again, and again, in the same words, *glory, glory, glory*, &c. even to eternity, giving glory to those three most blessed persons; to whom be Praise and Glory here on earth both now and for ever, *Amen*.

FINIS.

intricate Scripture one of those which are hard to be understood, and so generally mistaken by most men, [illegible] to the true meaning of it, I will take some paines to examine it, and to finde it out both for my own and others satisfaction which that I may doe, I must intreat you to looke back with me to 2. of 1. verses going before, there you shall finde the *Apostle* had laid a heavy yoke upon her, *Silence* and *Subjection*, V. 11. And that you may know what silence he meanes, in the next verse hee interprets himself and tells you he meanes silence as to publique preaching. *I permit not a woman to teach* (though I see not but by the grounds upon which most men take upon them to teach now adaies she hath as good a licence to teach as any of them all, and that is (meerely the inward calling or at least a conceipt of it, but S. *Paul* that had reason to know their gifts of ability well enough, and their desire to exercise them in the Church yet directly silences them as to this intent, she that preacht such false doctrine to her husband as whereby she had undone us all, he thinks it fit she should be silenced from ever preaching more. *I permit not a woman to teach, but let her be silent.* Why *Subjection*? *I permit not a woman to usurp authority over the man*, in this verse is the doctrine of her usurpation, shee hath no right to do't. Therefore let her be *silent*, and let her be *subject*, v. 11. 12. But verse 14. the Apostle shews the reason why the Lord laid this heavy [illegible] upon the [illegible] the [illegible] of her sex in the matter of the first and great transgression.

constituting him with it, she eat of it, *shee was first in the*
[illegible] this sait was the aggravation of her sin
[illegible] for a reparation to *Adams* sinne, who
[illegible] second what she had done before,
[illegible] the Covenant was broken, the law
[illegible] though *Adam* had not eaten at all
[illegible] enough to undoe us all at least her
[illegible] which were involved in
[illegible] and with whom they all

[illegible] aggravations the Lord doth not only
[illegible] before mentioned, but
[illegible] which I have under hand
[illegible] which she had cast her
[illegible] into dan-


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